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JANUARY, 1891 APRIL, 1891

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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1891.

No. CCCLIII.

ART. I.—*A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.*
By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Vols. VII. and
VIII. London: 1890.

THE general opinion of the literary world will congratulate Mr. Lecky on the completion of the great work on which he has been engaged for so many years. It places him in the foremost rank of living historical writers. The latest volumes of the series, now before us, display the same felicity of language, the same industry and accuracy of research, the same judicial conscientiousness, the same patriotic fervour untainted by party spirit, which distinguished the earlier portions of this history—qualities the more remarkable as the writer more nearly approaches the burning political questions of our own times. It has been remarked on a previous occasion that the title of the work—a ‘History of England’—is not an accurate description of it, for it is not a history of England or of Britain in the narrower sense of the term, since a large proportion of it is devoted to Irish affairs; and it is evident that the melancholy record of the sufferings and struggles of his native island is that which lies nearest the writer’s heart. Indeed, the events which occurred in those most memorable years—from 1793 to 1800—at home, on the Continent, in India, and in Egypt, in which England bore so great a part, are wholly unnoticed, although the continuance and exigencies of the war had a direct bearing and effect on the disturbances in Ireland. This is an unfortunate circumstance, for it is impossible to sever the Irish question from the general politics of Europe. England was deeply engaged in a formidable and, at that time, disastrous war. Her own resources

were almost exhausted, and the enemy was well aware that Ireland was the weakest point in the defences of the United Kingdom. M. de Talleyrand, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote in a despatch, recently published by M. Pallain, 'It is in Ireland and in Egypt that the United Kingdom is to be crushed. Arms and men are to be poured into Ireland, and an Irish Republic set up by the side of Great Britain for her instruction or her chastisement.' And it was mainly on the support of France that the leaders of the Irish rebellion relied, as we shall presently have occasion to show. The probability of a rebellion in Ireland was therefore an essential element in the great contest with the Revolution which was then raging in Europe, and Ireland was convulsed by the anarchy and the designs of the Revolutionary party abroad.

But Mr. Lecky had already informed us that it was his intention to terminate his 'History of England' at the outbreak of the French War in 1793, and to carry on the Irish portion to the date of the Union. The volumes now before us may therefore be regarded as a supplementary work, consisting mainly of a very elaborate *précis* of the correspondence, the debates, the pamphlets, and published works of the period. Such a method of inquiry, the author himself says, tends greatly to lengthen a book and impair its symmetry and its artistic charm; but in the particular period now concerned it is, he believes, the one method of arriving at truth. This task he has executed with great impartiality, and the reader of these large volumes is brought by them into direct contact with the contemporary materials of Irish history.

This method of writing history is not of the narrative or dramatic kind. Mr. Lecky modestly speaks, in one of his chapters, of his own performance as, to a great extent, that of an editor, selecting from 'the vast mass of Government and private correspondence such letters as most fully paint the condition of the country.' This is precisely the course adopted by M. Taine in his powerful representation of the condition of France during the Revolution. He, for the first time, has laid bare, from an enormous number of local records and contemporary letters, the real character of the tremendous convulsion which overthrew French society, and he therefore presents us with a picture of the Revolution far more accurate than the superficial narratives of previous annalists. Mr. Lecky has done as much for Ireland. He traces to its source the agitation which gradually led to

the anarchy of Ulster, the expeditions of Hoche and Humbert, the armed rebellion of 1798 and its inevitable consequence, the Union of the two islands under one Parliament. The evidence he produces is authentic, and borrowed from various sources. His own part in the composition is didactic and critical rather than epic. With some few graphic exceptions, he seldom relates the course of events, he leaves them to tell their own story. With an indefatigable and impartial hand he collects the details of the time, and leaves the reader, as he says, 'to form his own judgement of events—nay, independently of the historian.' Indeed, we sometimes regret that, from his earnest desire to preserve the character of a strictly impartial showman, he abstains from expressing his own opinions, and, to use a proverbial expression, we cannot see the wood for the trees. Yet the reader is left in no doubt as to what the judgement of the historian is. He draws his inferences from the tale, as it is told, with candour and sagacity, and we need not add that his own views are ever on the side of freedom, toleration, and progress, accomplished, not by conspiracies and revolutions, but by justice and the unfailing protection of the law.

What, then, are the sources from which Mr. Lecky has drawn the new and unknown materials of this history? This is a point of the greatest importance. It appears that a vast collection of papers, ranging from 1795 to 1805, existed in Dublin Castle, in two very large cases in the Birmingham Tower, carefully fastened down with the Government seal, and with the inscription 'Secret and confidential—not to be opened.' They remained in this state till 1867, when, upon the passing of the Records Act (Ireland), these cases were opened, and the papers classified. The whole collection is now well arranged in no less than sixty-eight boxes. They contain much that is of no historical value, but there are numerous letters from informers, written during the progress of the United Irish conspiracy before, during, and after the rebellion; and also a large and valuable series of letters from magistrates and Government officials describing the state of the country during that formidable crisis. Here, then, we have the annals of the rebellion and its secret correspondence literally photographed in the writings of the time. But this is not all. Mr. Pelham was Irish Secretary from March 1795 to November 1798—the most critical period. His papers have recently been deposited in the British Museum, and may be consulted there. To these may be added the correspondence of the

Duke of Richmond with Lady Louisa Conolly; that of Abbot, and that of Lord Grenville. By these confidential papers the whole secret history of the period is disclosed.

It had been the traditional policy of former British Governments to throw a veil over the most important materials of Irish history, partly because they might compromise families implicated in these transactions, and partly because the full disclosures of past troubles might serve to rekindle the smouldering fires of religious and political conflicts. The true narrative of the fatal rising of 1641 has only recently been published by Miss Hickson from the original depositions, and these documents have been rescued from oblivion chiefly by the personal exertions of Mr. Froude. In like manner, the history of the great conspiracy of 1796 lay buried in these sealed chests till they were opened in 1867. Without this contemporary evidence that history could not be fully written; Mr. Froude's researches did not carry him so far, and Mr. Lecky is the first writer who has made ample use of them.

It may be worth while, before we enter upon the course of events, to give the reader a specimen of what this evidence really is upon which the Irish Government had to act; and there cannot be a more lively picture of it than the career of Leonard McNally. This gentleman (for such he was in position) was a distinguished member of the Irish bar; he was the most eminent lawyer connected with the patriotic movement; and he had a real knowledge of the inner mechanism of the conspiracy, as he was a trusted member of the National party. Mr. Lecky gives him credit for a 'wise, just, and luminous judgement in politics, and a genuine humanity of disposition, which never deserted him in the midst of a base and treacherous career.' It is probable that his own conduct had placed him within the power of the Government when his confederate Jackson was convicted of treason, and he resolved to save himself from ruin by betraying the cause.

'His first service was a peculiarly shocking one. Jackson, shortly before his death, had found an opportunity of writing four short letters, recommending his wife and child, and a child who was still unborn, to two or three friends, and to the care of the French nation, and he also drew up a will, leaving all he possessed to his wife, and entrusting McNally with the protection of her interests. He wrote at the bottom of it, "Signed and sealed in the presence of my dearest friend, whose heart and principles ought to recommend him as a worthy citizen—Leonard McNally." These precious documents he entrusted, when

dying, to his friend, and about three weeks after the death of Jackson, McNally placed them in the hands of the Irish Government. . . .

‘As confidential lawyer of the United Irishmen, he had opportunities of information of the rarest kind. It is certain that he sometimes communicated to the Government the line of defence contemplated by his clients, and other information which he can only have received in professional confidence, and briefs annotated by his hand will be found among the Government papers at Dublin. He was also able, in a manner which was not less base, to furnish the Government with early and most authentic evidence about conspiracies which were forming in France. James Tandy, son of Napper Tandy, had been a brave and distinguished officer in the service of the East India Company, and although he had been a United Irishman in the beginning of the movement, he appears to have been very unlike his father both in character and opinions. McNally was his intimate friend, and by his means saw nearly every letter that arrived from Napper Tandy, and some of those which came from Rowan and Reynolds. The substance of these letters was regularly transmitted to the Government, and they sometimes contained information of much value. Besides this, as a lawyer in considerable practice, constantly going on circuit, and acquainted with the leaders of sedition, McNally had excellent opportunities of knowing the state of the country, and was able to give very valuable warnings about the prevailing dispositions.

‘Few men would have been thought less capable of long-continued deception than this good-humoured, brilliant, and mercurial lawyer; and in times when public feeling ran fiercely against all who were suspected of disloyalty, he was the most constant, and apparently the most devoted, defender of the United Irishmen. Curran, after a friendship of forty-three years, spoke of his “uncompromising and romantic fidelity,” and Curran’s son has left an emphatic testimony to his “many endearing traits.” Yet all this time he was in constant secret correspondence with the Government, and there are, I believe, not less than 150 of his letters in the Castle of Dublin.’ (Vol. vii. pp. 139–141.)

These letters were written in a beautiful handwriting and in excellent language. McNally told the Government that the most dangerous cause, pervading all classes, and almost universal among the upper classes of artists and mechanics in the cities, and of farmers in the country, was an attachment to French principles in politics and religion lately imbibed, and an ardent desire for a republican government. That was the key to the state of Ireland, and with this design the United Irishmen, whose meetings had been suppressed in 1794, reconstructed their society on a distinctly republican and treasonable basis.

Mr. Lecky devotes a great part of the first chapter of his seventh volume to what he terms the Fitzwilliam episode, which he regards as a great epoch in the history of Ireland.

To us it appears to be one of the most singular mystifications in Ministerial annals, and we hold all parties to be equally to blame for the want of a clear and definite understanding of what they meant. When several of the Whig leaders, the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Windham, joined the Administration of Mr. Pitt in 1794, they did so from their aversion to the Jacobinical principles of the French Revolution which were actively propagated in the United Kingdom, and from a desire to support the Government when engaged in war; but they never intended to desert those liberal principles which are the proudest traditions of the Whig party. In August 1794 Lord Fitzwilliam was induced reluctantly to accept the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, and arrangements were made to recall Lord Westmorland, who then filled that office to the satisfaction of Mr. Pitt. Strange to say, nothing definite was said or settled with reference to the great Irish questions of the day, Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform. The Duke of Portland, who knew Ireland, had ceased to think the moment favourable for Catholic emancipation; but his Whig colleagues were well known to be in favour of it. That alone renders it very unaccountable that Mr. Pitt should have pressed Lord Fitzwilliam to accept the office, unless he was prepared to adopt their policy, which was not the case. The only instruction given to the new Viceroy was that he should endeavour to ward off the Catholic question if possible; and if it were not possible, to take further instructions from England. There seems to have been no precise line of policy and no written explanation of it. Lord Fitzwilliam had no hesitation in adopting as his own the views of Grattan, who was the most formidable opponent of the existing Irish Administration; and even before his departure, it is evident that a warm dissension had broken out on the subject in the coalition. Yet no clear explanation followed. Strangest of all, whilst all this was going on, no one had acquainted the King with the views of the Cabinet or ascertained his own. Fitzwilliam landed in Ireland on January 5, 1795. The Parliament met on January 22. The first act of the Viceroy was to dismiss John Beresford, an important member of the governing party, and to propose the creation of an Irish Constabulary; Grattan immediately gave notice of a bill for the complete abolition of all religious distinctions, which was read a first time without a division. It seems incredible, but the fact is that it was not till February 5 that the King was informed, 'to his greatest astonishment,' that the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland had proposed a total and immediate change of government there—a change to which no man in the kingdom was less likely to assent than George III. It then became evident that Lord Fitzwilliam was acting without the approval of his colleagues and without the authority of the King. He ought obviously to have ascertained these points clearly before he accepted the office. When the truth came out, it was impossible that he should not be recalled, and within three months he left Ireland. All this is very mysterious and obscure. It is well known that Grattan had two interviews with Mr. Pitt, and was treated by the Minister with studied politeness. No record exists of these conversations, but it is evident that there was no real concert of measures, and Mr. Pitt drew up a memorandum, which is preserved to us in Lord Stanhope's life of him.* In this paper he began by observing that much the best event would be some arrangement which avoided Lord Fitzwilliam's going to Ireland, and added that he could only go on certain conditions:—1. A full explanation that all idea of new principles of government in Ireland is disclaimed or relinquished. 2. Complete security that Lord Fitzgibbon and all the supporters of Government shall not be displaced, and that adequate provisions should be made for Lord Westmorland and Mr. Douglas. These being the settled opinions of Mr. Pitt, it is clear that Lord Fitzwilliam cannot have been informed of them, since he proceeded to remove John Beresford from office the day after he arrived in Dublin, and immediately inaugurated an entirely new system of government in Ireland.

No doubt his recall had a disastrous effect on the state of the country, because the hopes of the Catholics had been excited to the highest pitch by the prospect of a liberal victory and by the language of Grattan, and from that date the revolution assumed a more serious character. Mr. Pitt cannot be acquitted of having allowed hopes to be raised which he was not prepared and not able to realise. But we are not equally convinced that the policy of Lord Fitzwilliam, if carried out, would have been as successful as Mr. Lecky supposes. No doubt these reforms were just and inevitable; the exclusion of the Catholics from office and from Parliament was impolitic and unjust; the constitution of the Irish House of Commons was abominably corrupt; but much depends on the mode in which the most salutary reforms are

* Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. ii. chap. xix.

effected. In the temper of the Irish at that moment, torn by republican principles and religious animosities, it is not improbable that the election of a Catholic Parliament would have led to civil war. Mr. Pitt was himself convinced of the necessity of Catholic emancipation and of the reform of the Irish Parliament; but we believe he had arrived at the conclusion that these objects were only to be accomplished by the union of the two countries in one Parliament, in which the Irish Catholics would be represented but not supreme, and the local corruption of Dublin would merge in the larger and purer atmosphere of Westminster.

This view of the case corresponds very nearly with that expressed in a letter from the Duke of Richmond of that day (who was a man of advanced democratic opinions) to his sister Lady Louisa Conolly, which Mr. Lecky has found in the Pelham papers. It is dated June 25, 1795, consequently soon after Lord Fitzwilliam's recall.

'The duke expressed his deep conviction that the existing bond between the two countries was utterly precarious, and could not possibly be permanent, and that the full admission of the Catholics to political power in the independent Parliament of a country in which they are the great majority, must lead, in time, to their ascendancy, to the ruin of the Protestants, to the ruin of the British Empire. Its first consequence, he said, would be the downfall of the Protestant establishment. The next would be the ruin of the landlords, for the Protestant ownership of land, which had been established by the Act of Settlement, the confiscations and the penal laws could not long survive a political revolution. The ascendant Catholics would then, very naturally, claim a Catholic king and government, which would mean separation from Great Britain, and separation would inevitably pass into hostility. All these calamities seemed impending in the near future, and the only possible way of averting them was the speedy enactment of a legislative union of the two countries. Under such an union, the Catholics would "only become a partial majority of a part of the Empire, and their claims must give way to the superior ones of the majority of the whole. . . . The whole argument and justice of the case, which was before in their favour, becomes against them, and the Protestant king, religion, and government may be maintained in Ireland."

'It may be said that the Catholics, perceiving this, will always resist an union, "and that they will be joined by the Protestants in opposing a measure so unpopular in Ireland, by which all parties will lose so much of their consequence. . . . But let the Protestants choose. It is, in my opinion, the only alternative they have, to carry such a measure, or to submit to the evils I have foretold, which will come on with rapid steps, and if they delay it, there will soon be no longer the Government that can do it. They had better, therefore, make this use of their power, while they yet have it, to secure, by one

bold measure, their property and future consequence." "But," continues the duke, "I think the Catholics, too, might in the present moment be got to concur in the plan, by bribing them high. . . . Bribed they must be, as after all it is clear that an union is the death-blow of their vast hopes, which they will only give up for some certain present and considerable advantage, and Great Britain cannot be too liberal in its terms of union with Ireland, as England was with Scotland, for although the lesser nation should gain many preferences and peculiar benefits, the larger obtains that great security, which overbalances every little distinction that can be granted."

'A passage follows which some readers will regard as very significant. "If there should be such opposition and resistance to this measure in Ireland, as to occasion a civil war, even that extremity, provided the Protestant interest of Ireland is hearty with us in the cause, would, in my opinion, be better, now that it can be fought on advantageous terms for such an object, than to let it arise a few years hence, inevitably as I think it must, on grounds we cannot maintain." The question, however, though it is one of deep importance to the future of the British Empire, is primarily a question for the Irish Protestants. "England may subsist without Ireland, but the Protestant interest in Ireland can be preserved, in my opinion, by no means but an union."' (Vol. vii. pp. 134, 135.)

Whether the conciliatory policy of which Lord Fitzwilliam was the unauthorised organ, but which was in fact the policy of Mr. Grattan, would have produced a permanent effect on the distracted condition of Ireland, can never be known. It would have produced temporary satisfaction, and rallied the upper class of the Catholics to the Government. But it may be observed that although the concessions thus proposed and withdrawn have long since been made, and all the gross abuses then existing in Ireland have been remedied, the anticipated pacification of the country has not followed. In 1795 the difficulties and dangers were incomparably greater than they now are, and they were not to be surmounted by simple legislative measures. The United Irish had formed themselves into a conspiracy, which contemplated nothing short of an invasion by French troops and a rebellion. Enormous bodies of men, estimated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald at 270,000, were armed. The 'Defenders' had joined the revolutionary party. Above all the Protestants of the North of Ireland were largely implicated in it, and the first signs of complete anarchy occurred in Ulster, where the battle of the Diamond was fought, and the Orangemen drove out the Catholics.

'The tension of anxiety in some parts of Ireland was intolerable, and it continued unabated for several years. Country gentlemen and respectable farmers found life impossible without a military guard,

while among the lower classes conspiracy in many districts was universal, though it is probable that most of the conspirators took the Defender oath merely in order to save themselves from depredation. The whole framework of society, and all the moral principles on which it rests, seemed giving way. Habits of systematic opposition to the law were growing up; outrages, sometimes of horrible cruelty, were looked upon merely as incidents of war, and savage animosities were forming. It is difficult, in a tranquil and well-organised community, adequately to realise the strain of such a state of society on the nerves and characters even of the most courageous men. Isolated, or almost isolated, in the midst of an alien population, not knowing whom they could trust, or how far the conspiracies around them extended, with perpetual rumours of invasion, rebellion, and intended massacre floating around them, the Irish country gentlemen were supported by none of the fierce excitement which nerves the soldier in the hour of battle.' (Vol. vii. pp. 150, 151.)

Such was the state of the country when the Irish Parliament passed an Insurrection Act, the most severe and comprehensive in Irish history.

* The Act made it death to administer, transportation for life voluntarily to take, a seditious oath. It compelled the production of all arms for registration, changed in several important respects the criminal procedure, and enabled the Lord Lieutenant and Council, upon a memorial from the magistrates, to proclaim particular districts as in a state of disturbance. In proclaimed districts, the inhabitants were forbidden to be out of their houses from one hour after sunset until sunrise, and justices of the peace were empowered to search all houses during the prohibited hours, to ascertain whether the inmates were abroad, or whether arms were concealed. They might also demand the surrender even of registered arms, and there were stringent clauses against "tumultuous assemblies" by daytime, against meetings by night in publichouses, against men and women who sold seditious and unstamped papers. All these clauses might be fully justified.' (Vol. vii. pp. 196, 197.)

This Act passed without opposition in an Irish House of Commons, and in the presence of an active, and in some respects a spirited and intelligent, Opposition, whose chief objection to it was that it did not meet every possible case of aggression. If we contrast the tremendous struggle which was then going on, marked by a thousand acts of sanguinary violence and retribution, in the midst of a disastrous foreign war, exhausted finances, and a mutinous fleet, with the occurrences that agitate the minds of men at the present day, when the casual death of a rioter is called a massacre, and a head broken in a Tipperary mob is a 'damnable' crime, we are tempted to marvel at the excessive exaggeration of contemporary events.

Mr. Lecky is a warm admirer of Grattan, and he cherishes the belief that the policy of Lord Fitzwilliam and Grattan would have averted innumerable ills. To us Grattan appears to have been the Girondin of the Irish revolution. His eloquence and patriotism were undoubted, and had made him the leader of the Opposition in the Irish Parliament; but his influence in the country was comparatively small; he refused to become a United Irishman; he condemned and detested the republican principles and the French alliance of the Nationalists; the remedies he proposed would not reach the sore; all his efforts failed; and at the close of the rebellion he fell under the gravest unpopularity on both sides, which drove him for a time from public life, and even from Ireland. He appears to have underrated the magnitude of the perils with which the Government in Ireland had to deal, and which the English Ministers of the Crown were slow to comprehend.

Of these perils the greatest was the probability of a French invasion of Ireland, which the Directory, persuaded by Tone, was not unwilling to attempt, not from any peculiar sympathy with the Irish, but as the most effectual means of injuring their enemy, Great Britain. It was admitted on all hands that an Irish insurrection had no chance of success unless it was backed by French troops and supplied with French arms; and the chief contention was whether the rebellion should precede the invasion or the invasion give the signal of insurrection. The first object of the Irish Nationalist party was therefore to introduce a French army into the heart of their country.

‘Tone represented to the French Ministers that it was hopeless to expect a successful, or even a considerable, independent Irish rebellion, but that if a French army effected a lodgment in Ireland, and if they brought with them a large quantity of arms for distribution, they would certainly be joined at once by the great body of the Presbyterians and of the Catholic peasantry, and, on the first reasonable prospect of success, by the whole, or the majority, of the Irish militia. If 20,000 French troops were landed, success, he said, would be certain, and almost without resistance. In that case, the landing should be effected near Dublin, which could most easily be captured. The smallest force that could be expected to succeed was 5,000 men, and if the French determined not to exceed this number, they must land as near Belfast as possible, push forward, so as to secure the Mourne Mountains and the Fews, which, with Lough Erne, would enable them to cover the whole province of Ulster, and then endeavour to hold their ground till the country was in arms to support them. The chance of success, in that case, would be greatly increased if a small additional force could

be landed in Galway Bay, could secure a line of defence on the Shannon, and could produce a rising in Connaught. If a smaller force was sent, he begged that he might be allowed to accompany it, but he was of opinion that success would be hopeless, as it would be crushed before a rising could be effected. There were, he believed, exclusive of the militia, nine regiments of dragoons, two regiments of troops of the line, and eighteen of fencibles in Ireland, but the regiments of the line were probably mere skeletons, sent to Ireland to recruit; there were certainly not more than 500 men in each regiment of fencibles, and he doubted whether the whole regular military force exceeded 12,000 men.* There were 18,000 militia, but 16,000 of them were Catholics, and a great proportion were sworn Defenders.' (Vol. vii. pp. 242, 243.)

Amongst other strange and misleading statements of Tone, he assured the French Government that 200,000 men had been raised by Britain in Ireland in the preceding two years, of whom 80,000 were for the navy alone, and that two-thirds of the British navy were manned by Irishmen! In point of fact it was proved by an official return that Ireland had furnished within the period mentioned 38,658 men for the service of the war, of whom 11,457 were for the navy and 4,058 for the marines.

Mr. Lecky points out in an interesting passage that the sailors, prisoners of war in France, to whom liberty was offered on condition of their serving on the French fleet, rejected that offer, with the exception of some fifty Irishmen. Far different was the feeling of those gallant Irish soldiers who had fought for a century under the French standard. They abhorred the Revolution, and the exiled descendants of the Irish Jacobites found a refuge under the British flag. In 1794 the Duke of Portland invited the Duke of Fitzjames into the English service, with the regiment of the Marshal de Berwick and the Irish brigade, on the same terms as in the service of His Christian Majesty. The offer was gladly accepted, and soon afterwards some of the officers came to Ireland to recruit. It must be added, however, that the terms of this offer were not kept as they ought to have been, which Mr. Pelham described as a 'most shocking and disgraceful thing.'

Misled by the statements of Tone, the Directory resolved on an expedition. The command was given to Hoche, the most brilliant of the young generals of the army. On

* This estimate was grossly exaggerated. We shall show further on that there were scarcely any regular military forces of the British army in Ireland.

December 15, 1796, the fleet sailed from Brest for Bantry Bay. It consisted of 17 ships of the line, 13 frigates, some smaller vessels, in all 43 sail, carrying about 15,000 soldiers, and a large supply of arms and ammunition. The narrative of this brief and inglorious campaign is one of the most animated parts of Mr. Lecky's history. But the particulars are well known. The fleet was scattered by a storm soon after it reached the coast of Ireland. Hoche himself lost sight of his comrades. The navigation was unskilful, and one ship was lost on a rock. A landing was impracticable; the admiral and general quarrelled; and before the end of the month the scattered divisions of the fleet made all sail for Br st. To us the most-interesting and instructive part of the story is that which concerns this country.

‘It was a strange and startling thing, that a great French fleet should have been able to sail unmolested to the coast of Ireland, to remain in an Irish bay for five whole days, and then to return to France without encountering an English fleet. In one respect, however, the expedition was very reassuring. It furnished a most valuable, if not decisive, test of the disposition of the Catholics in the South of Ireland, and some test of the disposition of those in the other parts of the kingdom, and their conduct appears to me to show clearly that, although treason had of late years been zealously propagated among them, its influence was as yet very superficial. An invasion had long been expected. Rumours of a coming French army, which was to emancipate the people from tithes and rents and English rule, had been industriously spread through the Catholic population, and as soon as the fleet appeared in Bantry Bay, the gravity of the crisis was fully understood. If disloyalty had really reached the point which the United Irish leaders imagined, and which some subsequent historians have supposed, it could scarcely have failed under such circumstances to have risen to the surface, and an immediate explosion might have been expected. But all the evidence we possess concurs in showing that the great body of the Catholics did not at this time show the smallest wish to throw off the English rule, and that their spontaneous and unforced sympathies were with the British flag. . . .

‘It is a memorable fact that Cork, Galway, and Limerick, the great centres of Irish Catholicism, the cities where at the present time the spirit of sedition is probably most formidable, vied with one another in 1796 in proofs of loyalty to the English Government when a French fleet was on the coast. It is a not less memorable fact, that the town which then showed the worst spirit was undoubtedly Belfast, the capital of the most advanced Irish Protestantism, and in the present day one of the most loyal cities of Ireland. Camden described it as the only town where bad dispositions had been shown.’ (Vol. vii. pp. 265–268.)

Contrary to all the assurances of the revolutionary party, the Catholic population of the South showed the utmost loyalty and zeal in the defence of the country, and if the French had landed, although they might have had a temporary success, few of them would have left the island. But what is far more astonishing and incredible is the entire apathy and want of preparation of the British Government at this crisis. The invasion had long been threatened and prepared. The French fleet was a large one, yet it crossed in five or six days from Brest to Bantry Bay without meeting a single sail of the British navy. Tone was well aware that if they did encounter the British vessels the result would be fatal; but the Channel was crossed with absolute impunity. The military preparations on shore were equally defective. General Dalrymple was entirely without means, even for the defence of Cork; 3,000 men and two guns was all he could muster, and it was due to the elements and the clumsiness of the French that the second city in Ireland did not fall into their hands.

This is a lesson not to be forgotten. We trust that it will never again happen that the sea round these islands is unguarded; but it also deserves consideration that there is at present not one fortress in Ireland which would afford a sufficient base for the operations of an army of defence, or even for the protection of the material of war, guns, ammunition, and food.

Fortunately for us, the project of invasion was revived eighteen months later, and an opportunity occurred to vindicate the honour of the British flag. This second expedition was to sail, and did sail, from Holland, in Dutch vessels, commanded by Dutch officers, Holland being then prostrated and allied to the French. The scheme was a wild one, for this fleet would have had to sail round Scotland to reach the Irish coast; but it may serve as a warning of the extreme importance of the independence of Holland to this country. Adverse winds delayed the sailing of this fleet; but in October De Winter left the Texel to encounter Duncan off Scheveningen, and the great victory of Camperdown swept away the Dutch naval power, the visionary schemes of Tone, and one of the dangers that threatened this empire. It is remarkable that the latest actual attempts at the invasion of the United Kingdom were entirely due to the zeal and address of a drunken Irishman, animated by a ferocious hatred of his British fellow

countrymen, and a passionate desire to throw Ireland into the arms of revolutionary France.

Mr. Lecky has drawn a somewhat apologetic character of Wolfe Tone, with which we cannot agree. Tone's own memoirs have long been known to us, and by them he must be judged. He had courage and perseverance in a bad cause, based on the wildest delusions, all of which ended in failure. He succeeded in imparting them to many of the enemies of England, including such men as Carnot and Hoche; but he inflicted great calamities on his native country, and the name of Tone is seldom mentioned among the patriotic martyrs of Irish independence.

No further serious effort was made by France during the war to sever Ireland from Great Britain, and Bonaparte treated the intrigues and offers of the Irish with supreme contempt. In the negotiations at Lille in 1797 not a word was said on behalf of Ireland. She was, as Mr. Lecky observes, but a pawn in the French game, and in endeavouring to convulse her with civil war, France looked to no other object than the temporary embarrassment of the enemy. Yet after the failure of these important expeditions the hopes of French assistance were not altogether abandoned by the Irish, and a couple of flying attacks were hazarded on the coast.

General Humbert sailed in a couple of vessels with 1,000 men, just after the suppression of the rebellion, and effected a landing in Killala Bay. He took the town and defeated a superior force of Irish militia, who showed by their ignominious flight their utter inability to face a real enemy. He even advanced to Castlebar and took that town, and it was not till he was surrounded by the forces of Cornwallis that his little band, reduced to 885 men, was compelled to surrender. Napper Tandy's expedition in the 'Anacreon' was still more desperate and abortive. Tone himself sailed for Ireland in the autumn of 1798 on board a French ship of the line, the 'Hoche,' with a military force of 3,000 men. An English squadron, under Sir John Warren, bore down on the invaders, and after a severe action the 'Hoche' struck her flag. Tone was captured, tried by court-martial in Dublin, and condemned to death; but he anticipated his execution by cutting his throat with a penknife. Mr. Lecky's narrative of these adventurous expeditions is exceedingly animated and interesting. It deserves remark that in every case the invaders when they landed received

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no efficient support or encouragement from the Irish population.

The chief perils of Ireland were not from abroad, but in the heart of the country.

‘It would be difficult to conceive a more dreary or a more ignoble picture than Ireland at this time presented. The Parliament had lost almost every quality of a representative body ; the Government was at once bigoted and corrupt, and steadily opposed to the most moderate and most legitimate reforms ; and in three provinces almost every county was filled with knots of conspirators and incendiaries, who were trying to bring down on their country a foreign invasion, and were stirring up the people to rebellion and to crime. A few of them were men of genuine enthusiasm, and real, though certainly not extraordinary, talent ; but the great majority were mere demagogues, adventurers, and criminals—such men as in days of anarchy and revolution ever rise to the surface—and scarcely one of them had the smallest right or title to speak as the representative of the nation. In the meantime, the country as a whole presented the most melancholy of all spectacles, that of general, rapid, and profound demoralisation. Religious animosities were steadily increasing. The old ties of reverence and affection, which, in spite of many unhappy circumstances, had bound the poor to the rich, were giving way. Crimes were multiplying, and they were constantly assuming a character of savage ferocity, while organised outrage was encountered by a military repression which often exceeded the limits of the law, led to horrible abuses, and was fast demoralising the forces that were employed in it. It was evident that there was no sentiment in the great mass of the poorer Catholics that was sufficiently powerful to be turned into a serious political movement, or to bring armed forces into the field, though there was a vague dislike to the English face and name, which was now being steadily fanned. But in 1797, as in later periods, political agitators found it necessary for their purposes to appeal to other than political motives—to agrarian grievances and agrarian cupidity ; to religious passions ; to the discontent produced by the pressure of poverty in a population which was very poor ; to the panic which skilful falsehood could easily create in a population which was very ignorant. All these engines were systematically, unscrupulously, and successfully employed, and what in one sphere was politics, in another soon turned into ordinary crime. Camden noticed in June, that the first leaders of the conspiracy seemed to have in some degree lost their ascendancy, and that “a set of lower mechanics” had “the greatest sway.” “The plan of acting under an oath of secrecy,” he added, “induces in itself such necessary caution, and the regular system of committees is so detailed, that it becomes extremely easy to act upon it,” and the intervention of the leaders was in consequence little needed. McNally noticed that the plan of committees and “splits” was carrying the wish for French invasion, the military spirit, and the hatred of England through all the common people.’ (Vol. vii. pp. 380, 381.)

Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor were at the head of the revolutionary party in Dublin, whilst the most violent schemes of insurrection were agitated, all which were duly reported to the Government by McNally. For once the Castle was on its guard, and momentary tranquillity was secured by the appointment of Sir Ralph Abercromby to the command of the forces. The first duty of that able officer was to endeavour to bring back the army within the limits of legality, and to put an end to the scandalous outrages which were commonly occurring. He declared in a proclamation, which he was afterwards compelled to revoke in part, that 'the army had been unfortunately proved 'to be in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to everyone but the enemy,' and his efforts to restore discipline were highly laudable. In truth the army he denounced was no army at all, but a confused mass of scattered bands of irregular troops. But this stern language raised a violent cabal against him, and he resigned the command. It was a calamitous event, calculated, as Lord Camden wrote, 'to shake his Majesty's interests in Ireland,' for had Abercromby remained he might have moderated the excesses that followed the insurrection, though we do not believe that he would have prevented it. On the contrary, his inaction at the most critical moment preceding the outbreak materially assisted the plans of the insurgents. He appears from his own letters not to have had a suspicion of the magnitude of the conspiracy which encompassed him; and he placed himself in opposition to the civil government, although he knew nothing of the political situation. Lord Camden treated him with the utmost consideration, and entreated him not to resign the command. It is not accurate to say that he was recalled; and we cannot but regard the abrupt retirement of a general officer from motives of pique, on the verge of a conflict, as a grave breach of public duty. We are certain that Arthur Wellesley, however he might have to complain of the civil government, would have scorned to act in that manner. It is fortunate that the gallant service and glorious death of Abercromby on the sands of Aboukir have effaced the recollection of his brief command in Ireland.

It cannot fail to strike an impartial observer of Irish affairs that all the acts of oppression, acts of violence, and crimes, whether public or private, which stain the annals of that unhappy island, are the result of a conflict of Irish factions, inflicted by no alien hand, but by the Irish themselves on their own countrymen. Dr. Duigenan expressly

states that 'the suppression of this bloody and wasteful rebellion was effected solely by the troops, militia, and yeomanry of Ireland, *without any assistance whatever from England.*' It was remarked by Sir George Trevelyan, before the remembrance of his own Irish administration had faded from his mind, that 'Ireland consists of two nations,' and the chief function of the British Government is to keep the peace between them. In that duty the British Government of 1798 signally failed. Mr. Lecky does not supply us with a complete statement of the military forces of the Crown at the outbreak of the rebellion, but they consisted almost exclusively of Irish militia and yeomanry corps. One Scotch regiment and one battalion of Durham Fencibles are named, whose exemplary conduct formed a striking contrast to that of their Irish comrades. The English troops employed later consisted chiefly of militia regiments, who volunteered for the service. One regiment of cavalry was sent.* The Bill for enabling British militia to serve in Ireland was not passed till the 19th of July, 1798.

During the first three weeks of the rebellion not a British soldier was landed in Ireland, and shortly afterwards Lord Camden writes that unless 10,000 men can be sent at once the country is lost. In point of fact the Irish troops of the Crown were burning with passions quite as violent as those of the rebel camps. The ferocity on both sides was the same. Civil war raged with none of the restraints of civilised warfare. The anarchy of the North had been kindled by sympathy with the war of American independence, and by the principles of the French Revolution, which were the moving forces of Tone and his confederates. These were heightened by religious bigotry, and the inveterate belief of Catholics and Protestants, which exists to this day, that each sect is capable of murdering and exterminating its rival. In the South the Catholic priests took the lead; the most credulous and superstitious peasantry in Europe followed the Cross and massacred with the fury of a St.

* Mr. Froude states with more precision that of one kind or another the Government had under its command nearly 40,000 men. But they were of doubtful quality. Of British regiments there were scarcely any; a Welsh Fencible regiment, a Durham regiment, and a regiment or two of Scotch militia were nearly the whole. The Irish militia, 18,000 strong, were all Catholics, and the utmost uncertainty was felt as to their probable conduct. The Irish yeomanry, most of them, though not all, were well disposed, but untrained. (Froude's 'English in Ireland,' Book X. ch. i.)

Bartholomew's day. Their violence turned the current of the Northern revolution, and the Protestant yeomanry and militia swept down on Wexford and the South with the zeal of crusaders. The result was a series of revolting crimes and atrocities, which are equally disgraceful to both parties in this unnatural contest.

The fatal error of the British Government was that it did not maintain in Ireland a sufficient force of regular troops, under strict military discipline. This may in some measure be accounted for by the pressure of the war and the exhaustion of the resources of the country. The two Hessian regiments sent to Ireland behaved with excessive brutality. Joseph Holt, one of the last of the rebels who maintained for three months a guerilla warfare in the Wicklow hills, has left in his memoirs a striking picture of the contests in which he took a part.

‘Holt was a brave and skilful rebel leader—perhaps the most skilful who appeared in Ireland during the rebellion—but he cannot by any possibility be regarded as an Irish patriot. He has himself most candidly declared that he was absolutely indifferent to the political questions that were supposed to be at issue in the rebellion, and that he would in fact have preferred to have been on the other side. Like great numbers of his followers, he was a rebel because, having fallen under suspicion, his house had been burnt, and the mountains seemed his only refuge. The picture he gives of the barbarities on both sides is probably drawn with no unfaithful touch. “The scenes of cruelty I witnessed,” he says, “at this period are beyond human belief and comprehension. . . . Many of the cruelties of the rebels were in retaliation of the previous enormities committed upon them by the yeomanry, who in their turn revenged themselves with increased acrimony, and thus all the kindlier and best feelings of humanity were eradicated. . . . Human victims were everywhere sacrificed to the demon of revenge, and their mutilated carcasses exhibited with savage ferocity. . . . Many of the corps of yeomanry were a disgrace to humanity and the colour of their cloth. The rebels were not less atrocious or refined in their cruelties, but they were excited by the heads and hands above them, and considered their acts meritorious; few of them were really sensible of the true character of what they did. They were wild, uncultivated, ignorant creatures whom it was difficult to control and impossible to keep in discipline when excited.” Many “became rebels unwillingly, feeling acutely the wrongs and oppression they had suffered. They grew more like enraged tigers than men, and woe to the unhappy yeoman who fell into their power; he was instantly put to death, often by a cruel and attenuated torture. The soldiers of the regular army, in a great degree from acting with the yeomanry, caught their feelings, and indulged in cruelties with an avenging spirit, but, generally speaking, the animosity existed in the breast of the Irish peasant in its most exaggerated

character against the yeomanry. The murder in cold blood of an Orangeman or yeoman, was considered by the rebels a meritorious act of justice, and that of a rebel by the loyal party as no crime. . . . Each party accused the other of cruelty and barbarous inhumanity, and the accusation on both sides was just. Each were guilty, atrociously guilty, but each justified himself with the idea that his abominable acts were but the just retaliation of previous wrongs." (Vol. viii. pp. 237, 238.)

We do not propose to follow Mr. Lecky into the evidence which he has collected in great abundance describing the actual progress of the rebellion in the two months of June and July 1798, during which it raged with unabated violence. The horrors of Wexford Bridge, of the barn at Scullabogue, and the rout at Vinegar Hill, have been related in many works with greater terseness and with equal power. Suffice it to say that war was waged on both sides with the ferocity of savages inflamed by religious hatred and political fear. Our object is rather to point out the political results of the contest. It deserves, however, to be noted that the direct loss of life during the two months' struggle was estimated by Newenham, a calm and capable judge, at about 15,000. He says that 1,600 of the King's troops fell in the field, and 11,000 of the rebels. About 400 loyal persons were massacred or assassinated, and 2,000 rebels were exiled or hanged. The most horrible feature was the great number of helpless, unarmed men who were either deliberately murdered by the rebels or shot down by the troops. The atrocious crimes of 1641 were repeated, which caused, as we believe, a still greater loss of life.

But the troubles of the Government did not cease with the termination of actual warfare. Whilst Dublin was celebrating a victory with Orange ribbons and loyalist songs, the savage spirit in the country was little, if at all, diminished. Numberless outrages and murders were committed in spite of the strenuous efforts of Lord Cornwallis to repress and punish them; a reign of terror prevailed over the counties which had been desolated by the rebellion for months after armed resistance had ceased, and Cornwallis wrote (in September) that 'the Irish militia, from their repeated misbehaviour in the field and their extreme licentiousness, had fallen into universal contempt and abhorrence.'

An Amnesty Act was passed in 1798 in favour of rebels who surrendered their arms and returned to their allegiance; but it excepted men guilty of murders and deserters, and

all persons who had treasonably conspired since 1795 with the enemy to bring about an invasion. The gaols were full of untried prisoners, and it was not easy to know what to do with them, though a subsequent Act prescribed banishment from the King's dominions as the most appropriate punishment. It was first intended to send some of them to America, but the American Government refused to receive them; and Rufus King, the American Minister in London, officially declared that the President would not suffer any of the traitors from Ireland to land in America! A considerable number were sent to Botany Bay, where Governor King writes that the seditious spirit among the convicts had risen to a great height, and in 1804 a serious Irish rebellion broke out in New South Wales, which was not suppressed without bloodshed—as usual, on the information of an old Irish rebel. It is curious to mark how the crows come home to roost, and how the seeds of Irish disaffection were planted by the Government at the Antipodes to bear fruit in our own time.

As the storm gradually abated—although the danger of a French invasion and the commission of atrocious crimes, especially by the ‘houghers’ of cattle, had not ceased—the paramount question arose, ‘How is the government of Ireland to be carried on?’ Cornwallis was blamed for his leniency to the insurgents. The popularity of Grattan was lost. The Irish Parliament was despised for its corruption and exclusiveness. During its eighteen years’ existence it had done nothing to reform its own gross abuses, to open its doors to the Catholics, to educate the people, to pay the priests, or even to maintain order except by Coercion Acts of excessive severity. The relations of the Irish Government with that of England were ambiguous and precarious. All men agreed that it was impossible that such a state of things, which had just culminated in a rebellion, could go on. What was to be substituted for it? At a moment when three-fifths of the population were furiously hostile, some longing for a French alliance, some for an Irish republic, some for Catholic ascendancy, it was impossible to contemplate measures which would have created a Catholic and disaffected Parliament. It was equally impossible to maintain an exclusive Protestant Parliament, filled by borough-mongers and notoriously subservient to the Castle—a Parliament which, in fact, did not represent the Irish people at all. The answer to these questions is that the Union was the only conceivable solution of an inextricable difficulty;

and, in our opinion, the best argument for the measure was its absolute necessity. It deserves remark that not one of the able and eloquent men who opposed it with all their power appears to have suggested any rational alternative, or any other means of reforming the whole system of government which would not have led to civil war. In fact, it was clearly apparent to Lord Camden, Lord Cornwallis, and Mr. Pitt, as it was to Sir George Trevelyan a short time ago, that there was no half way house between union and separation.

The idea of a union of the two Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland was not a novelty. It had been advocated by Sir William Petty in a work published in the eventful year 1691. In 1703 both Houses of Parliament in Ireland concurred in a representation to the Queen in favour of a legislative union between England and Ireland; and the Scotch Union in 1707 strengthened this desire, which was supported by such men as Archbishop King, Sir W. Cox, and Bishop Nicholson. In the next fifty or sixty years it was advocated by many English and Irish writers, and, above all, Adam Smith declared that 'without a union with Great Britain, the inhabitants of Ireland were not likely for many ages to consider themselves one people.' Amongst English statesmen the idea was occasionally discussed, though Chatham was opposed to it, chiefly on the ground of *the bad effect it would exercise on the composition of the British Parliament*. The Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Portland, Lord Temple, and the Duke of Rutland, successive Viceroy, all arrived at the conclusion that, without an incorporating union, the connexion of Great Britain and Ireland could not long be maintained. Lord Camden, Lord Lansdowne, Wilberforce, and Lord North held the same views, and even George III. looked with favour on the measure, which had long been contemplated by Mr. Pitt.

On the other hand, no single fact, says Mr. Lecky, is more apparent in the Irish history of the last half of the century than the strong and vehement dread of a Union in Ireland. He adds:—

'If the judgement I have formed be correct, the public opinion of Ireland up to the beginning of the French war was practically unanimous in opposition to any scheme of Union, and it ran so strongly that no such proposal could have been made without the most imminent danger. In the period between 1793 and the outbreak of the rebellion, the Irish Parliament had been much discredited, and the alarms and

dangers of the time had shaken many, but still there was no Irish party which would have ventured openly to support an Union. But the scenes of horror which were comprised in the six weeks of the rebellion had produced a great change in the political aspect of Ireland, and the Government calculated that if they pressed on the Union without delay, they would find two strong, broad currents of genuine opinion in its favour.

‘One of these sprang from the alarm of the Protestants for their Church, their property, and even their lives; from their conviction that their safety depended wholly upon the presence of a great English force, and that it was therefore their most vital interest to bind themselves as closely as possible to their protector. The other grew out of the resentment, the panic, and the hopes of the Catholics, who found an insulting and lawless spirit of Orange ascendancy spreading on all sides, and the bitterest enemies of the Catholic cause supreme in the Parliament. The hope of passing under a more tolerant rule, the gratification of humiliating those who had humiliated them, the anger which was naturally produced by the burning of chapels and houses, and by the Orange badges that were flaunted on every side, and the prospect of obtaining from the Imperial Parliament the emancipation which appeared more and more remote in the Parliament of Ireland, had given many Catholic minds an undoubted bias in favour of the Union.’ (Vol. viii. pp. 298, 299.)

These remarks are followed by a very elaborate and extended analysis of the arguments used on both sides, both in the press and in debate.

In Ireland the independence of the local Parliament was supported by the strong pride and passion of nationality, which seemed to be irresistible. The contest was, and is in fact, one which is as old as the history of our race. It is the old contest between the spirit of local sovereignty (to which the Germans have given a particular name) and the spirit of empire. It prevailed with the utmost intensity in ancient Greece, where every city and every island clung to its local independence and wasted its strength in continual warfare, inasmuch that there was no Hellenic Empire until the Macedonian and the Roman crushed the liberties of divided Greece. In Rome the strength of the Republic and the Empire gained ground by the slow and gradual annexation and incorporation of tribal and provincial communities in Italy and beyond the Alps, till she became the mistress of the world. In modern Italy the contrary result followed: there, too, every city and every petty state sacrificed the strength and unity of the nation to the passion of Home Rule. Even in mediæval France it was long before the unity of the kingdom conquered the independence of the provinces. In Germany

local sovereignty continued down to our own times to assert its rights by civil war, and the great fabric of the Empire is the achievement of the last few years. The recent civil war of the United States was the struggle between local sovereignty and the power of the Union. Everywhere the lesson is the same. The local sovereignty of subordinate communities can only be maintained by the sacrifice of peace, prosperity, and power, and of the benefits an Imperial State has alone the power to confer on a united people. The spirit of parochial nationality is strongest where men are weakest. In such communities there may be much national conceit, but there can be no national greatness, and a lurking sense of inequality begets in them an excessive jealousy of their more powerful neighbours. The tendency of civilisation and good government is to bind more closely together the interest of cognate races acknowledging a common sovereign; and to break those ties is a step on the way to international feuds, if not to the ruin of an empire.

What the Union offered and gave to Ireland was in lieu of the limited powers and resources of a provincial legislature, a large share of representation and power in the supreme Council of the Empire—an influential voice in the maintenance or overthrow of the ministers of the Crown, which no Irish Parliament possessed—freedom of trade with the nearest and richest country in the world—and a large control over the finances of the Empire and the policy of the State. One thing was unhappily omitted in 1800, namely, the gift of religious equality, which justice to the Catholics and true statesmanship alike demanded. That was an essential part of the design of Mr. Pitt, which he had not the power to accomplish; and the omission of that article marred the success of all the rest. Mr. Lecky thinks that Mr. Pitt should have forced the King to accept his policy, and that he was bound not to resign. But he does not lay sufficient stress on the fact that, in Mr. Pitt's opinion, that course would have driven George III. into insanity. The true cause of the failure was the state of the King's obstinate and disordered intellect. This was no mere apprehension, it was an actual occurrence. Mr. Pitt's letter to the King announcing the change in his policy was written on the 31st of January; the King's peremptory refusal, on religious grounds, on the following day. On the 17th of February the King was ill; on the 22nd he was in a high phrensy fever, and a Regency was talked of; on the

2nd of March his life was despaired of, but this was the crisis of the disease, and from that moment his recovery was rapid. On the 6th of March Mr. Pitt caused it to be intimated to the King, through Dr. Willis, that *he would never again raise the Catholic question during his Majesty's reign.* It was held by men of all parties that it was impossible to override the King's scruples by a Parliamentary majority, which would have cost him his reason and his life. These are facts which should have been noted by Mr. Lecky; and although we sincerely deplore the result, which deferred Catholic Relief for thirty years, it is evident that Mr. Pitt at least had no alternative, and he vindicated his own sincerity by resigning office.

Whatever may have been the failure then, it has been largely redeemed in more recent times. The Test Act has been repealed; the Catholic Relief Act has been carried; the Anglican Church has been disestablished; all offices have been opened to all men; the entire administration of Ireland is carried on by Irishmen, with the occasional exception of the Viceroy, who represents the Sovereign, and his Chief Secretary. In place of the licentious militia and yeomanry of 1798, public order is maintained by an admirable civil Irish Constabulary, paid in great part by England. A broad system of national education has now been established for more than fifty years, also paid in great part by England. Immense sums of money have been voted by the united Parliament for public works in Ireland and for the relief of distress. A system of poor-law relief has been created. The municipal corporations of Ireland have been reformed. Land Acts have been passed which, however indefensible on sound principles of public economy, were at least framed with a view to the welfare of the Irish people. With these results before us—and at this very moment still larger measures in favour of the Irish agrarian population are before Parliament, which are gratefully received by the Irish people—we fearlessly assert that the united Parliament has done infinitely more for Ireland than any local Parliament could have attempted to accomplish.

It is a striking example of the fallacies of statesmanship, that few, if any, of the prognostications of the leading men of the time, whether sinister or sanguine, have been realised by the events, except, perhaps, that of Lord Chatham. No doubt the Bill for the Union was carried through the Irish Parliament by corrupt means and influence. Lord Cornwallis

abhorred the dirty work he was compelled to perform, but he was compelled to perform it by a higher sense of duty, that is, of duty to a higher object. There are many things which men may be compelled to do, though they are painful and odious. The stratagems of war, the destruction of life and property by hostile acts, are acts which no man would willingly resort to ; but they may be necessary to save or defend a State. The British Ministers were absolutely convinced that a legislative Union was the only means by which Ireland could be saved from her own factions and defended against the foreign enemy with whom we were at war. It was the utter demoralisation of the Irish which forced the Viceroy and his advisers to have recourse to means of influence which they themselves disapproved, unless the Irish Parliament were to be dissolved, as Cromwell had extinguished it, by an act of summary authority and violence, which would have been far more objectionable. And, in fact, the representation of the people of Ireland was not dissolved or extinguished ; it was transferred and extended on far broader and more popular principles from a provincial to an imperial sphere of action. The liberties of the people of Ireland have not been contracted but extended by the Union, to a degree of which no man in the Irish House of Commons had a conception in 1799.

Every page of Mr. Lecky's book attests the fact that the Irish insurrection of 1798, and the numerous conspiracies which had existed some years before, were all based on the confident hope of assistance from France, then at war with this country, and that the majority of the Defenders and United Irishmen were ready to transfer their allegiance from King George to the French revolutionary Republic. Without French aid in men, arms, and money, it was perfectly well known that rebellion was hopeless. The French cared nothing for the rights or liberties of Ireland, and their expeditions were ludicrous failures. They had played the same game with the Scotch Jacobites in 1715 and 1745 ; but the delusion prevailed to the last. To the British Government the danger of invasion was ever present, and it was one of the leading motives of their policy. Men like Tone and his followers were not only rebels to the law, but traitors to the empire.

To the reader of the present day the interest of the work before us consists not so much in the record of events and debates which occurred nearly a century ago, as in the application of the lesson to the politics in which we

are ourselves engaged. Ireland has unquestionably none of the causes of irritation and complaint in 1890 that it had in 1798, and there is this all-important difference between the two periods, that at the close of the last century hostility to England pervaded, more or less, almost all classes of the Irish people. The North, with its Presbyterians and Republicans, was not less bitter and disturbed than the Catholic peasantry of the South. The body of United Irishmen had been founded and was led by men of rank, property, and influence. At the present time, we may say with confidence that the immense majority of the landowners, the learned professions, the mercantile classes, and the Protestants, with not a few eminent Catholics, are staunch supporters of the Union. The Vatican itself has condemned the proceedings of the Nationalists, as contrary to public morality. Mr. Parnell has never succeeded in enlisting in his band a single adherent above the level of the merest political adventurers who live by the iniquitous trade of agitation. He cannot even boast of a following such as was led by Mr. O'Connell. It has lost in weight more than it has gained in numbers. No man who is not dead to the sense of truth and honour can consent without a blush to be herded with such confederates, and recent events have shaken to the root a profligate alliance which cast disgrace on a section of the Liberal party.

But there is this similarity between the rising of 1798 and the agitation of 1890, that it relies mainly on foreign support, and the new agent which has come into play is that, in place of French invasions, we have to deal with American organisation and American subsidies. It is practically admitted that the agitation could not be kept alive without them. The Nationalist party, as it calls itself, is denationalised by foreign mendicancy. There is no genuine hostility to the Union now existing in Ireland. It has done its work by rallying to the empire all that is most intelligent and respected in the island. The movement which still prevails is purely artificial; it is supported with great difficulty by professional agitators who owe their subsistence to the credulity of a part of the American population, and its influence is confined to the peasantry and the priests. We have no doubt that these practices, these conspiracies on a foreign soil, which do not recoil from dynamite and murder, even of their own adepts, are condemned by the wiser heads in the United States. They are not without danger, and under certain circumstances might lead to serious differences

between the two great countries. The Americans have shown with what resolution, and by what sacrifices, they determined to maintain their Federal Union against a rebellion infinitely more formidable than an Irish insurrection, for it was that of the entire South against the North; and it is one of the strangest inconsistencies of history that the secession of an Irish confederacy from Great Britain should find its chief support in a friendly country on the other side of the Atlantic. If England had done half as much in support of the South as has been done by the Irish Americans and tolerated by the American Government, war would probably have ensued between the two countries. The war between France and England which broke out in 1778 was the result of the assistance given by France to the American colonists.

We cannot profess to feel, except as a matter of historical enquiry, any very strong interest in the opinions or forecasts expressed by the Irish and English Parliaments as to the probable effects of the Union. We have now acquired the experience of ninety years, during which Ireland has made greater progress in freedom and in prosperity than in the preceding five centuries, and when this progress has been temporarily arrested, that has been the result of virulent party contests, not for Ireland, but for office and power. But it is worth while to remark that these forecasts were on both sides equally fallacious.

'It has been justly remarked, as a conspicuous instance of the fallibility of political prescience, that the special danger to the Constitution which was feared from the influx of a considerable Irish element into the British Parliament, was an enormous increase of the power of the Crown and of each successive Administration. "It appears to me evident," said Grey, "that, ultimately at least, the Irish members will afford a certain accession of force to the party of every Administration," and "that their weight will be thrown into the increasing scale of the Crown." In order to guard against this danger, Grey proposed that the Irish representation should be reduced to eighty-five, and that the English representation should, at the same time, be rendered more popular by the disfranchisement of forty decayed boroughs. Wilberforce, though in general favourable to the Union, shared the fears of Grey, and acknowledged that the Irish element "could not fail to be a very considerable addition to the influence of the Crown;" and although Pitt believed the danger to be exaggerated, he acknowledged it to be a real one, and attempted to meet it by a clause limiting to twenty the Irish placemen in the House of Commons. It need scarcely be added, that the influence of the Irish representation has proved the exact opposite of what was predicted. A majority of Irish members turned the balance in favour

of the great democratic Reform Bill of 1832, and from that day there has been scarcely a democratic measure which they have not powerfully assisted. When, indeed, we consider the votes that they have given, the principles they have been the means of introducing into English legislation, and the influence they have exercised on the tone and character of the House of Commons, it is probably not too much to say that their presence in the British Parliament has proved the most powerful of all agents in accelerating the democratic transformation of English politics.

On the side of the supporters of the Union, there was, at least, equal fallibility. Pitt himself, in discussing the amount of the Irish representation, expressed his hope and expectation that the two countries would be so completely identified by the measure, that it would be a matter of little importance in what proportion the representatives were assigned to one or other part of the United Empire. "Let this Union take place," said Lord Hawkesbury, "and all Irish party will be extinguished. There will then be no parties but the parties of the British Empire." (Vol. viii. pp. 483, 484.)*

We gladly acknowledge the efficient support which the Irish members of the united Parliament have given to the Liberal Administrations and Liberal measures of the last half-century. It is notorious that without that support neither Lord Melbourne's Government nor that of Lord John Russell could have retained office; and the Irish Whig members, who have since been displaced by Mr. Parnell's nominees, were amongst the most able, enlightened, and patriotic statesmen of the House of Commons. For many

* Few things have escaped the attention of Mr. Lecky, but we do not find that he has noticed the attitude of the Whig peers, as it is recorded in the protests made by them in the British House of Lords (see Rogers's 'Protests of the Lords,' vol. ii.). On June 15, 1798, twelve peers of the highest rank in the Whig party entered a vigorous protest against the extraordinary irregularity that 'Ministers had studiously withheld from the knowledge of the House a fact of such transcendent magnitude and concern to the whole empire as the existence of a rebellion raging in Ireland; and that the measures employed for the suppression thereof had been taken without the consent, advice, or knowledge of Parliament'—certainly a most just and proper remonstrance. The protests subsequently taken against the Act of Union were not so numerous, signed, but chiefly by Lord Holland, then a young man, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Lord Carnarvon. They were drawn up in exaggerated language, such as 'because the proposed Union has been so manufactured as to bury the constitutional liberties of both countries in one common grave.' One of these protests (March 23, 1801) was expressed in such violent language, having been composed, it is said, by Sir Philip Francis, that it was ordered to be expunged from the journals of the House.

years the fusion of the Liberal representatives of the two countries led to the most beneficial results, for on the one hand the vehemence of the Irish party was controlled and moderated by their English allies, and on the other the policy of the English Government was impelled in a Liberal direction by its Irish supporters. It was reserved for our own times to see the extreme faction of Irish politicians, enemies of the Union and antagonists of English government, acquire a preponderating influence over the Liberal party, which has led some of the men who inherited the great traditions of the English Whigs to accept a humiliating dependence on Mr. Parnell and his associates, and compelled others, not less attached to Liberal principles, to provide by an alliance with the Conservatives for the integrity of the Empire.

That certainly is a result which never crossed the mind of man in 1800, and it reminds us of the French proverb that 'the unforeseen is what happens.' We remember to have heard Mr. Gladstone say, not many years ago, that it was absurd to suppose that one seventh of the House of Commons could dictate to Parliament. 'Yes,' was the rejoinder, 'but how if the other six parts are equally divided?' It would have been wiser to foresee that an independent Irish party in the House, strictly disciplined and united, might have a casting vote, and therefore decide the policy and the fate of Governments. The existence of such a party is an anomaly in the Constitution.

We have been led somewhat astray from Mr. Lecky's valuable book by the light it casts on contemporary politics, reflected from a remote past, though it is due to the author to say that he has scrupulously abstained from any departure from the historical character of his undertaking. No doubt it is useful to remember by what troubles and trials the Union was rendered inevitable, and what the state of Ireland was before that salutary measure was passed. To compare the state of Ireland in the last ten years of the eighteenth century, when she had what was called a national Parliament, with her present condition, is, in our judgement, to answer the question of the utility of the Union. To England the existence of the Union may be regarded as necessary to our security, though it is not unattended with onerous duties; but to Ireland herself it is a question of existence, if the island is not to be abandoned to revolution and civil war.

- ART. II.—1. *Old Creole Days*. By GEORGE W. CABLE. 8vo. New York: 1879.
2. *The Grandissimes*. By GEORGE W. CABLE. 8vo. New York: 1881.
3. *Madame Delphine*. By GEORGE W. CABLE. 8vo. London: 1881.
4. *Dr. Sevier*. By GEORGE W. CABLE. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1884.
5. *Bon Adventure*. By GEORGE W. CABLE. 8vo. London: 1888.
6. *Strange True Stories of Louisiana*. By GEORGE W. CABLE. 8vo. New York: 1889.
7. *In the Tennessee Mountains*. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK *pseud.* [i.e. Mary N. Murfree]. 8vo. Boston (Mass.): 1884.
8. *Where the Battle was Fought*. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. 8vo. Boston (Mass.): 1884.
9. *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountain*. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. 8vo. London: 1885.
10. *Down the Ravine*. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. 8vo. Boston (Mass.): 1885.
11. *In the Clouds*. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. 8vo. Boston (Mass.): 1887.
12. *The Story of Keedor Bluffs*. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. 8vo. London: 1888.
13. *The Despot of Broomsedge Cove*. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK. 8vo. London: 1889.

DURING the first sixty years of American independence, England and America drifted far apart. The breach was widened by mutual misconceptions of national life, character, and habits. English critics assumed offensive airs of patronage towards the nascent literature of the New World. Communication between the two countries was difficult. The 'traveller's tales' of English Munchausens were numerous; splenetic Liberals, who had expected a Republican Utopia of Liberty, vented their disappointment in vulgar burlesques of the truth; hasty tourists brought back superficial pictures of society as the fruit of their holiday scampers through the States. On the other side, Americans did little to remove the false impressions which

were created by English travellers. They painted no pictures of their own daily life; their injudicious answers to foreign criticism, or volumes of gasconade, which made the utterances of Monsieur Parolles models of modesty, gave plausibility to the most unfounded reports. Within more recent years literature, and especially fiction, has, as it were, introduced the two nations to each other. It has not always exhibited either people in the best light, but it has removed many of those popular misconceptions which prove prolific parents of popular prejudice. The novelists of the Old and the New Worlds have done as much as steam and telegraphy to foster kindly feelings between kindred peoples. They have proved more efficient guardians of the peace than a score of presidents or premiers. This fact alone justifies a study of American fiction. But when, in addition to this, it is remembered that American novels circulate as widely in this country as the productions of native authors, no apology is needed for an attempt to sketch the growth of fictitious literature in the New World, its present conditions, and apparent tendencies.

American fiction is not yet a century old. Its sudden growth in a new, but highly civilised, country naturally presents features different from those which mark its gradual rise in an old country. It is often said that American novelists are necessarily realistic, analytical, and anatomical, because they have little historical background, no salient class distinctions, and a civilisation which is essentially utilitarian in its nature. The fact that American novelists mainly devote themselves to the portraiture of everyday characters, or to photographs of contemporary life, is true. Their works are deficient in creative power, and triviality is their curse. But the explanation seems to us inadequate. America has a history of a stirring kind, neither too remote for interest, nor too recent for romance. She still possesses provincialisms which no plane of society has levelled to uniformity. From the days of 'Poor Richard' a masterful practicality has reigned supreme in the New World. Labour-saving *automata* have supplanted the finer things of life; the prevalent mania is the pursuit of mammon; success is measured by money. But, if the body has thus outgrown the soul, America only exaggerates the conditions and the standards of the Old World. Some other reason must be found for the want of creative power, depth, passion, and richness which characterises American fiction.

The explanation partly lies, as we believe, in the mental

and physical deficiencies of the American nation. The nervous effects of the rapidity with which men and women live in the New World are accentuated by influences of climate. A certain delicacy of feature, grace of movement, neatness of pose, distinguish both the mental and the physical products of the country. Its literature, like its beauty, belongs to nervous, highly strung, keenly susceptible organisations. American artists are dexterous in management of lights and shades; they dispose sketches upon the canvas with the cleverness of French masters. American poets call up graceful images in graceful words, and invest common life with an air of refinement. American thought is apt to be superficial. Their thinkers rarely think a thing out; they are suggestive rather than forcible; they play with their difficulties as cats play with mice; they rarely grapple with problems and squeeze from them their life. Their theologians expatiate on creeds which are networks of dogmatic mysticism, or compounds of Puritanism with transcendental sentiment. American humour is rarely of a rollicking kind; it is dry, not rich; fine rather than deep; subtle, not broad. It depends upon quick perceptions of analogies, or upon exaggerations of facts, rather than upon a broadly comic sensibility. Americans have produced no plays which deserve the name, and in power of dramatic invention they are deficient. Their voices, like their laughter, are seldom rich or rounded, as though they proceeded from hidden recesses of being. Their variety of the English language is modified so as to gain time. Their utterance is rapid; they drop their voices at the end of the sentence in their hurry to reach the next; their idioms are compressed; even their spelling is clipped. Cold, self-possessed, precocious, alert, keen-witted, Americans seem wanting in fervour, passion, repose, and expansiveness. Their versatility is phenomenal: but the gift is dangerous if it dissipates powers or squanders talents. Few writers devote themselves to letters as their sole vocation with the self-devotion by which alone the highest literary work is produced. Novel-writing is not undertaken by persons who have any special aptitude for the work. It forms an interlude in the literary life of writers who are also versifiers, critics, essayists, biographers, and journalists. Something like the classification of literature which prevails in the Old World is required in the New. A fatal facility of speech gives undue preponderance to talk; newspapers and maga-

zines usurp the place of books; the best men become editors instead of authors; everyone is content to be the telegraph of public opinion.

These national characteristics mark the products of American novelists. In England, the same currents are flowing with alarming rapidity. In the stress and strain of life, Englishmen also are losing their solidity, their repose, their reserved strength, both of mind and body. England is growing Americanised, and the similarity between the two nations is, in our opinion, becoming daily more marked. Grace, freshness, quickness of perception, are the gifts of the best American novelists. But, as a rule, these gifts are counterbalanced by limitations, which are as much physical as intellectual; strength, depth, richness, pathos, are wanting. In its extravagant, or imitative stages, American fiction retained the verdancy of youth. At the close of the Civil War it passed with a bound into a literature of old age. The times have been against America, so far as the highest work of matured intellectual power is concerned. New England, at least, has entered too soon upon an Alexandrian era of keen criticism and feeble production. It is to these conditions that we attribute the special characteristics of American fiction. American novelists excel in short stories. Theirs is the gift of representing episodes, incidents, phases, not the power of constructing well-compacted plots or creating composite characters. Their strength lies in alertness of observation and acuteness of analytical perception. In simple outline sketches, the quickness with which salient peculiarities are seized gives the figures vitality. In more finished pictures, especially in the higher scales of humanity, creative sympathy is more valuable than subtlety of analysis or rapidity of perception. Elaborate portraits, painted by American novelists, may arrest attention by scientific drawing of muscles, yet they are little more than lifeless mechanisms. The artist must give something of his own, or the features necessarily remain wooden. Except keen observation, felicity of expression, and technical skill, American novelists contribute little or nothing to their lay-figures. Too artistic to attempt anything beyond their powers, they rarely approach great subjects or great characters. If they make the effort, the passion is usually melodramatic—in other words, unreal; the pathos is forced, because it is artificial; the sentiment is pitched beyond their strength, and therefore exaggerated. Consequently they restrict themselves to

ranges of feeling which lie uniformly low, and to a treatment which is realistically photographic.

These preliminary observations, which we believe to be generally, though not universally, well founded, conduct us first to a sketch of the growth of American fiction, and secondly to its present outlook and tendencies. The subject is too vast to be treated with anything approaching to completeness within the limits of a single article. We propose to divide our hasty sketch of the history of American fiction into two broad periods: (1) before the war between the North and the South; (2) after the war. That tremendous event is, as it were, the watershed of the literature of the people. Before the war, American fiction was European; since the war, its legitimate products have tended to become more and more national, and distinctively American.

The growth of imaginative literature was naturally slow in America. Neither the Colonial epoch nor the Revolutionary period left space for its developement. The early colonists were absorbed in their work and their religion. Prose fiction was unknown or proscribed. Poetry began with the Bay Psalm book, and for two hundred years it retained its stiff Puritan form. Except for bibliographers, and apart from sermons, controversial theology, and metaphysics, the literature of America commences with the nineteenth century. The poetry of Mrs. Bradstreet—an American ‘Du Bartas’—of the old Dutch poets Stendam and Selyns, of Michael Wigglesworth, the Quarles of the New World, or of Phillis Wheatley, the negro poetess, possesses only an antiquarian interest. The Revolution period produced orators, statesmen, and politicians, but no men of letters. Between the conclusion of the War of Independence and the commencement of the present century a rapid change passed over the face of American society. The intellectual stir which accompanied the struggle for independence, the decline of the narrow theocratic ideal, the growth of large cities, the rise of a cultured, leisured class, prepared the way for the profession of letters. Common interests, the absorption of conflicting race-elements, the removal of local barriers, gave the nascent literature impetus and direction. The spirit that prompted the refusal of British tea induced resistance to the importation of British fiction. America could not long remain content with books of amusement written for another continent in a different stage of material civilisation. She required a picture of herself—not of the mother country. But at first the declaration of literary

independence was vigorously opposed. In social and political life, traditions of English toryism and English manners struggled with the demands and the want of manners of an eager, youthful democracy. So also in the literary world, the two conflicting elements long contended for the mastery.

‘Two things,’ says Ryall Tyler, ‘were wanting—that we write our books of amusements, and that they exhibit our own manners.’ In this spirit he wrote his ‘Algerine Captives’ in 1797. But he succeeded in neither of his aims. His book is too dull to amuse, and too generalised to depict American society. Tyler belongs to the small group of American novelists who appeared at the close of the eighteenth century. This band of pioneers wrote novels in America, not American novels. Even Brown painted neither his own country nor his own time.

Ryall Tyler’s novel is less well known than his dramas; but, except by professed students of literature, both are forgotten. Only two names among American novelists of the eighteenth century deserve commemoration—those of Hugh Brackenridge and Charles Brockden Brown. Brackenridge played a not unimportant part in the history of the United States. Born in Scotland in 1748, he edited the ‘United States Magazine’ during the War of Independence. A Federalist as the term was then understood, he opposed the new Federal Constitution lest it should create a united state rather than a union of states. A prime mover in the Whisky Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, he wrote in 1794 a vindication of his own share in the movement. Democrat though he was, he dreaded the dangers of democracy among an uneducated people. With a true prevision of the power of fiction as an instrument in political warfare, he made these forebodings the subject of his ‘Modern Chivalry.’ The first part of the novel was published in 1796, the second in 1806. It recounts the adventures of Captain Farrago and his servant, Teague O’Regan. The former is a Don Quixote of the New World; the latter is an ignorant Irish bogtrotter, who is perpetually thrust into offices of political responsibility for which he is totally unfitted.

The interest of Brackenridge’s ‘Modern Chivalry’ is political rather than literary. The reverse is the case with the romances of Charles Brockden Brown, the first American novelist who deserves the name, and the first American writer who made a profession of letters. Few persons in America knew, or cared to know, of Brown. His fame, such

as it was, came from the Old World to the New. Yet it is no slight distinction that, of all the writers of fiction, he exercised the strongest influence over the mind of Shelley. His novels display traces of the influence of the romantic school of Mrs. Radcliffe. But Godwin was his master. With some of his earnestness of manner and intensity of purpose, though with little of his insight into character, Brown is a crude, irregular, coarser Godwin. The spell that he exercises is unrefined, and his effects are produced by the raw exhibition of wonders and disasters. Yet, at his best, his intense concentration gives to his work some of the hard impressiveness of 'Caleb Williams,' a book in which he recognised 'transcendent merit.' As Godwin began with 'Political Justice,' so Brown commenced with 'Alcuin,' a dialogue on the rights of women and a dialectical discussion of marriage and divorce—a work known to us only through the extracts given in Dunlap's wretched life of the author. Here, too, may be traced the influence of the husband of Mary Wollstonecraft. To his championship of women's rights Brown probably owed the high ideal of the female character, which inspired him with the portrait of Constantia in 'Ormond,' and won for him the enthusiastic admiration of Margaret Fuller. Of his novels, 'Wieland' (1798) is the most characteristic, and 'Ormond' (1799) the finest, product of his talent. Living in a new country which was feverishly intent on finding the high road to wealth, Brown dwells almost exclusively in the remote bypaths of human nature. In many points he gave the keynote to his successors. Fond of framing Utopian systems, always weaving mysteries, explaining novelties by still greater novelties, dwelling in a phosphorescent climate, searching for eery phenomena in the laboratories of medical friends, employing such undefined obscure agencies as somnambulism, spontaneous combustion, and ventriloquism, he is the progenitor of Poe, Holmes, Winthrop, Hawthorne, O'Brien, and a large school of American authors. His plots are crude and irregular; his sensibility is exaggerated; his horrors are accumulated wholesale; his atmosphere is malarial. Yet with all his glaring faults it is impossible to dispute his ability. Stiff, ungainly, monotonous, his imagination is narrow in range. For that very reason it is more intense. He creates an impression of truth by his singleness of purpose, his detail, his unvarying insistency, even when the reader most recoils from his improbable horrors.

Such were the late beginnings of American fiction. But

although Brown, in 'Arthur Mervyn,' paints the ravages of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, and in 'Edgar Huntley' introduces some of the savage figures that haunt new settlements in the wilderness, his romances cannot be called, in a true sense of the words, national or distinctively American. The first twenty years of the present century were the seed-time for the coming harvest, which, in quantity at least, became abundant after 1821. Within that period a number of literary Americans reached their intellectual maturity. Allston, the painter, and the author of 'Monaldi,' was born in 1779. Paulding, the *collaborateur* of Irving and the author of the 'Dutchman's Fireside,' was born in the same year. Timothy Flint, who in 'Francis Berrian' told the tale of the Mexican war in the days of Iturbide, was born in 1780. The next fifteen years witnessed the births of Washington Irving (1783), Miss Leslie (1786), R. H. Dana (1787), Cooper (1789), Miss Sedgwick (1790), Neal (1791), Thompson and Kennedy (1795). The list contains only two names of men whose fame is European—Washington Irving and Cooper. Yet a few words are justly due to their forgotten contemporaries.

American fiction, it must be remembered, still lay in the cradle. On the one hand it tended to copy English models; on the other, to walk at all hazards alone. It is either feebly imitative, or absurdly exaggerated. Few writers, at this early stage, occupied a more important position than Paulding. He owed his influence as much to his political as to his literary reputation; and he exercised it in favour of independence. In 'Salmagundi' (1807) he aided the two Irvings to satirise the follies of fashionable social life in the style of the 'Spectator.' But twenty years of offensive literary patronage changed his tone. He became the protagonist of his countrymen against the superciliousness of English criticism. His 'Brother Jonathanism' increased as the battle waxed hotter. In the 'Backwoodsman' (1818) he gave free vent to the national sentiment. Four of his lines did frequent duty on patriotic platforms and are neither worse nor better than the rest of his verse :

' Neglected Muse of this our Western clime,
How long in servile imitative rhyme
Wilt thou thy stifled energies enchain,
And tread the worn-out path still o'er again ? '

In prose and verse this is the burden of his utterances. Again and again he recurs to the charge, and laughs at

Brother Jonathan for flaunting in the secondhand finery of Europe. Possessing no dramatic talent and no great skill in narration, he took to novel-writing, as he himself says, 'as people engage in the tobacco or grocery line from 'seeing others prosper mightily in the business.' Nowadays his novels are unreadable. In the same attempt at precocious independence, John Neal 'out-Jonathaned' Paulding. In the preface to 'Rachel Dyer' (1828) he indignantly protests against classical English, and appeals to his countrymen 'to 'launch into space and found a new republic of letters.' His own example proved a warning. In an exaggerated affected style, jerky, jaunty, and out of breath, he proved the fatal fluency of his pen by pouring forth a succession of novels, tragedies, newspaper articles, and miscellaneous essays. It has never been our fortune to read a more insufferably conceited volume than his 'Wandering Recollections.' But Paulding and Neal had the tide of popular sentiment flowing with them. Unless this fact is appreciated, it is impossible to realise the value of Washington Irving to American literature.

Outside the eddy of these conflicting currents stood Miss Sedgwick. Representing, as she did, the highest culture of the society of Boston, and placidly contented with the conditions of the New World, she was little tempted to join Neal's crusade against classical English, to re-echo Irving's flattery of English manners and customs, or to vie with Cooper in his irritable partisanship for America. Miss Sedgwick was not the first female novelist. Susannah Rowson, born at Portsmouth in 1762, was her best-known predecessor. Actress, schoolmistress, dramatist, poet, compiler of school-books, Mrs. Rowson also wrote a number of novels. Into 'Charlotte Temple' (1790), 'Rebecca; or, The Fille-de-Chambre' (1792), and 'Charlotte's Daughter' (posthumously published in 1828), she has thrown many of her experiences of American society during the war. 'Charlotte Temple,' written in the stilted sentimental style of the day, still finds readers. In its main outlines it is a true story, opening with the journey of two young English officers to Portsmouth, under orders to join their regiments in America. The real name of Charlotte Temple was Charlotte Stanley, who was thrown on the streets of New York by her betrayer, Colonel Montresor, the Colonel Montraville of Mrs. Rowson's novel. Like the villain of the story, Colonel Montresor afterwards married in New York. By a strange Nemesis, his eldest son became engaged to his daughter by Charlotte

Stanley. This part of the story is told in the sequel to 'Charlotte Temple,' which was published after Mrs. Rowson's death under the title of 'Charlotte's Daughter.' Matilda Warren's melodramatic piety, and Hannah Forster's well-meant warnings, are forgotten with such books as 'The Gamesters' or 'The Coquette.' Mrs. Tenney's 'Female Quixotism' is a satire upon the sentimentalism which prevailed in America, as well as in England, at the close of the century. But though Miss Sedgwick was not the first, she was by far the best, of the women-novelists of the early period. She has been called an American Miss Edgworth, and she deserves the name for the aim, if not the power, of her writing. Moral sentiment is rarely absent from her books. All her work is permeated by good sense and good feeling. Her novels, in spite of their diffuseness, are still readable. Beginning with 'New England Tales' in 1822, she touched on many points of American history and society. 'Redwood' (1824) is worth a glance for its picture of Virginian society, the household of Mr. Lenox, Debby Lenox, and life at Lebanon springs. 'Hope Leslie' (1827), a story of colonial life in 1650, contains, in Magawisca, the Red Indian heroine, an impossibly idealised character, which is at least interesting from the fact of its conception. But it was as a writer of tales of moral sentiment and juvenile stories that Miss Sedgwick did best service. In this field American writers have deservedly gained a high reputation; and as the precursor of Eliza Leslie, M. E. Cumins, M. L. Charlesworth, Fanny Fern, Susan Warner, Louisa Alcott, and, above all, Jacob Abbott, Miss Sedgwick, deserves the gratitude of her countrymen.

In literary history, Paulding, Neal, Kennedy, and Miss Sedgwick are not forgotten. In literature itself, the only two names which the world remembers are those of Washington Irving and Fenimore Cooper. They are the best representatives of the two conflicting elements in American fiction—inherited traditions and national sentiment.

It is easy to decry the merits of Irving, to attribute his success to favourable circumstances, to define the limitations of his powers. Possibly Americans are prone to depreciate, Englishmen to exaggerate, his merits. His Addisonian imitations, and his admiration of the Old World, flatter the national sentiment of the one as much as they offend the national sentiment of the other. Irving's writings came as a revelation to an English public, which was astonished to

find that an American could not only appreciate their habits and customs, but also handle their language with a grace which few of his contemporaries in either continent could rival. Writings, based upon the impressions created by the Old World in a refined observer from the New, possessed at the time of their appearance a virgin piquancy. His graceful style makes his 'Sketch Book' and 'Bracebridge Hall' English classics. Nor did he altogether lose his charm when, in his later writings, he became more studied, and allowed a careful elegance to take the place of natural simplicity. But his real triumphs were won in his Dutch stories. Rip van Winkle and Ichabod Crane deserve immortality by the side of the Primroses and Flamboroughs. His *nom-de-plume* of Geoffrey Crayon is singularly appropriate. He is dexterous in his management of light and shade, with an artist's eye for effects and an artist's taste for disposition and arrangement. But his sketches are chalk drawings rather than paintings. They resemble copies from highly finished, faded pictures more than transcripts of fresh impressions taken from Nature herself. He is skilled in making much out of nothing, and in presenting trifles through a pictorial, poetical medium. Never farcical or forced, always delicate and refined, reserved in thought and word, he seems, even in youth, to have caught that spirit of mild serenity of tranquil old age which breathes in his pages. But his gifts are narrowly limited. His pathos is scarcely more than tender sentiment; his humour ought, strictly speaking, to be styled unaffected gaiety.

Cooper's fate has been different from that of Irving. If injustice was done him, it was by English critics; if he received extravagant eulogy, it was his own countrymen who thus rewarded his literary efforts. But for his irritable vanity, his popularity in America might have been unbounded. 'The Pilot' with its furious nationality, 'The Leatherstocking Series' with their laudation of noble savages over civilised gentlemen, exactly hit the popular sentiment. America hailed him, and with some justice, as her first novelist. But when she claimed for him originality or independence, she claimed too much. He wrote under the influence of Scott, and made a successful effort to apply Scott's method to the New World. Like his master, Cooper has the inestimable advantage of something to say. America in 1820 still stood on the borderland between civilisation and barbarism. It was exactly in this borderland that his greatest triumphs were achieved. 'The Spy,' in 1821,

established his fame in both continents. Miss Edgworth writes in that year to express her delight in the novelty of his scenes and characters—‘a picture of America in Washington’s time, a surgeon worthy of Smollett or Moore, and quite different from any of their various surgeons, and an Irishwoman, Biddy Flanagan, incomparable.’ Within the next sixteen years he had produced a score of novels of American adventure, four stories the scenes of which are laid in Europe, histories, satires, journals of travel, and volumes of political or religious controversies and general squabbles. His last novel, ‘The Ways of the Hour,’ was published in 1850.

Nothing is more remarkable than the irregularity of Cooper’s work and his insecurity of touch. Too hurried to be restrained, too careless to be finished, too fluent to be artistic, he seems to possess no literary style. But in his best passages these very defects enhance his merits. It is because he has not waited to select his words, that his narrative is rapid, strong, and overwhelming. No pause or check impedes its rush. He has little constructive talent, and still less power of drawing characters. His plots are incoherent or monotonous in plan. His heroes are turned into the forest to stumble on adventures or, as in ‘The Pilot,’ ‘The Prairie,’ ‘The Last of the Mohicans,’ ‘The Red Rover,’ ‘The Water Witch,’ there is an escape and a pursuit. In detail the construction of his stories may be similarly criticised. The action is incredible, the motive insufficient, the conduct unaccountable. His inability to create characters is equally manifest. In his European travels, he collects a mass of information as to facts; but he rarely, if ever, attempts to sketch a character or to record a conversation. His novels display the same deficiencies. He is not at home in painting social life. His dignified characters are dull, his humbler figures are exaggerated. His women are so insipid as to be totally wanting in interest. They are only introduced as means of creating business. His conversations are wooden, spiritless, and invariably skipped. In his sea novels, it is not his Long Tom Coffins, but his Ariels, Dolphins, and Bristol traders, which support the action of the pieces. We are interested in the fate of the craft, not in that of the live stock. Yet Cooper has enriched fiction with one character which the world will not willingly let die. By whatever name Leatherstocking be called, his presence gives vitality to the story in which he figures. With his childlike simplicity, his infinite woodcraft, his untaught piety, his

gentleness and truth, his grief at the progress of civilisation, he is a coherent, actual creation. It is only the critical eye which detects the strain upon credulity, or perceives that the proportions exceed the size of life. When even Leatherstocking is exaggerated, it is not surprising that Cooper's Red Indian is an Aristides in paint, a Cato in a blanket, a Stoic of the primæval forest. With only one exception, Cooper's characters are like the performers in a circus, called up to go through a certain round, make their bows, and disappear.

It argues no common genius for description and narration that, with such conspicuous defects, Cooper's scenes do yet produce the illusion of reality. In describing the fierce moods of the sea, or in personifying the silence of forest and prairie, he has few rivals. Here he brings his special knowledge into play, and writes of his own experiences as a sailor or a backwoodsman. Here he combines, and to excellent effect, directness of purpose with minuteness of detail. Sometimes the Delphic God seems to move within him, and he stammers out what he sees and feels, not what he thinks or imagines. At such moments he rivets attention till the improbabilities of the situation are forgotten. His habitual reliance on hairbreadth escapes in time blunts the feeling of suspense. But, with all his faults, in force and vigour of narrative Cooper has not often been surpassed.

Irving had few disciples. Kennedy, in 'Swallow-Barn' (1832), avowedly imitates him in his goodnatured sketches of Virginian society, but he falls far below his model. Longfellow in 'Hyperion' and 'Outre-Mer' is infinitely more successful in catching the graceful ease, cultured tone, and international breadth of Geoffrey Crayon. Cooper, on the contrary, was the Pathfinder in whose trail followed a swarm of writers. Like their leader, they were romancers, not realists. They did not attempt, any more than Cooper had done, to paint contemporary society, local scenes, or provincial characters. Like him, they depended for their interest on sensational incidents, exciting adventures, and striking effects. English critics were, and still are, prone to wonder that American writers have not sought inspiration in their own history. The surprise can only proceed from ignorance. Few epochs of colonial history were left untouched. Mrs. Child in 'Hobomok' (1824) treats of early New England life. Motley, the historian, began his literary career with 'Merry-Mount,' which has the same period as its background. Kennedy in 'Horse-Shoe Robinson' (1835), and Simms, an American

G. P. R. James, in a continuous series* of stories, deal with the War of Independence in South Carolina. Thompson, in 'Green Mountain Boys' (1840) and its successors, writes a history of Vermont before and after the war. Flint, in 'Francis Berrian' (1826), chooses for the historic background of his story the Mexican war of 1821, and for his scenery the Red River and the Arkansas. Hoffman's 'Greyslaer' (1840) is a tale of the War of Independence and frontier factions in the district of Albany. Bird, in 'Calvaar' and 'The Infidel,' selects scenes in the conquest of Mexico, and in 'Nick of the Woods' (1837) paints with exaggerated vigour Red Indian life during the consolidation of Kentucky. Jones's 'Haverhill' (1831) contains the memoirs of an officer in General Wolfe's army during the conquest of Canada. Such are but a few examples from a lengthy catalogue of historical novels written during the lifetime of Cooper, and within the first fifty years from the birth of American fiction. The reproach that these early novelists neglected their own history is totally unfounded. The anti-English national sentiment was strong, and noisily asserted itself; but power to give it adequate expression was wanting. Crudities of style, extravagances of plot or incident, an excess of overloaded description, a morbid taste for horrors—in a word, all the natural defects of a youthful literature have consigned these patriotic efforts to well-deserved oblivion. Nor was it only in these directions that American novelists attempted flight. In 'Philothea' (1835) Mrs. Child told a tale of Pericles and Aspasia, suffused with an atmosphere of Swedenborgianism and Bostonian transcendentalism. In her wake followed Ware, who, in stiff stately style, essayed classic fiction with such books as 'Zenobia' (1836), and 'Probus,' and 'Julian.' Far more worthy of record are the novels of travel and adventure of Dr. Mayo and Hermann Melville. Mayo is an inferior Morier. His 'Kaloolah,' with its medley of home experiences, African adventures, and political and social satire, has shared the fate of Hadji Baba of Ispahan. As a sea-painter, Melville stands to Cooper in somewhat the same relation as Michael Scott, the author of 'Tom Cringle's Log,' stands to Marryat. Extravagant and hyperbolical as his books often are, 'Typee,' 'Omoo,' and 'Redburn' are vivid transcripts of personal experiences, possessing the fresh charm of improvisation. They are stirring tales of sea and land adventure, interspersed with marine pictures worthy of Vandervelde, filled with highly wrought, spirited descriptions,

and crowded with outline figures, which are dashed in with rapid, vigorous, and often telling, strokes.

None of the books which we have so far encountered were, in the true sense of the word, distinctively American. It was not the purpose of their authors to describe their own national characteristics or preserve the racial or social peculiarities of contemporary life. All that they required was an imaginary background for their sensational incidents. Their books were European, not American. Yet one American novel has been called by so discriminating a critic as Lowell 'the first Yankee book,' containing 'the soul of 'Down East.' Sylvester Judd's 'Margaret' was published in 1845. Apart from its literary merit, which is, in our opinion, small, the publication is interesting. It is a sign of the times. It marks a change in the attitude of theologians towards imaginative fiction. The Unitarians were at this time, perhaps, the most numerous—certainly the most influential—religious body in the Northern States. Judd, himself a Unitarian minister, writes the novel with the avowed purpose of breaking down the prejudices which his co-religionists manifested towards fiction. 'Margaret' is a story of New England between 1783 and 1800. It takes up the history of the country at the point at which it emerged from the revolutionary war. Unlike most of its contemporaries, the novel deals with character instead of adventures; it treats of inward developement, not outward movement. It has the one unpardonable fault of dulness. Yet through the clumsy laboured touches of the artist, and through the haze of religion and poetry with which the book is suffused, may be seen—as nowhere else at the time—the working of the New England mind, the keen study of spiritual life, the domestic virtues, the love of home and inanimate nature, and the political, social, and religious idealism which contribute the finer sides of the shrewd, money-getting character.

With the possible exception of this one obscure product of native talent, the most faithful sketches of contemporary American life come from the pen of a foreigner. Little is known of Carl Postel, who wrote under the name of Charles Sealsfield. Fascinated by the vastness of the American continent and by the variety of its social civilisation, he studied the country with true German thoroughness, noting every detail, registering every feature, incorporating every fact. His plots are little more than slender threads by which he strings together his experiences. In his 'Travelling

'Sketches,' for instance, the hero is a young Virginian, who leaves his plantation in charge of an overseer and travels to the Northern States in search of a wife. He passes through a variety of adventures, mixes in New York society, meets Yankee traders and Alabama orators, is present at a backwoods election, sees something of the dark and light sides of slave life, recognises the miseries of absenteeism, encounters a cruel and impudent Pennsylvanian overseer, and finally marries Louise Menon, the daughter of a Creole landlord of Louisiana. In the '*Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemispheren*' (Zurich, 1835) the story is continued by the honeymoon tour of the young couple on board Mississippi and Arkansas steamboats.* Fact rather than imagination is Sealsfield's sphere. He draws what he sees with graphic realism; but his method is too rapid, and his aim too vast, for his pictures to be anything but panoramic sketches. The different parts are not brought into relief; the tone is uniformly flat; the general result is fragmentary and incomplete. Yet no other writer, in either the New or the Old World, has depicted with a tithe of Sealsfield's truth, vigour, and comprehensiveness the conditions of American life from 1828 to 1842.

Till nearly the close of the first half of the present century American fiction remained more or less in the imitative stage. Brown was an American Godwin; Irving was a 'Spectator' on the banks of the Hudson; Cooper was an American Scott; Miss Sedgwick, an American Miss Edgeworth; Simms, an American James; Mayo, an American Morier; Miss Kirkland, whose pleasant sketches were published under the name of 'Mary Clavers,' an American Miss Mitford. No distinctively original forces arose in the fictitious literature of America before the advent of Poe and Hawthorne. Both these writers struck out for themselves an independent line. They have no prototypes in English fiction.

Poe's region is that of pure romance. With the instinct of genius he selected the field for which his powers were peculiarly adapted. From it he rarely wandered. His strangely introverted mind preyed upon itself. His gloom and melancholy were part of his own nature. The world with which he came in contact produced no impression upon him, or, at the most, provoked his sneer. The problems of real life find no place in his pages. Heartless himself, he had no heart for the trials of humanity. He does not draw from observation; his bloodless spectral figures are not flesh and blood. Almost all his tales are based on the sentiment

of terror, excited either by tangible dangers or weird fancies. Anomalies and deformities of human nature, physical decay and decomposition, pseudo-science, and appalling deaths, are his favourite topics. The genius of the man is displayed in his treatment. Compare his effects with those of Brown, and the difference is seen to be enormous. His thought is pure idealism, his method pure realism. And in the fusion of the two lies the secret of his power. He is at once piercingly direct and mysteriously vague. He aimed at vividness of impression, and he obtained it by a careful selection and disposition of every detail. He was, what none of his predecessors had been, a consummate artist. His weird imaginings stand out in the dreamland of fancy with almost dazzling clearness. Mysterious, obscure, elusive, as are the elements with which he works, the picture he produces is as clear and definite as a photograph from real life. The majority of his tales scarcely rise above the level of mechanical cleverness, to which they were condemned by his belief that all literature is a mere trick. His humour was of the elvish kind which rejoices in mystification. It belongs to that bastard species in which practical joking is classified; it consisted in passing off fictitious narratives as facts, and in elaborate preparation for his drafts on human credulity. The highest kind of work was placed beyond his reach by his entire want of human sympathy. But in such a composition as 'The Fall of the House of Usher' he achieves a great literary triumph by the vivid impression and definite sensations which his imaginative realism enables him to produce. In his own narrow field he was an original genius, and, as such, his name will outlive the fame of many who better deserve the wreath of immortality. And he possesses an additional claim to the gratitude of his countrymen. He was for America the founder of the short story which is the characteristic form of the national fiction. He is the progenitor of Hale, Cable, Bret Harte, or Stockton. Complete in itself, the American short story does not, like the English imitation, suggest that it is a portion of a larger whole. It is not fragmentary, but as perfect within its limits as a French *conte*.

In some obvious points Hawthorne may, at first sight, seem to resemble Poe. A closer study proves that the superficial similarities are really points of contrast. In strength both of head and heart, in ethical purpose, spiritual insight, sincerity of method, power of observation, and, above all, in human sympathies, Hawthorne far excels

his contemporary. He possesses Poe's combination of realism and idealism in a larger, healthier measure. Poe was realistic only in treatment; he cared nothing for detail except as an aid to his art of mystification. In a sense this is true of Hawthorne. But his poetic vision is united with matter-of-fact observation, because through the real he grasped the ideal. His humour is less extravagant, because less artificial, than the humour of Poe. His style, mannerist though he undoubtedly is, surpasses that of Poe, except in those gloomy, sombre passages where the latter is at his best. Poe is a morbid pessimist, who groped among repulsive horrors in search of sensational effects. Hawthorne, a sound-minded, healthy optimist, studied the mysteries of human nature as the basis of his ideal philosophy of life. Of the two men, Hawthorne was the greater and the more conscientious artist. All his work is carefully finished, and it has the added charms of originality of thought, rich statuesque fancy, and subtle psychological analysis. It possesses also the peculiar fascination of shyness broken down. Hawthorne pours into his pages all the whims, reveries, and reflections which reserve and diffidence forbade him to divulge in speech. The hereditary taint of solitariness was confirmed by the incommunicative habits of his family. Solitude was his companion, imagination his playmate. A grave, melancholy anatomist, he speculates on human nature with tranquil curiosity. An unaffected, but never a misanthropic, cynic, a solitary in his walks, a phantom to his neighbours, he lived a hermit life, endowed with the divine faculty of silence. Yet from his quiet corner he was not only a minute, but an interested, observer of his fellow-creatures, or of the currents by which their lives were affected. No man who so strongly felt the beauties of external nature, or who could paint children with such true tenderness of feeling, could have been the gloomy psychologist it is the Gallic fashion to represent him. Groping as he did into the holes and corners of the human heart, it is a strong proof of his ethical purpose that these dangerous subjects never betray him into repulsive realism or sickly sentimentalism. He could not have escaped the peril if no higher motive than morbid curiosity had guided his search. His mind was always wholesome, his interest in humanity keen to the last. His life was sequestered; fame came to him but slowly; its rewards were tardy. Yet the discipline was on the whole good. As he says himself in one of his autobiographical notes, 'If I had sooner made my escape

‘into the world, I should have grown hard and rough, and my heart might have become callous by rude encounters.’

Hawthorne offers a remarkable illustration of his own belief in the power of inherited tendencies, the transmitted effects of human action, the influence upon the mind of local surroundings. Both his ancestry and his birthplace moulded his genius and coloured his imagination. He was lineally descended from John Hathorne, the Colonial Torquemada who, in 1692, sat at the Witch House in Salem as one of the assistants on the trial of those into whom the devil had entered. Like the witch-judge, Hawthorne is preoccupied by the fantasies of overwrought religious sensibility—enthralled by spiritual mysteries of human nature. A born inquisitor, he investigates with passionless eyes the transcendent secrets of the soul. Temptation, evil, and the consequences of sin, give the keynotes of his tragedies. The spell of the supernatural holds him, as it held his forefathers. Its shadow lies upon his intellectual heart. He stands wistfully in that broad belt of twilight where, like night and morning, vice and virtue meet, and the seen and the unseen come into contact, and melt into one another, so that they lose their lines of demarcation. The unsolved mysteries of this region exercise over him a glamour which he imparts to his pages; its shadowy scenery forms his favourite background; its sunless atmosphere envelopes the stage on which his tragedies are played. So, too, early surroundings of time and place were exactly calculated to strengthen his inherited tendencies and transmit unimpaired the effects of previous actions. In the decaying town of Salem, venerable among the cities of the New World, peopled with the spectres of stern-visaged Puritans, eloquent with memories of a terrible phase of religious thought, Hawthorne was born in 1804, and there he lived the most impressionable years of his life. From these surroundings he derived that sympathy for antiquity which is neither Irving’s reverence for all that is venerable, nor the respect which the pride of an old country pays to the vestiges of an historic past. Hawthorne’s peculiar sentiment is partly compassion for decayed gentility in the midst of modern prosperity, partly a humorous perception of the absurdity of its claims to deference. Both the ancestral and the local influences powerfully affect Hawthorne’s writings. It is the suppressed passion of his Puritan ancestor which gives to ‘The Scarlet Letter’ its haunting force. Beneath the surface of its parched and sultry pages glows with almost oppressive

intensity of heat the divine wrath of the old witch-judge. It is his peculiar feeling towards antiquity which in 'The House with the Seven Gables' guides his brush as he paints the pathetic, yet sub-humorous, figure of Hepzibah Pyncheon, or in 'Transformation' reveals the secret of the melancholy atmosphere of Rome and the mingled sublimity and triviality of the Eternal City.

Ancestry and local surroundings, mental gifts and mental defects, unite to make Hawthorne the greatest master of the Præternatural, the magician of the spell of supernatural awe. From every side come the elements which produce the effect of unsubstantiality—his power of pensive brooding, the brown twilight colour which wraps his figures in a strange hazy atmosphere, the coldness of his analysis, the self-possession of his style, the indefiniteness of his touch, the indeterminateness of his end. His heroes and heroines have little warmth; they scarcely talk like ordinary men and women; they move self-consciously; they speak constrainedly, as though there is something present which reads their thoughts, notes their gestures, registers their actions. The human interest is never so overpowering as to break through the film of the atmosphere. A master of the by-play of suggestion, his hints meet us at every turn. His subtle mind and pictorial imagination give ghostly significance to the commonest objects. He works out the central idea in marvellous detail, never presenting it nakedly, but always giving it concrete shape, exhibits it from fresh points of view, offers it in new combination, till the reader ends by feeling that he is himself haunted by the impalpable, inevitable presence of Hawthorne's thought.

Hawthorne's mastery of the preternatural seems to us the most characteristic feature in his genius. He followed no predecessor; he left behind him no successor. He stands so completely alone that the ordinary methods of comparative criticism are baffled. He must be taken as what he is—an original genius. Yet, independent as he is, he cannot be called a distinctively American novelist. He is not a novelist at all. Fancy, imagination, poetic vision, are his gifts. Romance is his domain. Too intent upon penetrating below the surface in both men and things, he represented neither as they passed before his eyes. He looks through, rather than at, life. No figures stand out from his pages, which, like Hosea Biglow, are unmistakeable products of the New World. The Puritan background, which he uses with such consummate effect, was imaginative and historical,

not contemporary or actual. In the 'Blithedale Romance' he deals with a passing phase of social history; in his 'Note Book' and 'Shorter Stories' he draws from characters and scenes which are of home growth. But, in spite of these exceptions, he remains a romancer rather than a novelist. His neutral territory between fact and fancy is a 'no man's land;' he makes no effort to paint life at his doors. His treatment is indirect, that of his successors is direct; his method is fanciful, theirs is realistic; they have gained the power of reproducing what they see with vivid force; they have lost the ideal touch, which is the secret of creation, and which redeems from triviality the commonest incidents and most ordinary figures.

Before 1861 writers of American fiction were either imitators or not distinctively national. It might be thought that a strong exception should be made in favour of the raciness of the best-known American humourists. National, in one sense, they may fairly claim to be. Making enormous allowances for their exaggeration, they not only preserved the dialectal peculiarities of American Doric, but painted truer pictures of many phases of social, political, and military life than contemporary novelists. Humour was, indeed, their only resource if they would compete with newspapers in a picture of the every-day world. It was a rude device to catch the popular ear. Original, except in the most technical and grudging sense of the word, no one will deny them to be; but literary they certainly are not. Lowell is the true master of American humour so far as it is a distinct literary product. He has no predecessor. Charles Lamb and Burton, or the 'Spectator' or Thackeray, may be prototypes of Washington Irving, of Holmes, or of Curtis or Warner. But what Old World humourist is the father of the American school which arose before or during the war—a school of which Petroleum V. Nasby, Josh Billings, Major Jack Downing, John Phoenix, Orpheus C. Kerr, and, above all, Artemus Ward and Mark Twain are the best representatives? In one sense, it is true, Sam Slick, the clockmaker, is the parent of Artemus Ward, the showman. But the form of literature which is represented in both books—the humorous drama with a single character in different situations—is one which American humourists have made peculiarly their own. Though the credit of the invention may belong to Judge Haliburton, the original stock has been so modified that it is now essentially American. If we wished to prove the limitations which we indicated in

the intellectual as well as the physical equipment of American writers, we should seek our evidence in the humourists of the New World. But we are abashed by the fact that the most clownish of their capers are more admired by Englishmen than by Americans. The form chosen for the humorous display is exactly fitted for keen observers of superficial peculiarities and ridiculous situations, who are also deficient in the powers of creating characters or constructing plots. In the single-figure dramas neither plot nor character is needed. Dealing largely in hyperbole or exaggeration of facts, relying for effect upon the assumption of simplicity or the affectation of modesty, American humour is deficient in depth and pathos, wanting in broad comicality, heartiness, and geniality. At its best the national humour is little more than lively, keenly discriminating, caricature, often resting on a basis of serious earnestness. Coarsely drawn, hard-hitting pictures exhibit in exaggerated outline, softened by no depth and shade of tenderness, a rapid, condensed vigour, and a remarkable power of producing the required effect by the smallest possible number of touches. But no mechanical aids to absurdity, in the shape of fantastic spelling or unexpected turns, will prevent these rough-and-ready sketches from frequently degenerating into buffoonery or blasphemy. They present a marked contrast to the easy finish and unstudied refinement of the best humourists of the Old World. Easy without being finished, they are unstudied but not refined. They are, in many cases, hasty charcoal sketches scrawled upon the walls of Society to please the casual passers-by.

When Hawthorne's last great novel was published, America was already nearing that tremendous conflagration which was to purge the national character of much of its dross and slag, weld the people into a united nation, and inaugurate a national literature. Men had long expected the event. Tucker's '*Partisan Leader: an Apocalypse of the Origin and Struggles of the Southern Confederacy*,' published in 1836, narrates with remarkable prescience the break-up of the Republic, and the struggle between the North and the South. Tucker foretells how the Southern States broke off from the Union and formed a Southern Confederacy; how Virginia and the frontier States wavered between North and South, and finally seceded when the Northern States raised 'an army of observation' on the pretext of fearing attack. He insists on the advantages in

point of material which the South possessed over the North, and on the encouragement to hope for armed assistance which the sympathy of Great Britain afforded the Confederates. It was obvious to many besides Tucker that the conflagration was advancing. The heat was sensibly felt. The coming crisis showed itself in social and political Utopias, in vague dissatisfaction with existing conditions, in a restless spirit of religious exploration, in wild beatings against the barriers of the unseen world, in the hysterical sentimentalism and fantastic idealism of a species of fictitious literature, which owed its popularity to its appeals to highly strung, excited, nervous society. The book, which, in more than a literary sense, gave the signal for the struggle, could only have produced its effect at a time of strained tension. At the present day its interest is rather historic than intrinsic. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' appealed by its vigorous, highly coloured pictures to a people which had been gradually worked up to the highest pitch of impressionable sensibility. Topsy is the only first-rate character in the book, and she is a black diamond. Mr. and Mrs. St. Clair are painted with the sentimental vulgarity which characterises Dickens or Warren in their treatment of ladies and gentlemen. Eva is an exaggerated Little Nell. There is no compacted consistency in the work. Scenes and situations, often powerfully treated in themselves, might be extracted without affecting the so-called plot. But in, and behind, the authoress moves a tenth wave of moral sentiment which, consciously or unconsciously, sweeps through the book. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' hit the nail on the head. Whether the details were, or were not, true, their collection into the experiences of an individual gave a false and exaggerated view of the evils of slavery. On the other hand, Mrs. Stowe was abundantly justified in her method when she showed the abuses which were at least possible, and the enormities that the system legalised.

With the conclusion of the war between North and South American fiction enters upon a new era. The date forms a watershed, a 'Great Divide.' New tendencies become more and more marked. To indicate these with completeness is obviously impossible. Even the moderate degree of detail with which the previous period was treated can no longer be attempted. Writers of fiction muster by the hundred instead of by the score; the average quality has improved almost as rapidly as the quantity has increased. But certain lines of development may at least be indicated. The older

school were devotees of historical romance; they took no interest in psychology; they provided no intellectual exercise; passing over both mind and heart, they aimed at the nerves in order to inflict a shock. The later schools of American fiction follow different tendencies. One school is given up to the exhibition of character. Direct transcripts from contemporary society form its staple subject. Short stories, instead of novels or romances, become its favourite method of presentation. Common-place characters, ordinary scenes in society, familiar incidents in daily life, are portrayed with minute realism of treatment, fidelity of detail, and accuracy of observation. Another school, while adhering to contemporary life as their main subject, allows freer play to the imagination, neither eschews passion, nor dreads melodrama, and endeavours to unite the realism of the novel with the idealism of romance. The first group of writers belong, for the most part, to keen and crowded New England, where intense concentration of wealth, trade, and population seems to have fostered a corresponding intensity of literary finish. The second group of writers belongs to the West and to the South, and its best representatives are Bret Harte and Howe, Cable and Miss Murfree.

Historical romance, which up to 1861 had played so large a part in American fiction, almost disappears after the war of 1861. That internecine struggle, with its splendid exhibitions of endurance, daring, and patriotism, its vast issues, its stupendous proportions, dwarfed into insignificance all the previous materials for historical romance. But the material which it provided in itself was as yet too recent for adequate treatment. Cooke has tried to tell the Virginian side of the story in such books as 'Hilt to Hilt,' 'Surry of Eagle's Nest,' 'Mohun, or the Last Days of Lee and his Paladins.' Different episodes in the struggle have found other narrators in Lanier, De Forrest, Gilmore, Trowbridge, and many others. It is noteworthy that two writers of brilliant promise, each in his way representing one of the two tendencies of later American fiction, should have fallen in the war. One was FitzJames O'Brien, whose short tales of mystery and horror rival those of Poe in perfection of artistic finish. The other was Winthrop, who exhibited something of the passion, poetry, vigour, and manly earnestness, without which novelists of the war only make the reader wince or shiver with every word. More within the scope of ordinary powers lay the stories devoted to the devastation, or the reconstruction, of society. No picture

has been painted of the widespread desolation that the war left behind in its trail which can compare for graphic power with that of Miss Murfree in 'Where the Battle was Fought.' Cable, himself a Southerner of the Southerners, yet convinced of the justice of the Northern cause, has chosen as the pivot of more than one of his stories the meeting and blending of the two peoples. Other less-known writers have laboured in the same field. In 'Rodman, the Keeper,' for instance, Miss Woolson tells a pathetic story of the granite-walled cemetery which the North erected in memory of those of her sons who fell on a Southern battlefield. In temper and feeling, her story, short though it is, is far finer than Tourgee's needlessly irritating novels. Baker is another novelist who attempts to mediate between the race-prejudices of the North and the caste-prejudices of the South. 'Mose Evans' turns upon the contrast between old and new. In the story of a New Englander who settles in South Carolina, Baker brings out the respect which the inert Southerner and the enterprising Yankee feel for each other, the latent sense that each is lacking in something which the other can supply, the good fellowship that may spring up between the shrewdness of saws and maxims and the repose of unthrifty carelessness. Every novel, which thus helps to distinguish the social conventions and conditions of the people, removes a fruitful source of prejudice and throws another bridge 'Across the Chasm.'

Excluded, as we have said, by recent events of overpowering interest from the old materials of historic romance, modern American fiction mainly devoted itself to the task of delineating contemporary life with fulness of detail and fidelity to truth. Situations, incidents, characters, scenery are American. The treatment also is American. It is colourless, cold, direct; thin, and even bleak, in atmosphere. The victorious rival of the old historical romance was the Civil War; the most formidable competitor of the modern American novel is the daily press. But the change in subject was in itself sound and healthy. It gave an unmistakeable proof of the growth of an essentially national literature. A glance at some of the best-known works of the modern school illustrates the strength of the movement. New England life, for instance, has been painted with infinite variety of detail—now in its moral aspects by Mrs. Cooke, now in its religious moods by Miss Phelps, now in its quiet domesticity by Miss Jewett, now in its youthful conditions by Miss Alcott. By all these writers it

has been coloured with a tinge, more or less strong, of sentimentality. Mrs. Stowe, Holmes, Higginson, Whittier, and others have each contributed elements which make the picture more complete. The commercial, literary, or social life of its cities has been preserved by Newell, Kimball, Bishop, and Fawcett, by Bayard Taylor, by Curtis and Howells. The holiday society of Newport is described by Hale, Higginson, and Lathrop; the political society of Washington in 'Democracy' and 'Through One Administration.' A Harley Street of women doctors is painted by Miss Jewett, Phelps, and Howells. Negroes are represented in Cable's 'Bras-Coupé,' or in the 'Uncle Remus' and 'Mingo' of Joel Harris. Bret Harte is a Californian Dickens, and Western civilisation in back-country districts is also drawn by Eggleston, and with greater intensity and reserved power by Howe in that strange product of a newspaper-office, 'The Story of a Country Town.' Spiritualists and Shakers have stood for their portraits; Mormons have been painted by Mrs. Paddock; the Communists of the Middle States are drawn in 'Among the Chosen.' Cable's exquisite miniatures and Miss Murfree's larger canvas hold up the mirror to Louisiana and Tennessee. Nothing like these minute and careful presentations of contemporary life and character existed before the war. Without attempting an exhaustive catalogue, the instances that are given clearly indicate the modern tendencies of American fiction.

The change of subject promised a new growth of national fiction. The promise has been fulfilled. Both the impressionists of New England and the romance writers of the South combine in their effort to delineate contemporary life. Only European novelists, like James and Crawford, stand outside the movement. In artistic reticence and in completeness of finish the best writers of the New England school have few rivals. Their power is displayed in evading rather than constructing plots; in the reproduction, not the creation, of characters. Their gifts are still restricted to the presentation of episodes and incidents. Novelettes abound; novels are rare; romances almost non-existent. Within their own restricted range the New England writers have created a method of treatment which is distinctively American. Their realism is a patriotic effort to conquer depressing surroundings. It clings to contemporary and national life, instead of taking refuge in the *émigré* novel of James or Crawford, or presenting it through the veil of an exaggerated humour. Yet it is, in its very essence, an

acknowledgement of defeat; it abandons the old ideas of fiction; its method constitutes a retrogression rather than an advance in art.

American realism is best represented in the works of Howells. His novels are too well known in this country to require detailed criticism. In his hands Americans seem to have lost the virility of the race. Flabby characters, painted in carefully subdued tints, actors in whom the author himself does not pretend to be interested, drift aimlessly, without faiths, hopes, passions, or aspirations, through stories which are never concluded, each turned out with the neatness, grace, and precision of an accomplished *modiste*. Howells writes on the assumption that all literature is written, that strong emotions are 'played out,' that the trivialities of life are worth preserving in the clear amber of a finished literary style, that the *niaiserie* of tea-table yawns deserve to be chronicled with the same minute fidelity as a daring deed of heroism. He has no story to tell. He does not deal in sentiment; he avoids catastrophes; he distrusts imagination; he dreads melodrama; he eschews theatrical effects; he shrinks from exaggeration. The result is a sum of negatives. He either possesses no romantic force, or has curbed it till the spirit is crushed. He reverses the legitimate basis of novels or romance. Other writers have endeavoured to show the romance which underlies everyday realities. Howells tries to prove that, though tragic events actually do occur, the world is a commonplace world after all. Every trace of personal sympathy is eliminated. The characters are diligently studied; but the examination of states of mind is overdone. His observation transcends the limits of analysis, for it discovers everything, and, if the ingredients are trivial, everything is too much. His observation is clinical rather than pictorial, and his figures, though life-like, scarcely seem to be alive. It may be questioned whether persons who are always intent upon the observation of peculiarities, the collection of foibles, the classification of varieties, do not lose the power of depicting characters. The universal motive forces of men and women are neglected. The realistic standpoint from which Howells writes is deadening; even the deft workmanship of the artist fails to galvanise it into vitality. His intellectual fastidiousness is so highly cultivated that he recoils from strong passions or large topics. His process of refining produces thinness even more than refinement. In spite of an apparent superficial refinement, the extreme delicacy runs perilously near to

coarseness. It is of the exaggerated kind which shrank from speaking of the breast of a fowl, or clothed the legs of a piano in drawers. Trim and complete in form, clearly thought out in ideas and characters, his books are so bleak in atmosphere, so carefully lowered in tone, that his effects are produced by the effacement of the accessories, which, in themselves, are minutely elaborated. He seems to set before himself as his ideal the elimination of all substantiality and the substitution of manner for plot. No reason appears to exist why one group of ordinary persons or one sequence of trivial events should be selected more than another. Yet the selection once made, the skill with which the type is fixed is consummate. For English readers, he cannot fail to possess attractions, because of the details which he preserves of New World society and the intensely American atmosphere with which his books are suffused. His chief charm lies in the artistic finish of his writings, the trenchant sayings, the brilliancy—often excessive, and therefore tiresome—of the epigrammatic conversations, and, above all, the quiet humour with which he works his puppets. It is this humorous touch which redeems the triviality of his subjects. It is this, also, which enables him to represent American life without disappearing in the quicksands of the vulgar and the commonplace. It is this which has enabled him to hold his own against the competition of journalistic literature.

In strong contrast to the pitilessly faithful photographs which Howells produces of an artificial, conventional, highly sophisticated society, stand the exquisite miniatures of old Creole life of Cable, the vivid pictures of wild half-savage Californian diggers of Bret Harte, the powerfully drawn figures of uncouth inhabitants of Tennessee which Miss Murfree throws upon her broad canvas.

Against the bleakness of Howells' atmosphere stands out with more effect the rich warmth of Cable's colouring. It is the passage from the ice of the North to the glow of the sun-bathed South, the return to romance from bald, impersonal, unsympathetic realism. Cable pursues once more the old romantic track; but he follows it in the changed spirit of the later school of fiction. Absorbed in his subject, he yet approaches it as an artist who is permeated with a sense of the intrinsic value of good workmanship. His aim is not to express his own emotions, still less to shock the reader's nerves; his first object is to produce a vivid impression of the truth. To gain this effect he spares no labour in minute

and careful detail. So unrhetical and so simple is the manner that the reader attributes to the material the magic of the author's enthusiasm. This is the legitimate triumph, the rich reward, of art. Hundreds had read of Creole life in 1803, and dismissed it with a glance as prosaic history. Cable possesses the vein of poetry and imaginative feeling that enables him to conjure up a picture so laden with the fragrance of the past as to communicate its meaning palpably to the senses. The facts are old; they acquire novelty from the genius of their treatment.

Cable transports us into a new, yet old, world; he has the charm of freshness. Less English than Aldrich or Howells, he does not bring his heroes or heroines into some great centre of modern society, some vortex of feverish activity, which is only a newer London. He deals with characters and social habits belonging to a bygone past; he paints Louisiana at the moment when it was sold by Napoleon to the United States, and when Creole noblemen, passionately attached to the country which repudiated them, awoke to find themselves American citizens; he uses with consummate skill the contrasts between the enterprising activities of modern America and the alien type of careless inertness which is presented in the Creole gentry. He has a story to tell, and he tells it exquisitely. In the hot, if slumbering, passions of Louisiana, in the patriarchal despotism of its broad-acred gentry, in the reciprocal confidences of its slave-owning system, in the sudden inroad of new ideas, men and methods, he has struck a mine of gold. Vivid, concise, definite, never negligent in his touch, always finished almost to excess, felicitous in expression, he unites the best qualities of the New England school with Southern characteristics, which are heightened rather than impaired by the artistic form of their exhibition. His method of intuitive portraiture is based on sympathy rather than on observation or experience. Yet it is deeper, more real, and hardly less direct, than the New England method. Himself a Southerner who fought in the Confederate ranks, imbued with the reverential feeling which, as distinguished from the North, still characterises his countrymen, he is yet convinced of the justice of the abolitionist cause. His sympathetic pictures of prejudices which are, perhaps, as irremovable in the Creole as they are incomprehensible to the Yankee, and his incidental presentation of the intolerable condition of men, and especially women, of colour, give to his works the dignity of an ethical purpose without depriving them of the natural charm of romance.

'The Grandissimes' is the most successful of his larger efforts. Agricola's supreme contentment with his own surroundings makes him cruel, by convincing him of the happiness of all around him. Even the death of Bras-Coupé does not shake his confidence. Averse to the effort of understanding circumstances, holding opinions which are stereotyped by traditional views upon slavery, he has built up a barrier in his mind against which rights vainly dash themselves to pieces. An invincible patriot, he is capable of noble enthusiasms, though he is without moral sense, at once brave and selfish, chivalrous and intriguing. Honoré Grandissime offers another distinct type of Creole character. Less vigorous than Agricola, a dilettante in politics, religion, philosophy, and morals, he holds vague ideas on the need for reform—ideas which are too shadowy to assume definite shape—and has no real desire to learn the truth. Only ~~when face to face~~ when face to face with difficulties which he cannot circumvent, does he act with a noble contempt for prejudices. Other figures, such as Bras-Coupé, Aurora Nancanou, and Raoul, are finely conceived and powerfully painted portraits. Yet, in spite of the strong interest of the book, it is wanting in arrangement, unskilful in management of perspective, deficient in the highest gifts of constructive composition. Still more conspicuous are these deficiencies in 'Dr. Sevier,' which becomes both wearisome for its injudicious accumulation of detail, and confused owing to the wide range that it seeks to embrace. The same criticism holds good, in an even greater degree, of 'Bonaventure,' in which large constructive power is still more conspicuously lacking.

It is in his cabinet pictures, or miniatures, of Creole life that Cable is seen at his best. Here he displays to fullest advantage his gift of conveying distinct impressions with the fewest possible strokes. Here it is impossible to praise the quality of his work too highly. If there is a fault, it is that he abuses his marvellous talent for the transliteration of dialects. As works of art, the stories contained in 'Old Creole Days' or 'Madame Delphine' are perfect. Complete in themselves, firm and true in outline, they are worked up to an exquisite degree of finish. His figures are chosen from all ranks, manners, and moulds—from 'Madame Délicieuse' to 'Ole Charlie'—and in them feudal fidelity, French grace, and Spanish dignity, offer piquant contrasts to the inroad of Yankee speculation. The background is skilfully adapted to the actors. It is New Orleans, with its sleepy, picturesque wharves, its half-deserted streets bearing aristocratic præ-

Revolutionary names, its houses lying back from the road with tottering iron gates and windows closed by shutters, exclusive and dignified in their decay, like high-bred *émigrés* in darned Court suits. Half close your eyes, and the delicious languor of a Southern night steals over the senses ; the fragrance of magnolias rises from the ill-kept luxuriant gardens ; a vision flits by of a white-robed Creole beauty ; a flash of glittering steel writhes in the shadows under the wall ; in the distance snatches of some old French song are borne on the perfumed air from bands of gay rollicking youths returning from the ball. Pure without prudery, Cable can describe the voluptuousness of a quadroon ball with fascinating brilliancy ; yet he never nauseates us with that heavy scent of musk with which French writers would load the atmosphere. He handles touching incidents with a subdued intensity of feeling which avoids the faintest suspicion of sentimentality. Two of the best stories, 'Tite-Poulette' and 'Madame Delphine,' turn on the iniquitous law which forbade quadroons to marry creoles. For pathos, few scenes in American literature can compare with those in which Madame Delphine denies her child, or confesses her splendid falsehood to Père Jerome. Her superhuman maternal sacrifice is finely conceived and nobly executed.

Howells, in his photographs of sophisticated society, contends against the tedium which is bred of conventionality or familiarity with the subject. Cable, Bret Harte, and Miss Murfree possess the charm of novelty. In other respects Cable differs from the two last-named writers. He is the painter of the bygone civilisation of a grey-haired corner of the States. In the hands of Bret Harte or Miss Murfree fiction makes another departure. The first represents the rough camp life and embryo cities of California ; the second the rude, uncouth, pastoral inhabitants of the Tennessee mountains.

Bret Harte needs no introduction to English readers. A Californian Dickens, he is a Dickens with a difference. His rare talent for compressing within a few lines the whole history of a heart ; his strong, rapid, telling strokes in which no touch or word is superfluous ; his deep pathos, intensified by repression and choked with a curse, present points of contrast rather than of similarity with the manner of his English master. What Dickens did for London roughs, he has done for Californian diggers. He idealises their characters, and forces us to acknowledge our common humanity with them by making the crisis of their fate turn upon the

noble traits which redeem their natures from total degradation. The device is at first singularly effective. But when it becomes a literary fashion, its inherent untruthfulness destroys the impression. In such characters vicious propensities preponderate over nobler instincts, and really determine the crises of their fate. Effective artifices degenerate by repetition into transparent tricks. Flashes of the power that was revealed in 'The Luck of Roaring Camp' light up all his writings: but the gleam grows less continuous, more intermittent. Breadth of sympathy, artistic reticence alike in pathos, tragedy or comedy, intuition into character, sense of the picturesque, instinct for selection, are qualities which go far to make greatness in fiction. These gifts belong to Bret Harte. So long as he retains them he cannot sink to mediocrity.

As Bret Harte depicts the rough life of the diggers, so Miss Murfree paints that of Tennessee mountaineers. But George Eliot, rather than the Californian Dickens, is her model. She uses a larger canvas and a broader point than any of her contemporaries. Animate and inanimate life is painted on a grander scale. Developing in detail her principal actors, or sketching in firm outline her minor characters, she fills her pictures with life, and throws figures and incidents into strong relief against impressive backgrounds of wild mountain scenery. Some obstacles must be overcome before her writings can be fully appreciated. The dialect in which her actors converse is singularly uncouth; one at least of her plots—'Where the Battle was Fought'—is needlessly complicated; her descriptive power is sometimes abused; her style, here and there, needs simplification. Those who conquer these initial difficulties are richly rewarded for the effort. The dialect, harsh though it is, is easily mastered. The plots of the 'Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountain,' 'In the Clouds,' or 'The Despot of Broomsedge Cove,' are simple; few strokes are wasted; almost all conduce to the final catastrophe. Miss Murfree's descriptions, though occasionally laboured, are oftener admirable in their vivid word-painting. The style, as has been said, occasionally needs simplification; yet, taken as a whole, it is terse, vigorous, pointed, and teeming with crisp, racy phrases.

Miss Murfree began her literary career with the collection of short stories called 'In the Tennessee Mountains.' Her novelettes deserve high praise. But in this field she competes with formidable rivals. She has won her distinctive

position in American fiction by more sustained efforts. The first of her longer stories is 'Where the Battle was Fought.' It is an impressive book for its promise as well as its performance. As a picture of the devastation which the Civil War left behind it, it is unique in its effectiveness. The grim plain, in winter grey and ghastly with tufts of pallid crab-grass, bared of trees, yet studded with unstubbed shivered boles, laden with vague earthworks which melt into the low-lying wintry clouds, forms the background of the story. The ghostly significance of the spot attunes the mind to the key in which the book is cast. The shadow of its presence, the charm of Marcia, the humour and sympathy with which the rustics are treated, carry the reader lightly through the commonplace love-making, the legal complications of an involved plot, and reconcile him to improbable occurrences and conventional villains. They even compensate for Captain Estwicke's exclamation in the first chapter of the book. As he gazes at Fort Despair he cries, 'I feel its meaning! Every weed that stirs in the wind is voiced with a terrible suggestion.' Fortunately he never again allows his emotion to betray him into such unpardonable expressions. The Captain's secret is well kept; it is divulged at exactly the right moment, and there is singularly dramatic appropriateness in the agency which impels the principal conspirator to reveal his imposture.

Yet the promise of 'Where the Battle was Fought' is, on the whole, greater than the performance. Toole, the half-crazy ferryman, Graffy Beale the fugitive, and the archin Pickie Tait, are the real creations which indicate the peculiar bent of the author's genius. The figure of Marcia suggests that the same pen may draw other portraits as feminine and as charming. The effectiveness of the catastrophe augurs that other plots will be well sustained. The impressive picture of the battlefield promises that other backgrounds will be at once effective and harmonious. And this promise Miss Murfree abundantly fulfils in her later novels. Her style grows simpler, yet nearly every sentence is charged with condensed meaning. In rustic life she has found her special sphere. From it she rarely wanders. Blacksmiths, police-constables, and herdsmen are her heroes; their wives and daughters are her heroines. Her intuitive knowledge of the rustic character and habits of thought is at once acute and sympathetic. The conviction grows till it becomes irresistible that the natives of Tennessee live, think, talk and act in real life precisely as they do in

Miss Murfree's novels. George Eliot is at once her rival and her model. Miss Murfree possesses the same power of keen incisive dialogue which suggests without effort the character of the speaker. Mrs. Strobe is a second Mrs. Poyser or Dolly Winthrop. Her shrewd, caustic remarks are worthy of her illustrious prototypes. If we once began to quote her sayings, we should not readily cease. Her children are admirable; each as distinct in its individuality as the older actors. Jacob, 'Gustus Tom, and Isbel, are universal children, and get racy of the soil. Bob is a twin brother of Eppy. Her Marcellys, Dorindas, and Aletheas are attractive types of rustic girlhood. The former is the one heroine who ever proposed to her lover and only became more charming and maidenly by so doing. Alethea is a second Dinah Morris, but more winning and more earthly. Both women were better than their creeds. But Alethea is not a preacher, and, though Dinah's affection for Hetty withstood her sister's fall, she never could have loved the graceless, fascinating scamp, 'Mink by name and Mink 'by nature.' Nor is Miss Murfree's power confined to the creation of heroines. Her heroes are equally attractive in their way. Teck Jepson, for instance, is a relative of Balfour of Burleigh. He has his biblical phraseology, his spiritual pride, his conviction that he is a chosen vessel. But superadded to these he has a tenderness to childhood and to weakness in which the stern Covenanter was lamentably deficient. In their plots Miss Murfree's stories are well sustained to the last. In this respect 'The Prophet of the 'Great Smoky Mountain' is, perhaps, the best. Both in 'In the Clouds' and 'The Despot of Broomsedge Cove' there is a protraction of the penultimate scenes which postpones the catastrophe at the expense of the interest. Finally, the descriptions are, as they were in 'Where the Battle was 'Fought,' integral portions of the novels. In places her facile pen may still run away with her. But the noteworthy point is that her people are the people of the district she describes. Story and landscape go together. The description serves a literary purpose; it expresses the fitting sentiment; it develops the appropriate passion. The scenery is essential to the comprehension of the gloom of the religion, the sternness of the life, the uncouthness of the dialect, the harshness of the character. It is only in the graceful forms of girlhood or in the innocence of childhood that the tenderer affections of humanity are preserved and transmitted.

A hasty glance at so extensive a field as American fiction is inevitably liable to two defects at least. Much is omitted that ought to have been said. No reference, for instance, has been made to the newer school of 'humourists' which is represented by Stockton; nothing is said of the recent reaction against unromantic realism which has resulted in the revival of blood-curdling horror. To faults of omission must be added faults of commission. In a limited space it is impossible to balance criticism, or to avoid dogmatising on questions of taste. America has as yet produced only one great writer of romance, and no great novelist. Yet she may be legitimately proud of her living writers of fiction. She has no Walter Scott, no Thackeray, no George Eliot. Neither, it may be added, has England. In short stories American writers are our masters. They are deficient, as we have endeavoured to show, in creative power, passion, depth, richness of imagination. Whether these high qualities will be added to the mental and physical equipment of the North through admixture with German or Southern blood remains to be seen. But of one thing we feel assured. It is not by the New England school of impersonal realists that the great American novel can ever be written.

ART. III.—1. *English Sanitary Institutions*. By Sir JOHN SIMON, K.C.B. 1890.

2. *Public Health Reports*. By JOHN SIMON, C.B., F.R.S., &c. 1887.

3. *A Manual of Public Health*. By A. WYNTER BLYTH. London: 1890.

4. *Vital Statistics*. By WILLIAM FARR, M.D., C.B., F.R.S. 1885.

‘WHEN sanitary legislation gives us its successful results, they will be represented by the reduction of the number of those who die of disease in their early days or in the prime of life, and in the increased number of those who have completed their allotted course in health and been peacefully gathered to their fathers.’ Such was the forecast made forty years ago in this Journal,* at a time when the second visitation of cholera was fresh in all men’s minds, when the passing of a Public Health Act and the constitu-

* Edinburgh Review, No. 183, for January 1850.

tion of a central Board of Health gave promise of reasonable activity in common warfare against the ills to which flesh is heir. We propose in the present article to consider the course which legislation and administration in matters of health have taken during the last half-century, and to estimate, as far as possible, the results which have been attained. Posterity will not be slow to recognise the part played in achieving those results by Sir John Simon, who, at the close of a long life spent in administration, has traced in his 'English Sanitary Institutions' the history of the movement which he directed. From amid a crowd of writers on sanitary subjects he stands out by a head and shoulders. He combines the deep, thorough knowledge of a specialist with a philosophical grasp of general principles. In the true spirit of statesmanship he never forgets the place which every reform, however trifling, fills in a large ideal. He writes in a style of great lucidity, and with a moral earnestness which cannot but fire the enthusiasm of the most careless reader.

The history of continuous sanitary effort on the part of the State in England begins with the year 1838, but the problems of sanitation are as old as the world. We shall not, however, linger to discuss such interesting questions as whether our existing arrangements follow the lines of the drainage system of Nineveh, or whether the plague in the 'Iliad' was really caused by the action of the sun on the 'nuisances' of the Greek camp, nor can we do more than notice in passing the wise forethought of Odysseus in rendering harmless the remains of the suitors by washings and scrapings and burnings of sulphur. It would be even more interesting, did space permit, to dwell upon the achievements of Phæax, the Hausmann of Theron's rule at Akragas, whose name a grateful city linked for all time with the system of sewers dug under his direction by the captives of Himera, of which the traveller still traces the remains.* So too the historian would not fail to mention the Roman ædile who sent a loaded haywain the whole length of the cloaca in proof of its cleanliness, or to tell how Agrippa, as a yet stronger test, boated upon its waters. Speaking generally, the evidence of antiquity goes to show that drainage was originally designed to carry off storm-water and floods, and that it

* They were called Φαίakes (Diod. Sic. xi. 25). The memories of Oxford men will supply them with cases in which a local immortality has been due to the same humble means.

was more by accident than design that filth of all kinds found its way into these channels. The neglect of sanitary precautions in mediæval England was painfully apparent to the 'intelligent foreigner.' Erasmus, in a well-known passage, says: 'The floors of the houses are generally made of nothing but loam, and are strewn with rushes, which, being constantly put on fresh without a removal of the old, remain lying there in some cases for twenty years with fish-bones, broken victuals, and other filth underneath,' nor can we wonder that he goes on to say, 'if I entered into a chamber which had been uninhabited for some months, I was immediately seized with a fever.' Shrewd Dr. Caius in his remedies for the sweating sickness touches on the predisposing causes, and advises 'clearing ditches, avoiding carrions, letting in open air, not opening or stirring evil-breathing places, removing dunghills and evil-savouring things.' Suffice it to say that the total neglect of cleanliness brought its own punishment in its train. Not only was the country swept from time to time by epidemics, as the black death, the sweating sickness, the oriental plague, but it suffered terribly from such chronic diseases as scurvy, gaol distemper, and small-pox. Gradually the attention of men of science was directed to the bearing of certain modes of life on certain ailments. In the spirit of Caius, Mead wrote of the methods of arresting the plague, Pringle of circumstances affecting the health of soldiers, Lind and Blane of the diseases of sailors, whilst in the same spirit Baker had investigated the causes of Devonshire colic, and Thackrah the effects of various arts, trades, and professions on the health of those who followed them; nor would any list of pioneers in preventive medicine be complete which omitted the name of Edward Jenner.

Politically, the sanitary progress of the first half of the century was part of a far larger movement, a single breaker in the great tide of reform. Sir John Simon has sketched with a firm hand the outlines of a picture which includes objects apparently so remote as the evangelical revival, the reform of prisons, the efforts to secure good government for India, and the abolition of the slave trade. Beneath and behind them all he sees a growing spirit of humanity which found expression in Howard, Burke, and Clarkson, in Goldsmith, Crabbe, and Burns. As a result the nation found itself in 1838, the beginning of the sanitary period, on the one hand in possession of a vast amount of new scientific knowledge as to the causes and preventibility of disease, and, on

the other, filled with new teachings in politics, a higher and a larger conception of national life, and new standards of social duty. Henceforth the two streams were to unite. We might apply to them Pitt's famous simile, for from that time to the present the relations between scientific knowledge and administration have been in dispute. Sometimes the protest has been raised against centralisation, sometimes against local inefficiency. The specialists have been for rapid action, compulsory powers, a strong central authority, the politicians for large experience, permissive legislation, an educated public opinion, and the end is not yet. Briefly, then, our history will fall into three main periods. There is, first of all, from 1838 to 1854, a time of great and, on the part of the general public, somewhat blind activity, when a sense of evils rather than a knowledge of possible remedies dictated public action. From 1854 to 1866 there follows a time of apparent stagnation, but perhaps of greater and more lasting growth. With 1866 begins a great outburst of legislative activity, stimulated by the report of the Royal Sanitary Commission in 1871, which has lasted to the present time, and has, to some extent at least, affected administration.

In the year 1838 the Poor Law Commissioners were led to consider certain charges which in the old days had been defrayed from the poor-rate, and which parish officers were anxious to meet from the same source, such, for instance, as the repair of a well, the purchase of a fire-engine, the erection of a public clock. None of these fell within the limits of lawful expenditure under the New Poor Law, and the Commissioners had to point out that those who authorised such outlay would be liable to surcharge. But the applications raised a wider question, viz., how far was it desirable that matters which tended to increase pauperism, and so raise the rates, should be dealt with in an early stage at the public cost? With a view to further information on the subject, the Commissioners caused an inquiry to be made by Drs. Kay and Arnot into the prevalence of certain physical causes of fever in the metropolis which might be removed by proper sanitary measures, and later, in 1842, they issued a report upon the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain. Meanwhile, the House of Commons had been investigating by a Select Committee the sanitary state of great towns, and, as a result of the information collected, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1843 to inquire into the health of towns (excepting London), which reported in 1844-5. A few extracts from their report will

give some idea of the difficulties which confronted the sanitary reformer of the day.

As to the unsanitary condition of the average town the evidence was conclusive. Out of 50 towns visited on behalf of the Commissioners, the drainage was reported as bad in 43, the cleansing in 42, the water-supply in 32. In Liverpool 40,000, and in Manchester 15,000, of the working class lived in cellars, 'dark, damp, dirty, and ill-ventilated;' Nottingham contained 11,000 houses, of which 8,000 were built back to back and side to side, so that no ventilation was possible; at Bury in 773 houses a single bed served 4 persons, in 207 it served 5, and in 78 it served 6; in Bristol 46 per cent. of the working class, it was calculated, had but one room to each family; in one ward of Leeds, containing 15,400 working men, but 3 streets had sewers, 12 had them in part, 38 had none, and the condition of 40 was unknown; even in Birmingham, then, as now, a model town, the water supplied to some of the poorer districts is described as being 'as green as a leek.' The results of this state of things were clearly seen. Whilst the death-rate in country districts was 18·2 per thousand, in towns it was 26·2, in Birmingham and Leeds it was 27·2, in Bristol 30·9, in Manchester 33·7, in Liverpool 34·8. Out of every 1,000 persons dying at Birmingham, 482 were below 5 years of age, at Leeds 480, at Manchester 510, at Liverpool 528, whilst those who attained at death the threescore years and ten of the psalmist were but 88 in Birmingham, 79 in Leeds, 60 in Manchester, and 54 in Liverpool. The average age at death in Rutland and in Wiltshire was 36½ years, whilst in Leeds it was 21, in Manchester 20, in Liverpool 17. So much for the immediate results; incalculably greater were the indirect effects. The efficiency of the working class was greatly impaired, crime of all kinds prospered and throve. Some lived in chronic mutinous discontent, some in a yet more terrible apathy, some sought relief in drunkenness. A loss of domestic happiness and an absence of attachment to the institutions of the country, on which the Commissioners lay stress, seem almost out of place in the catalogue of horrors. Well might a foreigner say to Dr. Southwood Smith after reading the evidence: 'It would be 'incredible, it would be unworthy of your state of civilisation, 'were such descriptions true even of a few isolated places, 'but when it is asserted that they are true of the localities 'in which a very large proportion of the population resides, 'I own I feel curious to see these places.' But, like the

Queen of Sheba, 'the half was not told him.' After a visit, 'he admitted,' says Dr. Smith, 'that the wretchedness had 'been understated; when he expressed his astonishment 'that a concern for the public safety had not induced the 'authorities to attend to the sanitary condition of these 'extensive districts, I told him (but he thought the state- 'ment scarcely mended the matter) that these places were 'as unknown to our legislators, to almost all our people in 'power, as an hour ago they had been to himself.' The argument from public safety is not, perhaps, the strongest that might be used in this connexion, and the argument from economy is still weaker, and yet this is strong. Out of 77,186 paupers in London in the year 1837-8, no fewer than 13,972 were suffering from fever, and of these 5,692 from typhus fever; in the parish of St. George's, Southwark, out of 1,467 persons who received parochial relief in the same year, 1,276 were fever patients; and in the Union of Bethnal Green, with a population of 62,018, there were in the quarter ending March 25, 1838, 647 pauper cases of fever alone. Such is the picture drawn of the normal state of things—the recurrence of epidemics such as cholera, it need hardly be said, greatly multiplied the evils.

The remedies proposed by the Commissioners, which were, more or less, embodied in the Public Health Act of 1848, were to establish a system of summary jurisdiction against nuisances by justices of the peace on complaint of the local authority, and to constitute a central Board of Health with certain powers of initiation and control in sanitary matters, which were to be enlarged in times of epidemic. The Bill was not passed by the Commons without an amount of opposition which might have served as a warning that it had little public support behind it. Under such circumstances it was the obvious policy of the new Board of Health to exercise its powers with a minimum of friction, to avoid offending powerful interests—in short, to aim at those excellences which Pericles commends in the fair sex. But such was not the conception of the duty of a public servant which had been formed by the principal director of the Board's policy, Mr. Edwin Chadwick. Time, and now, at a ripe old age, the grave, have softened the criticisms which assailed Mr. Chadwick in the debates of 1854, when the conduct of the Board of Health was under review in the House of Commons. That he was high-handed, that he was intolerant of stupidity, that he was merciless to local corruption, that when he greatly desired an end he risked

the loss of it by precipitancy in the means, that, like Frederick the Great's schoolmaster, he knew in some ways little of the world, this is one side of the shield. That he was a single-minded and devoted servant of the State, a pioneer of unremitting zeal in fields then unknown, a specialist who could administer, and, above all, an ardent lover of his kind, this is the other. *Noscitur a sociis*. It is enough to say that he enjoyed the confidence and the esteem—the high esteem—of men so different as Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Brougham, Bishop Blomfield and Mr. J. W. Henley, and it will not detract from his fame hereafter that he was driven from public life by politicians of the calibre of Sir B. Hall and Sir G. Pechell. But in 1848 the opportunity for which Mr. Chadwick had long yearned was come. He was appointed paid member of the new Board of Health, with Lord Ashley as unpaid colleague, under the presidency of Lord Morpeth, as First Commissioner of Public Works; and in 1850 the addition of a second paid member, Dr. Southwood Smith, put the direction of affairs practically in his hands. It is impossible not to admire the scale on which the Board set to work. They not merely put the Act in force wherever occasion offered; but they took in hand the most delicate and most difficult of all questions in this country, that of burial. An Act was passed in 1850 (repealed in 1852) to place in their hands the conduct of all funerals in London. Next they assailed what was then, as now, one of the most gigantic of interests, the water companies, proposing to buy them up, to cease from supplying London with Thames water, and to obtain a new supply (so their critics sarcastically said) 'scraped out of the Surrey hills.' Lastly, they dealt firmly and wisely, so far as their powers allowed, with terrible outbreaks of cholera in 1849 and 1853. But when the time came for renewing those powers in 1854 the storm burst. As Lord Palmerston characteristically put it, every town is divided between those who wish to be clean and those who wish to be dirty, just as it is divided between a Whig party and a Tory party, and the Board had concentrated against themselves the furious opposition of the dirty party in every town in England. As Lord John Russell not less characteristically put it, they did not take sufficiently into account the habits of self-government of this country, and its passionate devotion to vested interests. They were too single-minded for some, too active for others, they underrated the force which dulness has at its command, and so they fell. And, no doubt, the opposition

was right. Their pyramid was poised upon its apex. Their work could not have stood in a country of popular government, for they had not secured the necessary preliminary of popular support.

The disappearance of Mr. Chadwick and his colleagues marks the beginning of a period of reaction. Not that in sanitary matters there was listlessness or inactivity, for all the while knowledge was spreading, interest was awakening, experiments and inquiries were being made, institutions were working, so to say, on trial, and the ground was being prepared for new legislative seed, but the central government did little or nothing. In striking contrast, Liverpool—which in 1846 had obtained large powers of self-government under a special Act of Parliament—set to work in earnest to deal with the evils laid bare by the Commission. It appointed, in 1847, Dr. Duncan as medical officer to the Corporation, and (which is perhaps even more to the purpose) supported him loyally in his efforts to reduce the mortality. Similarly, in 1848, the newly appointed Board of Commissioners of Sewers in the City of London appointed as their officer of health Sir John Simon, and the reports which he made year by year did almost more than anything else that could be named to enlist public sympathy and educate public opinion by their lofty tone, their clear, graphic style, and their scientific spirit. Side by side with these local reforms, voluntary associations were springing up, all testifying to a growth of public intelligence which they helped to foster. Nor had the official world been wholly idle. The downfall of the Board of Health led to its reconstruction, and it lasted on in name till 1858, consisting, in practice, of a single minister assisted by medical experts. In 1858 its functions were divided between the Privy Council and the Home Office, and Sir J. Simon, who had been medical officer to the Board of Health since 1855, was transferred to the former. In this position he set himself to collect and publish information on sanitary matters, and by degrees made clear the need of fresh legislation. Nuisances had not ceased to be a danger, contagion had been wholly overlooked in Acts of Parliament and recklessness with regard to it was common, and lastly, there was a total want of precaution in dangerous occupations, with disastrous results to the working class. All these various demonstrations combined to make possible, in 1866, a new Sanitary Act. For the most part it proceeded on permissive lines. Thus it gave to all districts the power of supplying

water—a power widely used, and with unmixed public benefit, it enlarged the definition of the term ‘nuisance’ to include overcrowding and unwholesome occupations; it greatly increased the number of cases in which the local authority could intervene, and of remedies which it could apply. On the other hand, it introduced compulsion so far as to declare it to be the ‘duty’ of every local authority to provide for inspection and suppression of nuisances, for adequate water supply and drainage, and it gave an appeal to a Secretary of State or the Court of Queen’s Bench to enforce action. A further result of this Act was to strengthen greatly the position of the central authority, whose medical officer and staff were henceforth largely occupied in reporting the shortcomings of local bodies, whether arising out of ignorance or neglect. The Department now undertook not merely to give a ‘skilled interpretation of local needs,’ but to play the part of a supervisor of all sanitary administration, advising or coercing, as occasion required. In 1869 a new Commission was appointed to inquire into the whole system of State medicine, the authorities central and local, the laws in force and their administration, the system of registration of diseases, and to suggest improvements. The principal results of their inquiries and suggestions may be seen in the legislation which followed on their report, in the various Acts—constituting the Local Government Board (1871), amending the powers of local authorities (1872), dealing with Public Health (1875), Sale of Food and Drugs (1875), Pollution of Rivers (1876), Factories and Workshops (1878), Public Health (Interments) (1879), Alkali, &c., Works Regulation (1881), Artisans’ Dwellings Improvement (1875–82)—and also in the actual state of sanitary administration under which we live. We have now a central authority in the Local Government Board, with large powers of sanctioning and advising, and small powers of compulsion, and a perfect network of local authorities, urban and rural, differing widely in extent of areas, by whom, with the help of their medical officers and inspectors of nuisances, the complicated Acts on public health have to be administered.

We pass on to consider the results of this half-century of legislative and administrative activity in matters concerning the public health. The reports of the Registrar-General, which begin with the year 1838, and have steadily increased in volume and usefulness ever since, afford a basis for some conclusions on the subject. But we must make one or two

preliminary observations before we proceed to examine them. The time of death which comes 'as a friend,' which implies the gradual decay of natural powers, and that only, may be set at eighty years of age for the ordinary man. Now, if all lived out their full span of eighty years, the death-rate would be 12·5 per thousand. It need hardly be remarked that such an ideal is still low on the horizon. There are causes, active at every time and in every place, which prevent its realisation. In an old country, for instance, as England, there are congenital and hereditary influences, there are current contagions which baffle every precaution, there are, in spite of all our safeguards, deaths which are caused or hastened by privation, and there are those many additions to the catalogue which are made by accident, by violence, by vice and intemperance. Against all these it is impossible for the 'best administered' system to guarantee those who live under it. What is the margin which must be allowed for them? If we look at the Registrar-General's returns, we find that certain areas, and not small areas, have a death-rate below 16 per thousand. In that part of Surrey which is extra-metropolitan, the actual death-rate in 1888 was 14·3, in Sussex it was 14·6, whilst in extra-metropolitan Kent, Berks, Hunts, Worcestershire, Rutland, and Westmoreland it was between 15 and 16. This being so, we may, for practical purposes, conclude that the above-mentioned causes account for the additional deaths in these districts above a rate of 12·5, and we may draw the further conclusion that, in localities in which the death-rate exceeds 16 per thousand, there are some local causes which aggravate the mortality. But we must not hastily draw the conclusion that these local causes can be removed by sanitary reform, at least directly. We must bear in mind other factors which help to determine the result. Wealth and poverty may be distributed very unevenly, and poverty has sanitary ills of its own to bear. Crime has its own haunts and its own table in the list of deaths. Personal uncleanness is beyond the reach of the most maternal government. Intemperance depends in part, no doubt, upon sanitary conditions, but not wholly. Density of population means facility of contagion and impurity of air. Above all, differences of occupation, often corresponding to differences of locality, affect the statistics of mortality. Add to these the constant migration that is going on from place to place, from district to district, and tending to alter the distribution of age and sex throughout the country. This last factor is so important that we

must dwell upon it for a moment. In comparing the death-rates of the same place at different times, we may take it for granted, for practical purposes, that the distribution of age is the same—i.e. that the proportion of the inhabitants at the various stages of life is unaltered. But, in comparing the death-rates of any two places, we must allow for variations. A district into which there is a constant migration will naturally have fewer old people proportionately, and a lower death-rate, and conversely. The country districts of England, for example, are being constantly denuded of their young, active, healthy population, who flock into the towns, and hence the death-rate of a country district for the purposes of comparison will always require to be lowered. 'With equal degrees of healthiness, a population that contains a larger proportion of very young children, or of very aged persons, will have a higher death-rate than a population in which the proportion of such persons is lower.'*

With these preliminary reservations, let us look at the broad general results shown by the Registrar-General's figures. In 1838, the year in which, as we saw, interest was aroused in sanitary matters, the death-rate in England was 22·4 per thousand; in 1849, a cholera year, it reached 25·1; in 1854, during another visitation of the same disease, it was 23·5; from 1863 to 1866, a period during which fever was rife, it was again above 23, nor did a continuous fall set in till 1876. From that year onwards, with the one exception of 1878, a year marked by a high infant mortality from diarrhoea and whooping-cough, it has never been as high as 21, and for 1889 it was 17·8. For the ten years 1871–80, the mean annual death-rate was 21·27, the lowest recorded. But when we come to look below the surface, to inquire into causes, to make comparisons and draw conclusions from figures such as these, we are constantly reminded of the words of the late Dr. Farr:—

'The death-rate is a fact, anything beyond this is an inference. In deciding whether the mortality is much greater than it should be, and whether the average mortality of one town is greater than the mortality of another differing from it but little, all the resources of statistical science have to be brought into requisition.'†

Thus we find, in studying the figures for the decade 1871–80 that the fall in the death-rate is unequally divided between the sexes:—for men it is 4·24; for women 6·02. Again,

* Forty-fifth Annual Report of Registrar General, p. xiii.

† Vital Statistics, p. 123.

we find that it is unevenly distributed over the various periods of life: the rates fall for the earlier years, but rise for the later, in the case of men after thirty-five years of age, in the case of women after forty-five. This will be seen clearly in the case of men from the following table, showing the death-rate per thousand males living at various ages in four decennia :—

Age	1841-50	1851-60	1861-70.	1871-80
35	12·85	12·48	13·46	13·74
45	31·81	30·85	33·00	31·76
65	67·51	63·33	66·69	69·57

From these figures it follows that the probability of a man's reaching the age of seventy is smaller than it was. By the old English life table, based on the mortality of the years 1838-1854, a newborn boy might look forward to 39·91 years of life; by the new table, based on the mortality of the years 1871-80, he may hope for 41·35. But suppose the same child to have reached the age of 40, in the first case the expectation was of 26·06 more years of life, in the second it is of but 25·30. Or, to put it in another way, of a million male children born there would survive at the age of 55, according to the old table, 409,460, and according to the new, 424,677; at 75, in the one case 148,076, in the other but 144,960. Is this result to be deplored? At first sight it might seem so, but the Registrar-General restores our confidence. Taking the mean annual number of births in the period 1871-80 at 858,878, the difference between the old table and the new shows a gain on the part of the children born in any one year over those born in the period 1838-54 of no less than 1,800,047 years. These figures alone are an eloquent defence of the sanitary work which has been going on, for nowhere is sanitary progress so clearly seen as in a lowered death-rate for children of tender years; and the figures show that the probability that a child will weather the storms of life's spring is very much greater than it was. The explanation of the rise of the death-rate for the later years of life is partly, perhaps, to be found in this very fact, viz. the survival of feeble children who otherwise would have been cut off by bad sanitary surroundings; partly, perhaps, in the growing competition of life, the wear and tear, the artificial conditions under which so much of adult life is passed; and

partly in the tendency to migrate to towns, although the rise is seen also in rural districts.

Let us see next how London has fared during the same period, bearing in mind the many circumstances that combine to make its case peculiar, as, for instance, its enormous and increasing population, the constant migrations into and out of it, the number of hospitals which it includes, and the tendency of a large part of its population to retire beyond its limits to die. In the latter half of the seventeenth century the mortality of the capital is calculated to have been not less than 80 per thousand; in the eighteenth it had dropped to 50; in 1841-50 it was 25; in 1851-60 it was 24; in 1861-70, 22·4; whilst in 1889 it had fallen to 17·45. It is hardly possible to doubt that a great part, at least, of this improvement is due to sanitary precautions. It is the result, amongst other things, of the appointment, under 18 and 19 Vict. c. 120, of a medical officer by each parish and district; of a great improvement in the water-supply, the companies having been compelled in the years 1855-7 to improve the quality of their water, and subject it to analytic tests, with such good result that the amount of organic matter per gallon was reduced in the Grand Junction water from 3·07 grains in 1851 to 1·74 in 1861; the East London from 4·12 to 1·90, and the New River from 2·79 to 1·69, of a new system of workhouse infirmaries, which now in many cases rival the best hospitals, and the establishment of a system of drainage, imperfect indeed, but representing a considerable advance on the old state of things, by the now defunct Metropolitan Board of Works.

Detailed evidence of the same changes all over the country, of like causes producing like effects, is found scattered over various official reports. At one place we find the reduction in the death-rate attributed by the officer of health to 'improved sanitary arrangements and better dwellings;' at another, defective drainage causes an outbreak of diphtheria, which is quelled by some local Phæax. The application of the Public Health Act to West Derby is noted as the beginning of a great improvement in the health of the inhabitants. At one time the heavens have done what the local authorities in the West Midland district have left undone—viz., have flushed the sewers with heavy rain—and the effect is traced in the absence of disease; at another, an active authority has produced the same result by the supply of pure water, attention to sewerage, and encouraging habits

of cleanliness. Sir J. Simon collected a number of statistics showing the effect produced upon the death-rate of various towns by the undertaking of sanitary works. At Merthyr Tydfil it fell from 33.6 to 26.2 per thousand, at Cardiff the fall was from 33.2 to 22.6, and so again it fell at Croydon from 23.7 to 19.0, at Macclesfield from 29.8 to 23.7, at Salisbury from 27.5 to 21.9, at Ely from 22.8 to 20.6.

A further argument is found in a comparison of town and country. For our immediate purpose the advantages of the countrymen are obvious. They are not crowded together, they enjoy ozone without stint, they do not breathe the bad air of theatres, they do not drink bad water or bad gin, their minds are rarely stirred to the depths, and if they are often badly housed and their villages badly drained, those drawbacks are reduced to a minimum by a life spent in the open air. We need not wonder if, under these conditions, their death-rate is lower than that of less fortunate townsfolk. Thus at Glendale and Rothbury, the *enfants gâtés* of the Registrar-General, the death-rate for 1888 stood at 13.08 and 11.33 respectively. Again, whilst in 129 districts, with an average population of 194 to the square mile, the death-rate is 18.53, in 5, with 294 to the square mile, it is 26.26, and in 6, with a density of 6144 to the square mile, it is 30.23. The superior healthiness of the country districts is beyond dispute, but the point which we wish to bring out is this, that the death-rate in towns is sinking faster than in the country, and the difference between the two is rapidly vanishing. Thus in 1851-60 the death-rate in town districts was 24.7; in country districts, 19.9; by 1881 the figures were 20.1 and 16.9 respectively; in 1888 the towns stood at 18.4, the country at 16.7. The progress of the one is out of all proportion to the progress of the other, and the main reason for it lies in the far greater activity of sanitary authorities in towns, an activity closely bound up with the more popular character of their local government.

If we consider rather more specifically the diseases which yield to sanitary measures, we find that progress has been considerable, though not continuous. In the decade 1851-60 there died of the diseases called zymotic 4,122 out of every million inhabitants, in the years 1861-70 the number rose to 4,254, from 1871-80 it fell to 3,409, and from 1880 onwards their elimination has proceeded rapidly, till, in 1888, they were but 1,840. In London, where the

same diseases formerly raged, we find the same diminution—from 5·20 in 1841–50 to 2·24 in 1889. It seems well-nigh incredible that last year but one single Londoner died of small-pox. All the great towns of England, it must be confessed, cannot show the same record. Thus, for 1889, the death-rate from zymotic diseases was in Newcastle 3·04, in Liverpool 3·36, in Manchester 4·02, whilst in Plymouth it was no less than 5·76, and Preston boasts a ‘proud’ pre-eminence with 7·70. Take again consumption. The death-rate from consumption for England and Wales in 1851–60 was 2·68, in 1888 but 1·55. To what is this change due? Consumption is a disease depending on two quite different sets of conditions—those affecting the soil, and those peculiar to certain occupations. In low-lying, waterlogged spots consumption is rife, and in such places drainage on a large and well-conceived plan reduces the mortality from this cause. The introduction of a system of drainage into Bristol reduced the death-rate for consumption from 3·1 to 2·5 per thousand, at Salisbury an unenviably high death-rate of 4·4 fell to 2·3 after the completion of the works, and the same class of improvements at Cardiff lowered the rate from 3·47 to 2·31. But climate and physical conditions will not always account for consumption, it is closely connected with certain occupations. Those whose memories carry them back to the days when lace-making was largely practised in Buckinghamshire and the neighbouring counties, must often have been struck with the terribly unwholesome character of the work. Women and children of tender years were stooping all day long over lace-pillows, with bent head, contracted chest, and round shoulders. The standard of living was miserably low, the makers of some of the most beautiful kinds of lace being often seen at meal times huddled over a few potatoes in the seat of a broken chair, in lieu of table or dish. A wretched type of house was common, often greatly overcrowded (the result of settlement laws and the avarice of landlords), with the invariable accompaniment of a low standard of morality. All the conditions were favourable to a high death-rate from consumption, and such we find. As late as 1850, the rate at Winslow was 3·01, at Towcester 2·54, at Newport Pagnell 1·97; but the disappearance of the industry, the migration of labour, the improvement in living, have combined to reduce it in 1888 to 1·02 at Newport Pagnell, to 0·68 at Winslow, and to 1·02 at Towcester. The silk districts have the same history. ‘Here the local industry,’

says Sir J. Simon, 'flourished under atrocious sanitary circumstances.' At Macclesfield, in 1860, of every thousand living 3.54 died of consumption, the result of the dust thrown off in the mills; in the decade 1871-80 the figure had dropped to 2.58, and by 1888 to 1.39. So, too, at Leek, in the same district, we see a gradual fall from 3.88 in 1860 to 1.60 in 1888. These results are due, in part, to the closer inspection under the Factory Acts, but, in part, also, to a truer conception of their interest and a higher sense of responsibility on the part of the employers.

The relative healthiness of occupations is a point which has long attracted the attention of doctors and statisticians. How wide the differences between them are, we should never have known but for the work of the Registrar-General and his office. But figures here must be received with caution. Occupations are almost as difficult to classify as diseases, there are almost as many species of 'miner' as of 'fever.' The numbers engaged in some occupations are so small as to give almost no basis for comparison. There is a constant migration from calling to calling of which account must be taken. Some admit of no members who are not above the average standard of strength and vigour, and from these there is a steady stream of migration as age advances and strength decays. There are some, again, into which humanity gradually drifts, which contain, so to say, no aborigines, and which men only quit to enter the work-house or the grave. All these various circumstances tend to make even statistics on the subject treacherous, and we must take them as approximations only. For the three years 1880-2, the mortality of different occupations has been estimated on the census returns. If we take the mortality of all males as represented by 1,000, we find the clergy so long-lived, so much below the average, as to be represented by the figure 556. The farmers are close after them; even the mental strain caused by the weather, the seasons, and free trade, cannot shake their healthiness; they stand at 621. At the opposite end of the scale come the brewers, with no less than 1,361, the innkeepers with 1,521, the butchers with 1,170. It is not difficult, in the two former cases, to account for the high mortality. The danger arising from a tempting proximity to stimulants (which spreads even to coopers) is shown by the number who die of alcoholism, or those various affections of the liver under which such deaths are often classed to avoid hurting the feelings of relations. Where ten ordinary men, from twenty-five to sixty-five years

of age, die of alcoholism, no fewer than twenty-five brewers and fifty-five publicans are killed by it, and the deaths from liver disease among the latter are six times as numerous as the average. It is a melancholy fact that the mortality of grocers has risen since the right of dealing in wines and spirits was extended to them. In the case of butchers, diseases arising out of drink are again prevalent, and a special source of danger is the accumulation of decaying animal matter in close, ill-ventilated slaughterhouses. If we take a lower rank in life—the more truly labouring class—we find great differences between various callings in the matter of health. Filemakers stand at the terribly high figure 1,667, cutlers at 1,309, plumbers at 1,202, earthenware makers at 1,742, the two great industries of cotton and wool at 1,088 and 1,032 respectively, chimney-sweeps (amongst whom cancer is extraordinarily prevalent, accounting for 202 deaths per thousand as against 36 for England and Wales) at 1,519, printers, who suffer greatly from consumption, at 1,071, bookbinders, who work, as a rule, in a detestable atmosphere, at 1,167, tailors at 1,051, and shoemakers at the comparatively favourable figure 921.

It will be interesting to see what sanitary progress has been made in these various callings of late years. We have now upon the statute book a series of Acts which are intended to improve the conditions under which men work in a variety of ways—by inspection, by limitations of age, by insisting upon a minimum of sanitary appliance, of ventilation, and protection. What has been the outcome? To estimate it we may compare the two periods of life, from 25 to 45, and from 45 to 65, as they appear at the census of 1881, and as they appear at the two previous years in which a census was taken—viz., 1861 and 1871, in this latter case taking the mean of the two. Following the Registrar-General, we find that at the earlier age the death-rate has fallen in almost every calling; at the later it has fallen in 35 industries and risen in 38. It is difficult to base any argument on these figures. Within certain limits, it may be said that they correspond with a general movement, the expectation of life being, as we saw, smaller after middle age than it formerly was. Let us take, first of all, the great industries of the north of England, the cotton of Lancashire, the woollen and worsted of north-west Yorkshire, bearing in mind that the Registrar-General's figures of the years 1860-1-71 are for all England, and those of 1880-1-2 are for the abovenamed districts only. Among

workers in cotton and linen we find, at the earlier period of life, a fall in the death-rate from 10·65 to 9·99, in the later a rise from 27·90 to 29·44. What are the ailments most fatal to cotton and linen workers? Phthisis and diseases of the respiratory organs are credited in this industry with 543 deaths, where, amongst ordinary men, the mortality would be but 402. Nor is the explanation of this difference far to seek. The atmosphere in which much of the work is done is described as 'tropical and relaxing,' the air is full of dust, composed of particles of cotton and of mineral substances employed. In wool and worsted the death-rate has risen in the earlier period of life from 9·35 to 9·71, in the later from 23·26 to 27·50. Here again phthisis and diseases of the respiratory organs reach a high figure, 462, and the difference between the mortality here and in the cotton industries is explained by the fact the the wool is not so dusty as cotton, being treated with oil, and further we must notice that in the woollen manufactories mechanical means are employed to lessen the evils of dust. It is noticeable that in the silk industries, where dust would be destructive to a valuable material, precautions are taken to avoid it, and the mortality here is low in consequence. The conclusion forced upon the mind is that the high mortality amongst cotton and woollen workers is largely due to preventible causes. Whether inspection has done all that it might do in removing those causes is, perhaps, open to question, but it is certain that if manufacturers were less short-sighted as to the value of human life and health, they might largely reduce the mortality in their mills. Might not trades unions profitably apply their strength to the same end? The statistics as to mining are curious and full of instruction. Coal-miners are free, remarkably free, from consumption, so much so that a connexion has, perhaps somewhat hastily, been assumed to exist between the two facts, and they are also remarkably free from alcoholism. Whereas out of all males 402 die of phthisis and diseases of the respiratory organs, but 257 of the miners of Durham and Northumberland die, and this is the more noteworthy because the number for all males in those counties is 333. Of alcoholism but 4 coal-miners die, against 10 ordinary males in all England, and 13 in their own counties. Their death-rate altogether is low, and if it were not for accidents the life of a coal-miner would be, in the language of insurance, as 'good' as the average. But the abnormally high death-rate from accidents illustrates the difficulties of a statis-

tician, for in proportion as it is large it reduces all the other death-rates, and allowance must be made for it. The rate for coal-miners, we notice lastly, has fallen for the earlier period from 11·30 to 7·79, and risen in the later from 22·01 to 24·04. Very different is the case of the Cornish miner. The search for tin is not only deadly, but is increasingly so. The death-rate, which stood for the earlier period of life at 11·94, rose to 14·77, for the later it also rose from 41·73 to 53·69. As against these figures we must remember that of late years a constant stream of emigrants has flowed out of Cornwall to the New World and elsewhere, and has swept with it the healthy and the able-bodied, leaving the weak and sickly behind. The mortality from phthisis and diseases of the respiratory organs reaches the terrible figure of 1,148, as compared with 402 for all males and 257 for coal-miners, and further as compared with 368 for all Cornishmen. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that these deaths are largely due to want of proper ventilation, that the number of them, and also of those which result from accidents in coal mines, might be greatly reduced if the system of inspection by the Home Office staff were a reality, and recent discussions in Parliament have shown that as yet the Government cannot be said to afford reasonable protection to the miner. Let us take, before we leave this branch of the subject, another industry, which has attracted a large amount of public attention lately, in consequence of the inquiry into the sweating system—we mean tailoring. Tailors show an improvement in the earlier period, a falling off in the later. From 25 to 45 the death-rate drops from 12·92 to 10·73, between 45 and 65 it rises from 24·79 to 26·47. The circumstances under which a large amount of tailoring is done, in close, small workshops, with very long hours, and the nature of the work itself, prepare us for a high death-rate by phthisis and diseases of the respiratory organs. It is not, however, excessive, being 471 against 402 for all males. Alcoholism is slightly above the average, 11 against 10; but disease of the liver, often springing from the same cause, 48 against 39.

Such are some of the facts and figures bearing on the question how far the health of England is improving or the reverse. After making every deduction for the uncertainty which attends all arguments based upon statistics, the conclusion is irresistible that the sanitary progress of this country is sure, if somewhat slow. It is the more important to dwell upon this strongly at the present time, when a great deal is

being written and said on the other side. It is frequently maintained that the tendency of modern Englishmen to flock into towns and desert the country, and so substitute an artificial for a more or less natural life, is fraught with sanitary evils, and in the end with a permanent degeneration of the race. No doubt there are features of our modern town life which justify its critics. There is the worry of an intense competition, there is constant noise, and an incessant passage of objects before the eye. All these strike the newcomer, although they are hardly perceptible to the resident, and the result, it is said, to those who thus gradually, in the phrase of the hour, 'adapt themselves to their environment,' is seen in the frequency of nervous disorders. But it is difficult to reconcile this argument with the Registrar-General's figures. In London in 1888 the death-rate from diseases of the nervous system was 2.19 per thousand, in Westmoreland it was 2.04, in Wiltshire 2.67. Again, it is urged by some that the population of London would diminish if it were not recruited by immigrants from the country—in other words, that town life in time produces sterility. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to procure data which would justify such a conclusion. We have no statistics to show the numbers who migrate into and out of London in the course of a year. Nor, again, would it be more easy to establish the negative position that no Londoner of the fourth generation is in existence, and, granting the fact, how many explanations might be suggested? It may well be that Londoners find special attractions in their country cousins, and *vice versa*. Even the alleged scarcity of Londoners in the list of lord mayors does not convince us. The successful conduct of business depends on talents and circumstances, which are seldom shared by even two generations, and it is not extraordinary that the foremost place in the city should fall year after year to one who has brought up with him an inherited stock of energy from the country. Nor, lastly, is the degeneration of Londoners easily proved. The evils of London life and their effects upon the health and physique of the poor are no doubt considerable, but it is not proved that they are progressive, still less that they are cumulative. The death-rates for infancy, as we have seen, show that it is far more likely that a child will survive than it was thirty years ago. It is not a sufficient answer to this to say that the proportion of low vitality or second-rate health is on the increase in every generation. The presumption is strongly against such

a statement, for in proportion as the death-rate is small, so, presumably, is the standard of health high; the *onus probandi* lies with those who maintain the opposite. But it is difficult, and perhaps unprofitable, to make any comparison between the sufferings of the poor at one time with their sufferings at another. The generation which has seen London grow to its present size lies under a pressing responsibility to reduce to a minimum the evils consequent upon that growth, and to spare no efforts that in the matters of air, water, drainage, and building the conditions under which alone health is possible should be guaranteed to every inhabitant. Such is the duty which devolves upon the London County Council, the existence of which is in itself an acknowledgment of the need for organised action, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the duty will be discharged in no parsimonious or factious spirit.

Before we quit the subject it remains to consider what light is thrown by the history of sanitary institutions in the past upon the path which legislation and administration should take in the future. It will be noticed that from its earliest beginnings to its latest developement sanitary administration has been linked with the Poor Law. It owed its origin, as we saw, to an inquiry made by the Poor Law Commissioners in connexion with a purely financial difficulty, and at the present day, in almost all cases, the rural sanitary authority is the Board of Guardians, and the area is the Poor Law Union. This Mezentian coupling together of institutions with entirely distinct spheres is not confined to local bodies. The Local Government Board as constituted by the Act of 1871, was to all intents and purposes the Poor Law Board with certain sanitary powers and responsibilities added to it. More than this, the secretariat of the new board, to whom is delegated the power to act in all but the most important matters, was formed out of the secretariat of the Poor Law Board, without any admixture of a medical element, and so it remains to this day. The medical department has no secretariat of its own, it is purely consultative, without any independent initiative. Hence follows the curious result that sanitary matters are administered by persons having no special knowledge of the subject at all, whose endorsement of an official paper carries no additional weight with it whatever. Moreover, the Poor Law Board—admirable as its work was, and strong as its claims are upon the gratitude of the nation—had characteristic methods of working which were the outcome of its

history. It was constituted in a time of alarm, almost of panic, at the strides which pauperism was making, and the local abuses laid bare by the Poor Law Commissioners led to a placid surrender of all local powers to the central body. Few persons probably are aware of the cast-iron system of centralisation which characterises the administration of the Poor Law, and the work of the department bears mark of it. They may be seen in a tendency to exaggerate the value of returns as evidence of efficiency, to attach undue importance to method and order in routine, and to conduct all business largely by correspondence. These defects, it may be readily allowed, are largely redeemed in the case of Poor Law administration by the admirable inspectorate attached to the Board, but they are defects which go far to unfit the Board for the discharge of sanitary functions, in which personal insight, individual criticism, and a general elasticity are peculiarly needed. To these defects more than anything else, perhaps, is due the fact that the sanitary side of Poor Law administration, the management of infirmaries, has lagged behind other branches in progressive efficiency everywhere, save in London. Nor is there anything on the sanitary side, if we may so speak, answering to the continuous, methodical inspection which obtains on the Poor Law side. The want of such a system of inspection was seen in 1884, when, on a sudden emergency caused by rumours of an impending invasion by cholera, the Local Government Board was found to be wholly in the dark as to the sanitary condition, appliances, &c., of our seaport towns, and a hurried inspection revealed extraordinary inequalities of administration. No doubt there is a strong case to be made out for the formation of a Board of Health, independent of the existing Local Government Board, with a minister at its head responsible to Parliament. But such a proposal raises once more the old difficulty of the place of special knowledge in administration. The work of such an office must be, by the nature of the case, of a very technical kind, involving technical knowledge, and it could be carried out only by persons possessing that knowledge. How far can an office, for administrative purposes, be carried on under such conditions? How far can we look to the medical profession, over and above all that we owe to it, for a supply of persons possessed of the statesmanlike qualities necessary for the purpose? The old Board of Health is a standing instance how much a special knowledge and a burning zeal, which are not backed by a knowledge of the world, may do

to retard the attainment of the very ends which they seek to compass. Can we be certain that at the present day a department composed of medical specialists would be proof against the same temptations? Granting to the full the difficulties involved in the present system, it is to a reform within that system, rather than to its subversion, that we must look. Whether it would be possible to establish under the Local Government Board a second secretariat dealing with sanitary matters only, is a nice question for official wisdom to decide; but so long as the sanitary department is confined to its present consultative functions, it must lack the dignity and independence which are essential to securing the highest talent and the greatest efficiency. However this may be, there can be no question of the strength of Sir J. Simon's plea for an effective inspectorate. 'Power,' says Mr. Mill in a well-known passage, 'power should be localised and knowledge centralised.' It is this centralisation of knowledge which is secured by a body of travelling inspectors. Not merely is the central office kept informed of the actual progress made, of the schemes approved and the loans sanctioned, but it is also aware of the shortcomings and deficiencies of the localities where there is no progress to report. Nor does the value of a system of inspection end here, for even greater is its educational work. The influence brought to bear by the Poor Law Inspectors can only be appreciated by those who are familiar with the practical administration of the law. The encouragement afforded by them to hard-worked officials, the information and the stimulus they bring to Boards of Guardians, the difficulties which they smooth, the standards of duty which they raise—all these figure in no reports, and yield no statistics, but are none the less real. The same may be said of the kindred matter of education, in which the solitary lives of teachers, working with but little sympathy or encouragement, often owe what they possess of inspiration to the kindly recognition of an inspector of schools. And, in good truth, no body of men stand more in need of such encouragement and stimulus than do the medical officers throughout the country. They have to pursue work of a technical kind amongst people who are wholly incompetent to appreciate it; they are constantly thwarted by ignorance, and by those who are interested in maintaining the evils which they have to cure; they have not infrequently to brave the loss of official position, private practice, and social esteem, if they do their duty by the poor; in too many cases, it is to be

feared, they fall gradually into the spirit of the authority which controls them, and do little or nothing. Anyone who compares the vast fields for activity of the best and most abiding kind which are thrown open by the various statutes as to public health with the state of labourers' cottages in the country, and the courts and alleys of towns, will see how far short performance may come of promise.

But it would be idle to assert that the shortcomings of local authorities are such as could be wholly removed by even the most efficient body of inspectors. We have to acknowledge that in our small towns and country districts there is a want of enthusiasm in sanitary work. Much of this is no doubt due to general causes, a disinclination to interfere with property, a certain scepticism as to results, an aversion to laying out money for a distant object, a hopeless kind of apathy which justifies itself by saying that things are not so bad as they were. On such feelings those who are interested in maintaining the present state of things know only too well how to play. The system of dividing England into rural and urban sanitary districts was sketched by Mr. Goschen in 1871, but was embodied in a measure proposed in Parliament and carried into effect by Mr. Stansfeld. The change of author worked a great change in the proposal. Mr. Goschen had been content with a permissive measure, but Mr. Stansfeld made the appointment of medical officers throughout the country compulsory, following the example of the Act of 1856, which introduced the same principle in the case of London, and which was found to be working well. Rarely has the failure of a compulsion which could not be properly enforced been more patent. The average board of guardians, now constituted the sanitary authority, determined to do nothing from the first. The Act was put in force just so far as to make appointments, which were a colourable evasion of its principle, and no more. It was hoped that boards of guardians would combine to appoint medical officers for large districts, men of a high type of mind and extensive knowledge, independent in their criticisms and action. But, partly owing to the haste and want of real wisdom with which the Act was drawn, the utmost endeavours of the Local Government Board, by recommendations and subsidies, have not succeeded in making this system popular. Even in districts where it was originally adopted, it has been generally abandoned, often, it must be feared, in consequence of outspoken complaints of the neglect of sanitary matters in villages in which members

of the various boards were interested. The compulsion which Mr. Stansfeld introduced has indeed secured the appointment of officers of health for every sanitary district in the country, but in a very large number of cases the salaries paid are on a scale which shows clearly that no efficiency is expected. In 360 rural districts the salary averages but 21*l.* 10*s.*, and in 250 urban districts but 14*l.* 10*s.*, amounts from which it is difficult not to conclude that the authorities deliberately intend to make the law inoperative. Even in London, the committee of that excellent body, the Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the Poor, report such districts as Poplar with 156,510 inhabitants, Shoreditch with 126,591, and Greenwich with 131,233, as employing but two inspectors of nuisances each. No doubt it is most difficult to frame a scheme which will guarantee in country and in town the services of a competent medical officer, who shall give his whole time to the work, and be free from the claims of private practice, who shall have security of tenure, sufficient to attract able men, whilst liable to removal for incompetence or neglect, who shall have an area large enough to justify a considerable salary and not too large for efficient supervision, and yet nothing short of this will ensure that sanitary progress shall be maintained. A proposal was indeed made in 1888 to constitute the County Council the sanitary authority, but it was only so far adopted as to give to the Council the power of appointing a medical officer for the whole county, and it will probably be some years yet before these bodies can undertake sanitary work in real earnest. The necessary preliminary, we must repeat, to all further reform is an educated public opinion in sanitary matters. It is possible that the Local Government Board might do something to form such an opinion by the diffusion of knowledge, after the manner in which Mr. Fawcett popularised the Post Office Savings Banks, and in which the Board of Trade now keeps us informed of the course of events in the mercantile and financial world. Much, too, may be hoped of the rising generation, whose attention has been so largely directed to the possibility of improving the conditions under which the poorer members of the community live, who take a somewhat exaggerated interest in their own health, and who are beginning to feel more deeply their responsibility in the matter of local government. Knowledge, again, is growing. Preventive medicine is coming more and more to be recognised as a necessary part of the scientific equipment

of any well-trained practitioner ; like many other subjects it has passed through the stages of contemptuous indifference, of patronage, and of recognition. The universities and other bodies are beginning to realise the part which they must take in training up a supply of persons qualified for posts in the medical service of the State. Meanwhile, the words of Sir J. Simon may fitly be quoted here, and should be hung up in the boardroom of every sanitary authority in the kingdom : ‘ It cannot be too loudly proclaimed that an efficient administration of the sanitary laws is among the best helps which can be given to the poorer classes of the population, and that authorities who negligently or corruptly fail of their duties in such administration are among the worst oppressors of the poor.’

But the difficulties which meet the framers of the next Public Health Bill will not be exhausted when they have constituted anew the central and the local authorities. They will have to define clearly the relations in which those authorities are to stand to existing institutions. We cannot go on much longer with the chaotic medley which characterises the provision of medical and surgical assistance. We have hospitals which are open to no inspection and subject to no control, save only the spasmodic criticism of the press, arising out of some public panic ; we have a system of poor law infirmaries discharging the same duties as do the public hospitals, mainly under the inspection of persons wholly ignorant of medicine ; we have an out-patient system, connected with our hospitals, which largely competes with the poor law without any of the safeguards which the poor law provides ; we have various provident institutions which struggle on against the crushing competition of pauperising charity. Sooner or later something must be done to organise all these into a coherent system, in some relation to a central office. Take, for instance, the present poor-law system and its developement. The workhouse infirmary was originally intended for the sick inmates of the workhouse, and for them only. The present system, as we see it in London, goes far beyond the original conception. The magnificent buildings, with their efficient staff of doctors and nurses, with every appliance which science can suggest, have little or nothing in common with the repressive system which is embodied in the parent workhouse. They have ceased to supply any ‘workhouse test,’ and it is time that they were wholly separated from the poor law. Not less pressing, on other grounds, is the case of work-

house infirmaries outside London and a few large cities. They, too, should be brought into direct relation with a sanitary authority, not because they have outgrown the system which gave them birth, but because they lag behind the science and resources of the age. It is the worst of all economies to delay the recovery of the pauper patient for lack of appliances and efficient service, and yet workhouse infirmaries are often ill supplied with them. But their shortcomings are not laid bare or made good under the present system of inspection by persons of no technical knowledge or training. Once more, it will not long be possible to maintain, in London at any rate, the distinction between medical relief in a workhouse infirmary and in a hospital—there are even circumstances connected with the latter which make it more deterrent than the former. The framers of the unhappy measure which abolished the loss of civil rights in the case of recipients of outdoor medical relief proceeded in a wholly wrong direction. There is a great deal to be said for removing the disabilities of pauperism in the case of those who are relieved in a workhouse infirmary, nothing to be said for removing them in the case of those assisted outside it. The assistance received by the latter can and should be provided by themselves, that received in an infirmary cannot, at least wholly. Outdoor medical relief gives every encouragement to malingering, treatment in an infirmary does not.

Sanitary progress demands many things—statesmanlike direction on the part of the central authority, a policy of education rather than of coercion, a gradual developement as against fussy interference, intelligent co-operation on the part of the local authorities, a certain knowledge of sanitary cause and effect, a steady sense of public duty. In no part of life is the need of a broad conception of the interdependence of the various members of the body politic so pressing. We have traced the growth of the institutions which embody this spirit, and seen some of their results—the shortcomings of the past, the tendencies which need to be developed in the future. No one can study the history of sanitary effort in the building up of sanitary institutions without profound emotion—the interests imperilled are so vast, ignorance and prejudice so fatal. The future, in spite of failure after failure, is bright with hope. Much ignorance, which seemed to be invincible, has been overcome, many obstacles arising out of human will have been removed, and now, in the words of that true friend to sanitary progress, the late

Dr. Farr, 'it will well become England to employ the powers of science and wealth have placed in her hands for healing men and for developing the physical and divine faculties of the human race. Should her example excite emulation in other countries, we shall see, besides the great struggles for the supremacy of races, common efforts to improve the conditions of life, to diffuse knowledge, to mitigate human suffering, to increase virtue, to elevate intelligence, and thus to conquer the standing armies of disease and death: works of vaster amplitude and greater difficulty than the capture of cities or the subjugation of nations.'

ART. IV.—*Locke*. By Professor ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER. Philosophical Classics. Edinburgh: 1890.

THE English mind reverts naturally to Locke as its parent in philosophy. Whatever may be the changes which have taken place during the course of the last two hundred years in fashions and modes of thought, they have been due very largely to Locke, either in the way of natural or consecutive development, or in equally natural reaction and antithesis. If Berkeley asserted in his 'Principles of Human Knowledge' and in his 'Essay on Vision' the inconceivability of abstract matter, and the sole reality of 'spirit,' he had his somewhat materialistic predecessor in view; and if Hume resolved all the principles of systematic thought into associations welded by the force of habit and custom, and proposed his sceptical solution of the doubts which assailed him in his study, he believed himself to be carrying out the positions of the 'Essay on the Human Understanding' to their logically inevitable issue. When Reid challenged the conclusions of Hume, he appealed to the common sense of which Locke always professed himself an ardent advocate; and when John Stuart Mill wrote the remarkable chapters in his 'Examination of Sir William Hamilton's System,' in which he dealt with our beliefs in the reality of matter and spirit, he was discussing problems to which the author of the 'New Way of Ideas' had given characteristic shape and colouring. Even the 'Synthetic Philosophy' of Mr. Herbert Spencer, largely indebted as it is to that scientific conception of evolution which we associate with the name of Charles Darwin, adopts the general standpoint of empiricism of which Locke was so notable a champion.

Nor are there wanting special reasons why the 'Essay on the Human Understanding' should have made so deep and permanent an impression on the English intelligence. The chief of these is the practical character of the philosophy which is therein set forth. The object of the treatise is not to excite or satisfy merely intellectual curiosity. Locke would hardly endorse Hume's half-humorous defence of philosophising that 'it is one of the few safe and harmless 'pleasures bestowed on the human race.' The aim is rather, in Baconian language, to extend the *regnum hominis*, to enable men to live better and deal more honestly with one another in a tolerant spirit, seeing the narrow limits within which accurate knowledge is possible, and the large range of mere probability. And in the solution of the questions which are successively raised Locke's method of procedure is exactly that which appeals, and apparently will always appeal, to the average English mind as the only trustworthy method. To him, as well as to his compatriots, there is nothing equal to common sense—'large roundabout common 'sense,' as he admirably expresses it. Where there is mystery and mysticism there is large room for chicanery and self-deception; but where everything is simple and straightforward and explicit there is good ground for the supposition that we have reached all the truth with which we need be concerned. Locke is above all the 'common-sense philosopher,' and all his strength, and no small portion of his weakness, arises from his reliance on that eminently convenient, but somewhat ambiguous, guide. In the same practical spirit he is anxious to 'send a man back to his senses,' to study knowledge, by watching, as it were, over its cradle, and observing the gradual growth and developement under the guiding hand of experience. It is to Locke above all that we owe that distinguishing mark of English philosophy—its empirical character; and though, as it is not unusual in history, his disciples have often exaggerated, and sometimes even parodied, their master, they are indebted to him for the leading clue of experience. Perhaps, too, we may venture to add to these reasons for the perennial importance and influence of Locke, his tendency, sometimes latent, sometimes explicit, to explain the things of spirit by the use of physical categories—all that blind, unavowed, but still constant, leaning towards materialism, which, in spite of Berkeley, Coleridge, Hamilton, and Carlyle, is even now the mainspring of a large portion of English thought. Locke was not, it is true, a materialist in the obvious sense of the

term ; but it is a significant fact that he should have led up to a materialistic line of thinkers.

The latest tribute to Locke's philosophic importance is the volume which we have placed at the head of this article. In the series of philosophic classics of which it is the most recent publication it will deserve a high reputation for its lucidity and its comprehensiveness. It would, indeed, be a curiously unjust penalty for Locke to undergo if his commentators failed in exactly that characteristic which makes his writings so readable. It is, however, a fact that Locke lends himself to many interpretations, and there are certain parts of his doctrines—for instance, the meaning and scope of what he termed 'Reflection,' and the oft-times rewritten and still most obscure chapter on 'Power'—which have been debated and fought over both by his friends and his foes. Professor Campbell Fraser, however, has done his work well. No one, who has not attempted to write a little book on a great man, knows what a serious task it is to compress what is important and to omit what is interesting, and how much easier it is to write out one's notes at full than submit to the irritating pressure of a necessarily circumscribed space.

In the book before us Locke as a political reformer and as an educationalist is inevitably sacrificed to Locke as the author of the 'Essay on the Human Understanding ;' but in the purely philosophical department there is little enough to find fault with, directly we recognise the aims and objects which the author has set before himself. For some time, we believe, Professor Fraser has been collecting materials for a complete edition of Locke's works, and though this design is, we understand, set aside, the result of his assiduity is seen in the singularly complete little book which is explanatory of Locke's position in the intellectual world. The balances are here held with an impartial hand ; there is no disposition to magnify the shortcomings any more than there is to exaggerate the merits. Indeed, though Professor Fraser's own philosophical position can hardly lead him to sympathise with the empirical tendencies of the 'Essay,' he is always ready to give due notice of and show just appreciation for those *arrière-pensées* which rescue Locke from a sensationalism like that of Condillac. In some respects the philosopher is shown to be greater and more catholic than some of his critics have supposed, while at the same time the defects of his standpoint and his method are pointed out with no uncertain emphasis.

If any fault is to be found with Professor Fraser's treatment, it may, perhaps, be discovered in the occasional tendency to rewrite Locke's doctrines in the language of a later idealism. The immanent and essential rationality of the kosmos of things is no doubt a necessary complement to Locke's one-sided analysis of our processes of knowing, but it is not an avowed postulate of his system; nor, indeed, could Locke ever have grasped such an idea. Yet in Professor Fraser's account, for instance, of Locke's 'Cause' (see especially pp. 154-56) a hasty reader, who was not acquainted with the history of philosophy, might feel some doubt as to how much belonged to the author and how much to the critic. And Locke would hardly have assented to Professor Fraser's phrase 'to bring our thoughts into harmony with the divine ideas, of which things are the manifestation' (p. 48), as representing his desire to attain to a clear knowledge.

The history of Locke's life has more than the usual interest which attaches to the record of the existence of a philosopher. Unlike other members of the speculative order of humanity, he not only had some acquaintance with public affairs, but seems to have exercised no small influence on the course of events. It is, in fact, this importance of Locke as a practical statesman—quite apart from the indubitable mark which he left on the thought of his own and of succeeding ages—which is, perhaps, the significant characteristic of his career. That the son of humble parents—Locke's father was a country attorney and his grandfather was a clothier—should have been the chosen friend and confidant of that most remarkable statesman of Charles II.'s reign, Lord Shaftesbury, says a great deal for the strength and sincerity of his private character; but that he should have been, as it were, the chosen mouthpiece of the revolution which dethroned James II., so that, in the language of Locke, that monarch was said to have broken 'the original contract between king and people,' proves not only his private influence but his public importance. There was, it is clear, in the case of Locke, an accurate correspondence between the man and what M. Taine was fond of describing as 'le milieu'—a happy conjunction between the individual thoughts of a reformer and the character of a revolution which had been slowly preparing through the dark and troubled years of the reign of the second Charles.

The boyhood of Locke was contemporaneous with an

earlier upheaval. In 1642, when he was ten years old, the Civil War broke out between Charles I. and his Parliament; and the humble Somersetshire house at Belton was much exercised in the progress of a strife in which Locke's father bore his share on the side of the Puritans. Then in 1646 the scene changes to Westminster School, during his residence at which Professor Fraser conjectures that the youthful Puritan might have been taken to see that last fatal act in Charles's career which was consummated in front of the banquet-room at Whitehall. From Westminster, at the age of twenty (Whitsuntide, 1652), Locke is transferred with a junior studentship at Christ Church to Oxford, which becomes, with some interruptions, his home for the next thirty years. What benefits he derived from the Alma Mater on the Isis is an uncertain question. There can be no doubt that he himself rated the advantages of a University career at an extremely low figure. 'I have often heard him say,' Lady Masham records, 'that he had so small satisfaction from his Oxford studies—as finding very little light brought thereby to his understanding—that he became discontented with his manner of life, and wished that his father had rather designed him for any thing else than what he was there destined to.*' And, indeed, he must have been to some extent a thorn in the side of his tutors, if what a contemporary records of him may be trusted. Anthony Wood, who was himself a fellow-student with 'John Locke of Christ Church, now a noted writer,' declares that he was 'a man of turbulent spirit, clamorous and discontented: while the rest of our club took notes deferentially from the mouth of the master, the said Locke scorned to do so, but was ever prating and troublesome.' One or two things, however, are noticeable in Locke's academic career. In the first place it seems to have been Oxford that first weaned him from the narrowness of that Puritanism which, no doubt, he had imbibed in his father's home; for his friendships were as much among Royalists and Churchmen as among Republicans, and no one was more respected by him than Edward Pococke, professor of Hebrew and Arabic, 'the most prominent and outspoken Royalist,' as Professor Fraser says, 'in the University.' In the second place, it was there that he imbibed that doctrine of religious toleration to which he consecrated his first literary labours—perhaps owing to the

* Fraser's 'Locke,' p. 9.

influence of Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. And, finally, it is clear that his chief academical studies were not made in the peripatetic philosophy, of which he expressed the greatest abhorrence, but in experimental medicine, which earned for him not only the title of Doctor Locke but also the friendship of Lord Ashley, afterwards first Lord Shaftesbury, and that of the great London physician Sydenham.

Of the two important circumstances in Locke's life—the introduction to the London political world and the devotion to intellectual work in the direction of philosophical analysis—it is curious to note that both were more or less accidental and fortuitous in their character. The first was due, as we have said, to a friendship with Lord Ashley, which was caused by the accidental absence of the physician (Dr. Thomas) under whom the statesman had proposed to drink certain medicinal waters at Oxford. As Dr. Thomas had been obliged to leave his home, it fell to the task of the Christ Church student to make the necessary preparations for Lord Ashley's visit. The result was the formation of an intercourse which bore important fruits. Lady Masham tells us that each found equal pleasure in the presence of his companion.

'If my lord was pleased with the company of Mr. Locke, Mr. Locke was yet more pleased with that of Lord Ashley. My lord, when Mr. Locke took leave of him after supper, engaged him to dine with him the next day, which he willingly promised; and the waters having been provided against the day following, and Mr. Locke having before had thoughts of drinking them himself, my lord would have him drink them with him, so that he might have the more of his company. . . . Soon after my lord, returning to London, desired Mr. Locke that from that time he would look upon his house as his home, and that he would let him see him there in London as soon as he could.'*

Hence we find Locke in the following year exchanging his home at Christ Church for one at Exeter House, in the Strand, and becoming the confidential adviser of Lord Shaftesbury, as well as tutor to his son. In 1672, when Locke was forty years of age, he became secretary to his patron, who was now Lord Chancellor, for the presentation of benefices; and in the next year he obtained the secretaryship of the Board of Trade, with an income of 500*l*. From that time he followed the varying fortunes of his chief, retiring to France in 1675, when the Lord Chancellor lost

* Fraser's 'Locke,' p. 27.

his office, returning in 1679 to Thanet House, Aldersgate, with the return of Shaftesbury to favour, and finally going into exile in Holland, in 1683, when the failure of the scheme for putting the Duke of Monmouth on the throne led to the downfall of Shaftesbury. Although Locke suffered, by the loss of his studentship, for his friendship with the eccentric and ill-starred politician, there is no reason for supposing that he in any way sympathised with the Monmouth scheme. In Oxford, which he visited somewhere about 1683, he was reported to be 'a master of taciturnity and passion,' and to be 'living a very cunning and unintelligible life'—which probably only means that, with characteristic prudence and self-control, he refrained from any dangerous criticisms on the course of public events. In Holland, however, he remained till 1689, when he came back to London, borne on the tide which placed William of Orange on the English throne—at once the philosophical defender and the intellectual representative of that beneficent revolution.

The second so-called 'accident,' which converted the student of medicine and the friend of Sydenham into the author of the 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' took place in the winter of 1670-1. Locke had become a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1668, and though he took but little part in its formal proceedings he was fond of 'occasional reunions of a few intimate friends,' which his official position no doubt often put in his way. At one of these meetings the idea of a systematic analysis of knowledge was first broached, warmly taken up by Locke, and only eventually carried into execution twenty years afterwards. 'The Epistle to the Reader,' which precedes the 'Essay,' gives Locke's own account of this interesting incident:

'Were it fit to trouble thee with the history of this essay, I should tell thee that five or six friends, meeting at my chamber, and discoursing on a subject very remote from this, found themselves quickly at a stand by the difficulties that arose on every side. After we had a while puzzled ourselves, without coming any nearer a resolution of those doubts which perplexed us, it came into my thoughts that we took a wrong course, and that, before we set ourselves upon enquiries of that nature, it was necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were or were not fitted to deal with. This I proposed to the company, who all readily assented; and thereupon it was agreed that this should be our first enquiry. Some hasty undigested thoughts, on a subject which I had never before considered, which I set down against our next meeting, gave the first entrance into this discourse; which, having been begun by chance, was continued by entreaty, written by incoherent parcels, and, after long

intervals of neglect, resumed again as my humour or occasions permitted; and at last, in a retirement where an attendance on my health gave me leisure, it was brought into that order thou now seest it.'

Most of the 'incoherent parcels' referred to in the above extract seem to have been written in France between 1675 and 1679, during the temporary obscuration of Shaftesbury's fortunes. At Montpellier Locke made the acquaintance of Thomas Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke; and it is noticeable that both Locke's 'Essay' and Berkeley's 'Principles' enjoyed the patronage of that philosophic nobleman. But Locke did not go out of his way to make many friendships during his foreign residence; and though this was the time when Malebranche's '*Recherche de la Vérité*' was published, when Nicole was issuing his '*Essais de Morale*,' and when Leibnitz was visiting Arnauld and Spinoza, and the immortal '*Ethica, ordine Geometrico demonstrata*' were being given to the world, there is no reason for thinking that Locke met any of these celebrated men. It was one of his peculiarities that he did not consider himself indebted to any thinker (though the influence of Descartes is obvious in many of his pages), and the absence of references to other works of philosophy in the 'Essay' contrasts in a remarkable manner with Bacon's copious list of authorities. Some of the occasional notes in his commonplace book are instructive as to the aims which he set before himself, and the manner in which he desired to compass them. His work was to be to a large extent remedial: it was to cure the human understanding of two fatal errors—a dependence on authority and an empty verbalism. To this he returns again and again, meaningless words and dogmatic assumptions being the two tempters that bewilder men and lead them out of the true path. Here is a trenchant passage which Professor Fraser has quoted from a fragment '*De Arte Medica*,' dated 1668:—

'They that are studiously busy in the cultivating and adorning such dry, barren notions are vigorously employed to little purpose, and might with as much reason have retrimmed, now they are men, the babies they made when they were children, as exchanged them for those empty, impracticable notions that are but the puppets of men's fancies and imaginations, which, however dressed up, are, after forty years' dandling, but puppets still, void of strength, use, or activity.' (P. 88.)

Another thought which is constantly present to him is the 'disproportion' which exists between the human mind and the universe of things, 'the limits' of the understanding being as much the subject of his meditation as its 'nature.'

In the spirit of Bacon he strenuously believes that the 'subtilitas naturæ multis partibus exsuperat subtilitatem mentis humanæ.' 'Our minds are not made as large as truth,' he cries, 'nor suited to the whole extent of things. It will become us better to consider well our own weakness and exigencies—what we are made for and what we are capable of.' In point of fact, Locke believed that the only end of knowledge was wise action, and that knowledge for knowledge's sake is rather amusement than serious business, and therefore to be reckoned among our idle recreations. The following passage, though characteristic enough of one side of Locke's nature, gives an almost disagreeable impression of the narrowness and circumscription of his aims:—

'The extent of things knowable is so vast, our duration here is so short, and the entrance by which the knowledge of things gets into our understanding is so narrow, that the whole time of our life is not enough to acquaint us even with what we are capable of knowing, and which it would be not only convenient, but very advantageous for us to know. . . . We have no reason to complain that we do not know the nature of the sun or stars, and a thousand other speculations in nature, since if we knew them they would be of no solid advantage to us, nor help to make our lives the happier, they being but the useless employment of idle or over-curious brains. . . . All our business lies at home. Why should we think ourselves hardly dealt with that we are not furnished with compass and plummet to sail and fathom that restless, unnavigable ocean of the universal matter, motion, and space? There are no commodities to be brought from thence serviceable to our use, nor that will better our condition. We need not be displeased that we have not knowledge enough to discover whether we have any neighbours or no in those large bulbs of matter that we see floating in the abyss, or of what kind they are, since we can never have any communication with them that might turn to our advantage. Man's mind and faculties were given him to procure him the happiness which the world is capable of.' (P. 50.)

Although, as Professor Fraser remarks, Locke did not always remain at the level of 'this secularist conception of life,' it is clear that it only repeats some of the language which Bacon employed in his desire to extend the *regnum hominis*, and that it is not obviously out of harmony with the general tone and temper in which the 'Essay' was composed. That a philosophy framed in this spirit was to guide for a hundred and fifty years the thought of England could not fail to be a misfortune, and the narrowness of ground-plan contrasts somewhat painfully with the more generous schemes of Descartes and Spinoza, whose sanctuary in

Holland was invaded by Locke, as we have already said, in 1683. While in that country Locke formed two lasting friendships—one with Philip von Limborch, 'the leader of ' Liberal Theology in Holland and the friend of Cudworth, ' Whichcote, and More; ' the other with Jean Le Clerc, who was the editor of the well-known ' Bibliothèque Universelle,' and who received some contributions from the refugee philosopher, including an epitome in French of the forthcoming ' Essay.'

The return of Locke to England in the train of William of Orange is the era of the publication of his chief works. The first to appear was the ' Epistola de Tolerantia ' (March 1689), which was written in Latin and addressed to Limborch. This was followed by the ' Two Treatises on Government ' (February 1690), in which Locke gives his version of the ' Social Contract ' theory, and makes the duration of a monarch's sway depend on his preservation of the ' original ' contract between king and people.' The long-expected ' Essay on the Human Understanding ' appeared in March 1690, with a second edition in 1694, a third in 1695, and a fourth in 1700. Other publications of this period were a second and a third letter on ' Toleration,' an essay on the ' Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures ' (June 1695), and letters to Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, who had called in question some passages in Locke's philosophical treatise. It is interesting to discover that Locke was paid 30*l.* for the copyright of the ' Essay,' about the same sum which Kant received ninety-one years afterwards for his ' Kritik of Pure Reason.'

The final years of Locke's life, from 1691 to 1704, need not occupy us long. A new home was opened for the philosopher, who transferred himself from London to the country seat of Sir Francis Masham at Oates, in Essex, the second Lady Masham being Damaris Cudworth, the daughter of Ralph Cudworth, the celebrated theologian and moralist of the seventeenth century. It was a peaceful scene amid which the later years of John Locke were now brought to a close. Close by was the rectory of High Laver, where he gained the friendship of Samuel Lowe, and in the churchyard belonging to that parish he lies buried. Externally these years have no other interest than the appointment to a Commissionership of Trade, an office which was undertaken in 1696 and abandoned by resignation in 1700. But Locke's private life was sweetened by many intimacies—with Molyneux, with King, with Anthony Collins, and above all with Esther

Masham, a daughter of Sir Francis by his first wife, who has left two unpublished volumes of letters relating mostly to the years during which Locke lived at Oates. In his letters to her the philosopher unbends somewhat of the gravity and prosaic studiousness that were natural to him, and her dear 'Johannes' is surrounded by his fair correspondent with some gleams of fancy, if not of romance. 'Had you been at our church yesterday,' he writes to Esther Masham, 'there was one that would have put you to it to have kept pace and time with him. He sang the poor clerk out of his beloved "Behold, and have regard," and made him lose both voice and tune. Would you had been here to have stood up for the credit of our parish, which gave up to a stranger! We have had nothing but winter weather since you went, and I write this by the fireside, whither the blustering, wind-like December has driven me, though it is still August. I hope for a new spring when you come back, and desire to be then as merry as the birds then are when they have their mates: only I desire to be excused from singing; that part shall be yours.' (P. 225.)

It was not often, probably, that Locke assumed so sprightly a strain. For the most part he was occupied either with the duties of his commissionership or with correspondence arising out of his 'Essay,' which had to be either explained or defended. His thoughts also took more of a religious bent, for it was during this period that he wrote his 'Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity,' and composed some notes on the Pauline Epistles. He was sustained in his philosophical position by the enthusiastic sympathy of Molyneux, the Dublin philosopher; and when the authorities at Oxford fulminated an anathema on the 'Essay' he took what had been done there, 'he declared, rather as a recommendation of the book.' Isaac Newton came to visit him from Cambridge, and presented him, apparently, with a copy of the 'Principia.' Lord Shaftesbury of the 'Characteristics'—Locke's former pupil—and Lord and Lady Peterborough were also among the guests at Oates. The last scene, on October 28, 1704, is thus pictured in a letter from Esther Masham:—

'You have heard, no doubt, of the death of good Mr. Locke. . . . Though we could not expect his life a great while, it did nevertheless surprise us. His legs were very much swollen, and the day before he died, finding it very troublesome to rise, because of his great weakness that he was hardly able to do anything for himself, he resolved to lie abed, which made the swelling in his legs get up into his body, and immediately took away his stomach and his sleep, for he slept not a wink all that night. The next morning he resolved to rise, and was carried into his study, and in his chair got a little sleep, was very

sensible, but soon called to be moved, and was no sooner set elsewhere than he died, closing his eyes with his own hands. 'He is extremely regretted by everybody. . . . I heard him say, the night before he died, that he heartily thanked God for all His goodness and mercies to him, but above all for His redemption of him by Jesus Christ.' (P. 270.)

He was buried, as we have said, at High Laver, where 'that serene and pensive face, pale and tinged with sadness, which Kneller has made familiar to us all,' had often been seen. According to tradition, the first visitor to the tomb of John Locke was Sir Isaac Newton. His monument on the south wall of the church, which had fallen out of repair, was restored at the cost of John Austin, Victor Cousin, and some other friends, a few years ago.

If Locke was one of those who waited until middle age before producing his capital work on philosophy (he was nearly fifty-eight when the 'Essay' made its first appearance), he has at least this advantage, that his position is more settled, and his opinions are more mature. Whether he is writing on the subject of tolerance, or education, or the reasonableness of Christianity, at the background of all his views stand the philosophical principles of his 'Essay.' There is in him no such divergence or difference of standpoint as exists between the 'Siris' of Bishop Berkeley and the earlier 'Essay on Vision' and 'Principles,' nor even so much as critics have discovered between the immature 'Treatise' of Hume, which the author himself says 'fell dead-born from the press,' and his concise and lucid 'Enquiry.' Hence though in Locke we may find fault with the postulates and presuppositions of the system, and point out certain difficulties which appear in comparing the later portion of the work with the earlier, we can yet feel tolerably sure of the main position, and accept the groundwork of the treatise as that which the philosopher had, after prolonged consideration, deliberately laid down.

The guiding principles of Locke are few in number and very easily set forth. All knowledge is due to experience—either that which comes from the operations of the external senses, or that which we owe to the inner sense or consciousness which Locke calls 'reflection.' Perhaps the philosopher was never quite explicit as to the extent and range of the power which he termed 'reflection;' but we can hardly be wrong, if we bear in mind the general outlines of his system, in supposing it to be nothing more than what

other thinkers have called the inner sense, the immediate consciousness of those internal states of mind which, as Kant puts it, are subject to 'the form of time.' We are aware of certain states of consciousness which succeed one another, and which form our inner experience, such as the various feelings of anger, or expectation, or sorrow, or love, or pity, which pass across our daily life. This is a kind of experience from which knowledge results, but it waits the touch of the outer world before it can wake into activity. In fact, if there were no external world there would be no knowledge; only through the intercourse which our senses hold with that which is without them, and which, as it were, impinges on their susceptibility and stirs them into exercise, can experience build up the fabric of our mental life. Apart from experience the mind is a *tabula rasa*, a blank piece of paper, an empty cabinet: sensible contact with the world outside us writes characters on the tablet and fills the cabinet with ideas.

'Let us suppose,' says Locke,* 'the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas; how comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from experience: in that all our knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself. Our observation, employed either about external sensible objects or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring.'

Hence it is easy enough to find the extent and range of what we mean by knowledge. Its elements are 'ideas,' either simple or complex. Knowledge is, as it were, the proposition or sentence, of which simple and complex ideas are respectively the letters and the words. Simple notions or ideas are derived from sensation or reflection, or both together; complex notions are derived from simple ones; and in its last resort the long chain of experience has its last link in those primary sensations, such as those of heat, hardness, colour, sound, figure, rest, motion, or else in those immediate reports of our consciousness by which we are aware that we are thinking, or feeling angry, being pleased or suffering pain. In all this resolution of the complex into

the simple, and this determined impulse to send a man 'back to his senses,' Locke's main motive is clear. He desired to free mankind from bondage either to meaningless words or fanciful and baseless conceptions such as he found in abundance in the philosophy which had come down from the Middle Ages, by suggesting a ready test of validity and truth. Let us trace our abstract conceptions or our abstract terms back to those simple ideas which we gather from our intercourse with the external world. Are they found to be devoid of any such parentage? Then, too, they are devoid of reality, for it is only that genesis in sensation which can substantiate their claims. Throughout Locke's tendency is to deny to the mind any originative capacities of its own; if the mind invents any ideas for itself, they are without real validity, so far as knowledge is concerned. The mind, he will suppose, is a *tabula rasa*, a blank piece of paper—a hypothesis which is demonstrably false, for the mind has its own laws, and which could only have been framed in an age which knew little or nothing of biological science. Locke, however, is throughout under the dominion of his metaphor, which, indeed, he derived from Bacon's language about the 'intellectus abrasus,' and the necessity of entering the kingdom of nature 'sub personâ infantis.' The hypothesis, moreover, is one which naturally fits in with his main presupposition that knowledge is due to sensible experience, for it is only by successive impacts on the characterless tablet that a man becomes possessed of knowledge. The theory, no doubt, recommends itself by its simplicity, its practicalness, and perhaps by its accordance with the dictates of common sense; but it is, nevertheless, at the bottom of most of the defects in Locke's system. 'The new way of 'ideas' should not have been handicapped at the very outset by being tied to the supposition of a mind which, in the acquisition of knowledge, was featureless and inactive.

The first book of the 'Essay' is an exemplification of Locke's principles, and, at the same time, affords a clear illustration of the circumscribed limits within which those principles enabled him to work. A mind which, antecedently to experience, could be described as a blank tablet or empty cabinet must obviously be devoid of innate concepts or ideas. To admit the possibility of any such innateness would be to defeat the thesis that all our knowledge is due to experience, and to experience alone. Hence we find Locke commencing his work by a destructive analysis intended to prove that there are neither speculative

nor practical principles which can be said to be part of the mind's original constitution. His arguments are, for the most part, similar to those which J. S. Mill long afterwards brought forward to disprove the intuitive belief in the uniformity of Nature, and may be very briefly summarised. There are no innate speculative or theoretical principles; for let us take, by way of example, the so-called principle of Identity ('whatever is is'), or the principle of Contradiction ('it is impossible that the same thing should be and 'not be'). Now, in the first place, it is clear that children, idiots, and uneducated persons know nothing and care less about such assumed innate principles. It may, however, be urged that they are in the mind, but that originally the mind is unconscious of them. Locke will not admit any such subterfuge. To him—and it is a notable assertion—'to be in the mind' must be the same thing as 'to be 'known,' or, in other words, there can be no such thing as latent or unconscious knowledge, and, inasmuch as we do not know these principles from our earliest childhood, they cannot be innate. Nor yet can it be said that we become conscious of them as soon as we make use of our reason; for, as a matter of fact, they come late and not early in our intellectual life. That the bitter is not sweet, and that a rod and a cherry are different things, we know a long while before we realise any such abstractions as the principles of Identity and Contradiction. The case stands much the same with regard to practical or moral principles. These cannot be innate, for one reason, because all moral rules require to be proved, even the celebrated maxim 'Do as you 'would be done by.' Or take another moral principle, that 'all men should keep their contracts.' For this too we have to assign a reason—either the will of God, the will of society, or the dignity of man. Another argument is to be found in the varying moral codes prevalent among the different nations of the world. How could there be so wide a diversity if practical principles were innate? Even the idea of God himself (the chief of the Cartesian ideas) is not intuitive in the human mind. Rather is it deduced from the signs and evidences of the natural world—a view which is corroborated by the fact, which Locke takes some pains to illustrate, that the idea is not found in all nations. The conclusion of the polemic is the assertion that the primary data of knowledge are not ideas, notions, principles at all, but single, particular instances and impressions. 'Nihil 'est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu.'

It is noticeable that the 'ideas' of the first book of the 'Essay' are not the 'ideas' of the second. Where their innateness is denied they are conceptions, or, as he sometimes calls them, 'native inscriptions;' but the 'new way of ideas' must define them as impressions or sensations. Both uses of the word are exemplified in the following passage:—

'The senses at first let in particular *ideas* (i.e. impressions), and furnish the yet empty cabinet; and the mind by degrees growing familiar with some of them, they are lodged in the memory, and names got to them. Afterwards the mind, proceeding further, abstracts them and by degrees learns the use of general names. In this manner the mind comes to be furnished with *ideas* (i.e. conceptions) and language, the materials about which to exercise its discursive faculty; and the use of reason becomes daily more visible as these materials, that give it employment, increase. But though the having of general *ideas*, and the use of general words and reason generally grow together, yet I see not how this any way proves them innate.'*

The ambiguity, or at all events the double sense, of the term proves that one of Locke's difficulties was the necessity of making his own terminology as he went along (for Hume has the two words 'impressions' and 'ideas'); and a similarly vague use occurs with regard to the words 'perception,' 'judgement,' and 'reflection.' In the case before us, however, it leads us to the discovery that what Locke was arguing against was a view which probably no philosopher has ever seriously entertained. It is difficult to imagine any thinker proclaiming that there are 'native inscriptions' on the mind, which, in all their legibility and distinctness, are to be found there before the arrival of experience. Even in the case of the belief in the uniformity of Nature, against the intuitive character of which Mill brought all his engines of assault, it is more than doubtful whether anyone would be concerned to repeat 'I believe in the uniformity of Nature' as an absolutely first sentence in a formal 'credo' of intellectual possessions. Yet clearly Locke imagined that he was disproving everything which was innate and intuitive when he was arguing the absurdity of the innateness of detailed propositions or definitely constituted and adequate ideas. Nor even will he allow the innateness of capacities or potential faculties of knowing, on the ground, as he says, that to be in the mind must be the same as to be known, and that knowledge which is latent or unconscious is no knowledge

* Essay, BK. I. c. ii. sect. 15.

at all. In answer to so absurd a position it is open to us to appeal either to biological science or to later philosophical systems. Biology will tell us of inherited aptitudes, of definite modes according to which the mind reacts upon the impressions conveyed by sense, of nerve-currents predisposed to run in particular channels; or else, as with Spencer, it will bring forward theories of heredity and explain that the individual starts with various modes of thought, crystallised in the experience of humanity, and born with him as part of the heritage of the race of which he is a member. Kant and other metaphysicians will repeat the same story, though from a subjective rather than an objective standpoint. They will talk either of forms or moulds, which condition experience; or else of the mind's own laws, according to which it interprets for itself and renders intelligible the dumb message of the senses. Whether from this side or that, Locke's *tabula rasa* is shown to be an impossible hypothesis: the mind is not passive, but active; it is not blank reciprocity, but the creative soil which transforms the dead seeds into living plants by means of its native forces and productive power. We can never do without the *ipse intellectus* in giving an account of the birth and growth of knowledge; what is really innate is not some definite proposition or set of *à priori* maxims, but the intellect itself with its own laws. The capacities and potentialities of the mind can, indeed, only be discovered in that experience which they condition and render possible; but, in a true sense of the word, they are latent, and a deeper analysis of intelligence has, in taking account of them, to acknowledge that, despite the verdict of Locke, to be in the mind is by no means the same thing as to be known. As Professor Fraser says, Locke

'was biassed by his unwarranted assumption that nothing can be in the mind of which the mind is not conscious—that mental activity is identical with consciousness of it—and so he overlooked the now acknowledged fact that a man's individual consciousness may include only a small part of what he potentially knows. Locke's habit of physical experiment led him to look at knowledge, and also at the universe, on the natural rather than on the metaphysical or supernatural side, as a succession of caused causes, rather than in their constant originating cause—from the point of view of natural science, in short, rather than from that of the philosopher. He failed to show that the supernatural or metaphysical is continuously immanent in nature and in natural law.' (P. 120.)

We shall see hereafter in relation to other doctrines of Locke the nature of that kind of 'innateness' for which we

are contending, and also the main 'forms' or 'capacities' of the mind which we would include under the expression 'innate laws of the human understanding.' For the present we have been concerned with examining Locke's system as an admirable illustration of a philosophy of common sense, a philosophy of that 'roundabout' empirical character which makes it especially dear to English 'practicalness.' Roughly speaking, it is no doubt true that knowledge arises from experience, from a sensible contact with the world outside us; but it is clear that if we are to allow ourselves to be guided by Locke's picture of a blank piece of paper being gradually filled with characters, or even if we fall back on Aristotle's old simile of the impression of a seal on wax, we must, in neither the one case nor the other, be the victim of our own metaphor. No purely physical categories can as such explain spiritual and mental processes. The piece of paper must be allowed to be anything but 'blank;' it has a strange power of altering the characters which are inscribed on it: the wax is not passively receptive of the impression of the seal, but can transform and reproduce some version of its own. Whatever, therefore, Locke may be supposed to gain in lucidity by the use of such common-sense illustrations he assuredly loses in adequacy and truth. Indeed, his own premisses cannot always explain his conclusions, as we shall see in his celebrated distinction of Primary and Secondary Qualities of Matter.

Hence emerges a significant characteristic of Locke's philosophy, which is more patent to ourselves than it was to his contemporaries. To us, looking back upon the thought of the seventeenth from the vantage-ground of the nineteenth century, and knowing what different courses philosophy has taken since the production of the 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' it often appears as if Locke attempted to combine two different points of view, and thus might be convicted of an obvious inconsistency. Inconsistent he undoubtedly is, but only in the sense that he held in solution views which were afterwards sharply discriminated by controversy. It was after Locke that the two streams of thought which are usually termed 'idealistic' and 'realistic' commenced to diverge from one another: the one, dimly prefigured in Berkeley, was brought into the clear light of day by Kant; the other, prefaced by Hume's scepticism, has since taken a broader course in J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer. Hence, when we examine Locke's

doctrines with some knowledge of their subsequent history, they appear to contain both empirical and idealistic elements; sometimes the author seems to be quite frankly a sensationalist; at other times he appears to be by no means averse to theories which belong to an opposite school. Now it is part of a common-sense scheme of thinking to take 'sensation' and 'perception' for granted, as though such mysterious processes, by which the external becomes internal, and the outer motion of particles results in inner states of consciousness, could not be satisfactorily accounted for by any analysis which did not explain *obscurum per obscurius*. Locke, at all events, is quite prepared to let sensation be its own witness, as something which contained no mysteries for the plain unvarnished, common-sense intelligence.

Unfortunately, however, Locke's silence on the subject leaves us in some embarrassment when we examine his theory of Primary and Secondary Qualities of Matter.* There are, he tells us, certain primary qualities, such as solidity, extension, figure, motion, or rest and number, which 'are really in objects, whether anyone's senses perceive them or no,' and in the case of which we can argue directly from the 'idea' in us to the 'quality' in the external object. We can be quite sure that when a body, like a marble, appears to us to be solid, it is solid in itself, and so far our sensations may be described as presentative, actually giving us the real nature of the thing which we are observing. But there are other qualities, called secondary, concerning which we can by no means have the same assurance. They are colours, sounds, smells, and tastes—qualities, so called, 'which in truth are nothing in the objects themselves but powers to produce;' 'the ideas of them have no resemblance to the powers themselves.' We may speak of a rose as red, and a violet as blue, but these are not qualities in either the rose or the violet, but only the impressions made on our sensitive organisation. And, inasmuch as these secondary qualities are declared to be effects on our organism of the primary—effects which are unlike their causes—we may in this case call Sensation representative rather presentative, because it does not faithfully copy, but gives its own version of the data presented to it. How it comes to pass that a mind which is a *tabula rasa* can give its own version, instead of faithfully preserving the characters inscribed on it, Locke does not tell us.

* Essay, Bk. II. c. viii.

Indeed, the doctrine of Secondary qualities is an unconscious refutation of his premisses. 'Qualities' of course they are not in any real sense, for the phrase at once involves an external reference (as though the rose were really and in itself red, and the violet similarly blue), whereas they are explained by Locke to exist only for consciousness. But the very possibility of such purely* subjective impressions as those in which we declare an object to taste sour, to smell sweet, to look red, at once leads to a different view of mind and its nature from that which Locke, at the beginning of his second book, seemed to espouse. For in the perception of these qualities the mind distinguishes them, and refers them to a thing ('here is a sensation "red," different from 'other sensations, which I did not make for myself, and 'which I refer to a rose'), and further ascribes them to the external object, as the 'effect' of which the thing is 'the 'cause' (the redness being produced by the essential qualities of the rose, working on my organs of apprehension). In other words, in the case of these secondary qualities the mind is making affirmations and passing judgements, referring qualities to substances and explaining effects by means of causes—in short, is acting in accordance with those innate laws which the idealist has always recognised as her inalienable birthright, but which the followers of Locke, if not Locke himself, have been foremost to impugn. If we desired, therefore, to vindicate the existence of innate laws of the understanding, it would be sufficient to point out that Locke's theory of secondary qualities involves the existence, at least, of these two laws, viz. 'that every attribute is the attribute of a substance,' and that 'every event 'has a cause.' Subsequent analysis, both on biological and metaphysical lines, has added other functions which can properly be described as innate. Each sense has its own innate form, its own peculiar way of reacting on the stimuli which reach it; and sensibility generally, Kant would add, has its two specific innate forms, Space and Time. We cannot help seeing in space, and feeling in time. So much richer is the native structure of intelligence than Locke's premisses allow, that nearly all his subsequent doctrines require for their acceptance a view of mental activity and spontaneousness which effectually disproves the hypothesis of a *tabula rasa*. We have seen this to some extent in Locke's account of Secondary Qualities; we shall see it still more clearly in what he has to tell us about 'Substance' and 'Cause.'

Locke's account of 'Substance' is an admirable example of the honesty of his analysis, even when carried out in the teeth of his own presuppositions. If we resolve all the affirmations which we make with regard to the external world and its composition into their simplest expression, we shall see that for us 'Substance' means nothing but the qualities of substance. Subtract from substance all the attributes of hardness and softness, sweetness and sourness, brightness and darkness, with which we encircle it on the strength of our own sensitive organisation, and it is clear that nothing remains to describe substance, as it is in itself apart from our perceiving senses. If that be so, it should seem to follow that substance is only an idea of the mind, or rather, if we are to avoid the use of an ambiguous term like 'idea,' a subjective form, a category, by means of which we hold together, or construe to ourselves, or render intelligible the various single and particular impressions of our senses. Obviously then, in any account of knowledge, notice should be taken of this power or faculty of construction which apparently belongs to the mind, and due allowance should be made for it in our ground-plan of the human intelligence. It cannot be a passively receptive mind which thus prescribes to experience the form which it should assume, and which arranges under a definite category sensations derived from eye and hand. In other words, it must be recognised to be a law of the understanding that 'every attribute is the attribute of a 'substance,' or, as Kant put it in his technical fashion, 'Substantiality is one of the categories of the understanding.' If we now turn to Locke's account of this question, we shall see that he is virtually in agreement with what we have said.

'If anyone,' he says, * 'will examine himself concerning his notion of pure substance in general, he will find he has no other idea of it at all, but only a supposition of he knows not what support of such qualities as are capable of producing simple ideas in us, which qualities are commonly called "accidents." If anyone should be asked, "What is the subject wherein colour or weight inheres?" he would have nothing to say but, "The solid extended parts." And if he were demanded, "What is it that solidity and extension inhere in?" he would not be in a much better case than the Indian before mentioned, who, saying that the world was supported by a great elephant, was asked what the elephant rested on? to which his answer was, "A great tortoise:" but being again pressed to know what gave support to the

* Essay, Bk. II. c. xxiii. sect. 2.

broad-backed tortoise, replied—something, he knew not what. . . . The idea, then, we have, to which we give the general name “substance,” being nothing but the supposed, but unknown, support of those qualities we find existing, which we imagine cannot subsist *sine re substantia*, “without something to support them,” we call that support *substantia*, which, according to the true import of the word, is, in plain English, “standing under” or “upholding.”

Nothing could be clearer so far. Substance is a mental idea (which may or may not have an external archetype; Locke says it has, but this obviously cannot be proved, except in accordance with Dr. Johnson's test of common-sense ‘striking with a stick’) which *we prescribe* to experience, and which, apparently, we do not derive from experience. But from Locke's point of view there are several difficulties. The first of these connects itself with the account already given of ‘primary qualities.’ For these (solidity and the rest) have been declared to be actually in the thing, and are therefore real attributes, and not to be wholly resolved into our sensations. If, therefore, we can say with perfect truth, ‘The thing is solid’ (not, ‘The thing appears to me to be solid’), how comes it that the thing is ‘unknown’? If the primary qualities are not phenomenal, but real, how can the idea of substance be fictitious? It was natural enough from this point of view that the next step in philosophical analysis, which was made by Berkeley, should be the affirmation that both Locke's primary and secondary qualities are equally phenomenal and equally rest on a subjective basis. But further, assuming that the idea of substance is a useful fiction of the mind, how comes it on Locke's pre-suppositions that the mind can thus contribute an idea to help out its experience? If all we know comes through sensitive experience, and the mind by itself is best to be understood as a *tabula rasa*—a sensitive plate—where is the explanation of this strange inventive power which the mind possesses, by means of which ‘a support’ is given to separate and piecemeal attributes? Can a sensitive plate not only reproduce impressions, but group them according to standards and ideas of its own? Can a *tabula rasa* not only reflect the world, but also imagine the elephant and the broad-backed tortoise, which are to serve as its Atlas? Or is it not rather clear that the mind must be an actively discriminating and grouping force, a power of re-integration and re-arrangement, whereby what Kant called the ‘chaos’ and ‘plurality’ of impressions are reduced to order and intelligibility? So much, however, Locke was not prepared to

allow: to him it probably seemed too much like that 'letting loose of thought in the vast ocean of being' which was the fault of metaphysics and dogmatism; and hence he is left in the awkward predicament of acknowledging that 'substance' is a mental idea, and yet denying that the mind can, apart from experience, form such ideas; of saying we do not know what matter is, and yet allowing that matter is 'solid' and 'extended,' which are real attributes of a therefore real matter. To him, in all probability, matter, according to the vague notions of common sense, was a something without us which caused our sensations. We cannot, however, say exactly what this something is, and indeed, in the fourth book of his 'Essay,' he points out that all general affirmations about nature are 'unreal,' can only be 'probable,' and might be trifling. And hence the way was open for Berkeley's denial of matter, and for Hume's subsequent scepticism, which impartially denied the reality of both 'matter' and 'spirit.'

In Locke's treatment of 'Cause' we have an illustration of the ambiguity arising from inconsistent views, which we have already noticed as a not unusual characteristic (from a more modern standpoint) of his philosophic doctrines. Modern controversy has narrowly discriminated between two opposite versions of what we mean by 'cause,' one which attempts to substantiate its empirical character, and the other which frankly asserts it to be a mental relation employed to render our experience intelligible. Mill's doctrine on the subject would fall under the first head, Kant's under the second. But Locke, who propounded his philosophic scheme at a time before controversy had hardened the contrast between the empiricist and the idealist, contains—in solution as it were—each of the two views in rudimentary forms. If we take the chapters xxv. and xxvi. of the second book of the 'Essay,' it would appear that the causal relation is to be classed among those complex ideas which are gradually formed out of the simple ideas. These relations are declared* to be not 'contained in the real existence of things, but something 'extraneous and superinduced,' from which it would follow that Kant was right when he termed 'Causality' a category of the understanding. Yet this cannot be the doctrine of Locke, for 'cause and effect' are said to be derived

* Bk. II. c. xxv. sect. 8.

from observing 'the constant vicissitude of things.'* Moreover, in an earlier chapter of this book,† Cause is apparently classed among the attributes of things (under the name of 'Powers'), whereby they act upon our modes of apprehension. 'The qualities,' says Locke, 'that are in bodies, rightly considered, are of three sorts . . . thirdly, the power that is in any body, by reason of the particular constitution of its primary qualities to make such a change in the bulk, figure, texture, and motion of another body as to make it operate on our senses differently from what it did before. Thus the sun has a power to make wax white and fire to make lead fluid.' And this must naturally be the real view of Locke, for if secondary qualities stand to primary in the relation of effect to cause, clearly 'cause' must be not only derived from the vicissitude of things, but come very early in the acquisitions of experience, inasmuch as without it even the experiencing of simple sensations becomes unintelligible. We understand what a sensation is by referring it to some external thing; and thus, for instance, the 'redness' we see is referred to as the effect on our visual sense of which the 'rose' is in some way the cause. But, if all this be so, why does this relation stand among those complex ideas which are formed out of the simple ideas? And we ask in some confusion whether it is a mental relation, superinduced on experience, or a relation to the reality of which experience testifies? It is impossible to say exactly what Locke means, amongst other reasons because the chapter on 'Power' was felt to be ambiguous, and rewritten by the author, though without removing its ambiguity. All we can say is that Locke, so far as he is a representative of the 'common-sense' way of philosophising, believes that cause means 'power to produce changes,' and that things outside us have this power, and we can know they have by experience; while, so far as he is at once the intellectual father of both Hume and Kant, he is inclined to suggest that 'cause' is a mental idea—not, indeed, a wholly fictitious one, as Hume thought, but still an idea not contained in experience but superinduced on it. And in this way we are able to understand Locke's position historically, and yet to recognise how far his narrow analysis of the processes of knowledge requires to be expanded by Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason.'

It is impossible within the limits of the present

* Bk. II. c. xxvi. sect. 1.

† Bk. II. c. viii. sect. 23.

essay to attempt to unravel Locke's view of the liberty of human volition, which is one of the subjects discussed in his baffling chapter on 'Power.*' Nor yet have we room to consider what kind of security for physical science Locke allows in the fourth book of his 'Essay,' when he asserts that while general propositions in morals and mathematics may be real and instructive, general propositions about nature are either unreal or trifling.†

We may, however, fitly conclude what we have to say about the most characteristically English philosopher by some reference to his views on such ultimate questions as the nature of the human personality and of God; for here too we shall find plenty of ambiguities, if not actual inconsistencies, while at the same time there are some fruitful hints, which served as starting-points for the further developments of his successors.

It is easy for a philosophy which is avowedly sceptical to refuse to give any account of human personality. It may frankly admit that, inasmuch as all human knowledge is limited to the immediate presentations of the moment, we may talk, it is true, of sensations, and, perhaps more doubtfully, talk of ideas, but that we are everlastingly debarred from talking of a Self, to which the sensations come and which has the ideas. And essentially in this spirit we find Hume declaring that there is no identity in the human mind at different times, just as there is no simplicity at one time, because 'men are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions that succeed each other with inconceivable rapidity, and are in perpetual flux and movement.'‡ And this conclusion is no doubt logical enough if we grant the premisses on which it ultimately depends. But the point which interests us in this reference is that these premisses, from which Hume drew conclusions so paradoxical and so antagonistic to the views of common sense, are the very premisses which he inherited from Locke, and are therefore the direct heritage of a so-called philosophy of common sense. For Locke too believed that our knowledge was in ultimate resort limited to the immediate presentations of sense, this being the very ground for his doctrine as to 'general propositions about nature.' Why are general propositions about nature either unreal or trifling?

* Bk. II. c. xxi.

† Essay, Bk. IV. c. viii.

‡ Hume's 'Treatise,' Bk. I. p. iv. sect. 6.

The reason why they are unable to give us any trustworthy information about the real constitution of objects is that real existence is limited to the single momentary sensible event (of which alone we can be sure) and is not concerned with the co-existence of such events in a given body or object. Hence general propositions about nature can only be occupied with the analysis of a name—for instance, the name of gold,* not the real constitution of gold itself, as the common meeting-ground for the various qualities which we assign to it. Such, at all events, is the doctrine of the fourth book of the 'Essay,' however little it may accord with some of the teaching of the earlier. But if real existence be limited to the single momentary sensible event, the same thing must hold true of the Self, and we have to conclude that though we know states of mind as they make themselves vivid in consciousness, we have no knowledge to correspond to what we mean by a Self, whose states they are. And we are thus landed in the position of Hume, and logically led to a denial of personal identity. Yet if there were one doctrine, it might be supposed, which common sense affirmed, it should be that each thinking man is aware that he exists because he knows that his various feelings belong to him and do not belong to anyone else. It may be true that wisdom is justified of her children, but it is assuredly not the case in philosophy that common sense is justified of hers, or else Locke, the common-sense philosopher, would not be the intellectual father of Hume, the sceptic.

That Locke disguised from himself the issue to which his own speculations must lead is evident from one or two passages in his chapter on 'Identity and Diversity' (II. c. xxvii.).

'Self,' says Locke, 'is that conscious thinking thing (whatever substance made up of, whether spiritual or material, simple or compounded, it matters not) which is sensible or conscious of pleasure and pain, capable of happiness or misery, and so is concerned for itself, as far as that consciousness extends.' 'Though the same immaterial substance or soul does not alone, wherever it be and in whatsoever state, make the same man, yet, it is plain, consciousness, so far as ever it can be extended, should it be to ages past, unites existences and actions, very remote in time, into the same person, as well as it does the existence and actions of the immediately preceding moment; so that whatever has the consciousness of present and past actions is the same person, to whom they both belong.' †

* Essay, Bk. IV. c. 8, sects. 5 and 9.

† Essay, Bk. II. c. xxvii, sects. 16 and 17.

Brave words these, and, if only we might accept them as Locke's unalterable opinion, we have here the foundation for a theory of reasoned spiritualism, and even for a philosophical vindication of immortality. Unfortunately, however, we shall not always find Locke writing in this strain. In earlier chapters the mind is apparently only the ideas which come and go, a perishing series of feelings—not a self, which is a consciousness always at one with itself. 'For if we look immediately into ourselves, and reflect on what is observable there, we shall find our ideas always, whilst we are awake or have any thought passing in train, one going and another coming without intermission.* And certainly no one by simple inspection as it were, or by the intimations of the so-called inner sense, could ever interpret self otherwise than as 'passing states.' What then becomes of personal identity, or the series of states, which in J. S. Mill's language 'are aware of themselves as a series'? How are we to know what a self, or Ego, is, which is over and above the states and to whom the states belong?

Speaking roughly and inadequately, Locke no doubt in his uncritical moments conceived the mind to be a kind of inner tablet on which external things come and impress themselves through the various avenues of sense. But how to describe it he knew not. As Professor Green remarks, Locke's self is perpetually receding and shrinking from view. Now it is the brain (II. ix. 3); then it is the understanding (II. i. 23); then it is the mind (II. xxi. 25, 26); then it is the thinking substance (II. i. 10, 12); finally, it is the man who carries about this thinking substance within him—'all the whole journey between Oxford and London' (II. xxiii. 20). And this thinking substance Locke is sometimes inclined to think material, 'a parcel of matter,' remaining after sensible qualities have been abstracted, as the basis of them (III. vi. 4; also IV. iii. 6, 'a thinking immaterial substance'). In this mood he is as much the father of the materialists as, in another mood, he is of the sceptics.

If the notion of self is thus imperfectly conceived and mistily described, what shall we say of that which should be the supreme and culminating point of Locke's system, the reality of God? Perhaps if the reader has followed us thus far he will not expect to find that the method and limitations which Locke prescribed to himself can admit of adequate ideas on the subject of the Divinity. There is, of course, no

* Bk. II. c. vii. sect. 9; cf. also II. c. xiv. sect. 32.

doubt that Locke himself was a fervent Deist, and that he not only believed in the existence of God, but thought that such a creed was the chief uniting element in any civilised society. Professor Fraser tells us that among Locke's duties in 1669 was that of secretary to the founders of the North American colony of Carolina, of whom Lord Ashley was the most active. A scheme for the government of that colony exists in Locke's handwriting, and among its provisions is to be read the following: 'No man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that God is publicly to be worshipped.'* To believe in God, however, as a presupposition of faith, or as an ordinance of civil society, is one thing; it is quite another thing to give a philosophical justification of that belief and to explain it on the grounds of reason and in accordance with the laws of the human understanding. Even Kant was incapable of such an effort, and contented himself with showing that the idea of God was a postulate in the realm of morals, however little validity such a conception possessed in the realm of knowledge.

To begin with, Locke in the first book of his 'Essay' labours to prove that we have no innate idea of God, as Descartes supposed, and that consequently our belief in Him is not a matter of instinct or intuition, but due to a chain of reasoning and inference, deduced from the signs and evidences of the natural world.† In other words, we have a teleological proof of God, as the presumed Author of what is contrived and designed with surpassing skill. Unfortunately, according to the doctrines of the fourth book, general propositions concerning nature are either unreal or trifling. Later on another kind of proof is intimated. In the chapter on 'Infinity'‡ Locke maintains that the idea of God's existence is gained by adding 'infinity' to those attributes of which we can conceive with regard to ourselves. If we understand what power, wisdom, and goodness mean in reference to men, we have to add 'infinity' to them to conceive what they mean in reference to God. What, then, is 'infinity,' and how do we come by it? Locke answers—

'Everyone that has any idea of any stated lengths of space, as a foot, finds that he can repeat that idea; and joining it to the former, make the idea of two feet, and by addition of a third three feet, and

* Fraser's 'Locke,' p. 29.

† I. c. iv. sect. 8.

‡ II. c. xvii. sect. 1.

so on, without ever coming to an end of his additions, whether of the same idea of a foot, or, if he pleases, of doubling it, or any other idea he has of any length, as a mile, or diameter of the earth, or of the *orbis magnus* . . . the power of enlarging his idea of space by further additions remaining still the same, he hence takes the idea of infinite space.*

'Infinity,' then, with Locke is everlasting addibility (if the expression may be allowed), a 'perpetuus progressus ad indefinitum.' No such process of adding, however, will give us such a conception of 'infinity' as shall be a whole and not a succession of parts. God, as infinite, is not, for instance, conceived under conditions of time, but, if we may say it with all reverence, is 'totus, teres atque rotundus,' an eternal, self-subsistent, and all-comprehensive unity. Yet all the attributes, understood as Locke understands them, will, however added to, still remain subject to time, still be conceived of as a succession of such a kind that no one part can co-exist with (but only succeed) any other. And this is a characteristic which is inconsistent with Divine perfection. A God conceived as a thousand or million times more good than we are is still not a good God, but only a magnified and non-natural man.

Nor can other suggestions of the 'Essay' on this subject be considered satisfactory. The tenth chapter in the fourth book is devoted to considerations of which the two following are the principal ones. In the first place it is suggested that God's existence is proved mediately from the existence of self. Man knows that he himself is, and therefore argues that God is, as the Author of his being. This is more or less of a Cartesian argument, and is quite appropriate in the mouth of a man whose cardinal principle was, 'Cogito, ergo sum.' But how is it appropriate to Locke? Is then self an intuition and immediately known? We have already seen the difficulty in which Locke was placed to describe the self and the shifting versions which he gave of the human personality and identity. Further, the proof is from something which exists now to something which has existed from eternity. 'There is no truth more evident than that 'something must be from eternity,' says Locke.† If, however, we start, as Locke would have us do, from events happening now, and retrace the path by which event after event has developed, passing from effects to causes which

* II. c. xvii. sect. 3.

† IV. c. x. sect. 8.

are themselves the effects of other causes, and so on in endless retrogression, there is a twofold alternative before us. Either we discover that the chain is really endless and leads us nowhither, or else we are landed in that contradiction in terms, a 'first event,' a contingency which is not contingent, but absolute. Start from the phenomenal order of 'events,' testified to by experience, and we shall never by any 'salto mortale' get into an order of reality beyond the bounds of experience. No, the only course is to reverse the process, and explain the events by the unchanging reality behind them, instead of trying to use the events to explain the unchanging reality. Or, in simpler language, if an eternal order of nature exist and a God to serve as an 'omnitude realitatis,' then we can understand the phenomena as the changing appearances of such a real being. But if we are only to assume the phenomena we can never get these phenomena at some given point to give up being phenomenal and bring us suddenly into the presence of what Locke calls 'a real being.' Either Locke's God is, like Spencer's, the Unknowable, or else it was construed by him, in some unconscious way, as a pantheistic conception.

We have now concluded our long task, the aim of which has been to indicate rather than exhaustively determine some of the points in which Locke's philosophy, as expounded in his 'Essay,' is either deficient or unsatisfactory. It aims to give an account of human knowledge, to mark out as in a map its different provinces; but its author is handicapped at the very outset by certain presuppositions which are none the less obstructive because Locke thought that he was constructing a philosophy without presuppositions. It is as though a man proceeding to draw a chart were voluntarily to deny himself the use of pencil, ruler, and compasses; for to assume that in the acquisition of knowledge the mind is purely receptive and absolutely dependent on what comes from the outside is to imagine that a map can be drawn in entire independence of the laws which regulate the muscular activities of the hand. Or it is to believe that the eye can see a landscape without any of that chromatic aberration which is one of the very conditions of eyesight. That action and reaction are equal is one of the best ascertained laws of physics: are we to suppose that the mind or the self (however the terms may be interpreted) has no answering rebound to the afferent nerves—no laws which condition its activity? But if we acknowledge that in any

analysis of knowledge we have to recognise the laws, forms, and conditions of mental activity, we see at once the necessity of enlarging Locke's 'Essay' by Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason;' and from this point of view we can accept Professor Fraser's interpretation of Locke as in some sense the prophet of a higher illumination. But we must be careful not to antedate the course of philosophic developement. Locke was by no means an imperfect Kantian, born out of due time, and a Leibnitz was necessary to make the Königsberg thinker possible. The analysis which we find in Locke is sometimes acute, often true, and always suggestive; but, so far as more modern metaphysics are concerned, it is analysis at its earliest, crudest, most 'common-sense' stage. Locke has the unique merit of starting problems for a series of subsequent metaphysicians. In himself, however, he is a mass of inconsistencies, holding in solution views which subsequent thought has discriminated and contrasted. Let us not attempt to gather from the forerunner and prototype more than we can historically expect: it is false criticism to make this thoroughly English thinker dream of the later theories which we owe principally to Germany. At the same time, when we are reconstructing our view of what we owe to Locke, let us not forget that we have in him not only a philosopher, but a political thinker of the first importance, the man who, above all others, was the intellectual representative of the great revolution of 1689.

ART. V.—1. *Report of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the general condition of the Blind, the Deaf and Dumb, and Idiots.* Presented to Parliament, 1890.

2. *Reports of the College and Academy for the Blind, Norwood,* 1887, 1888.

3. *Reports of the School for the Indigent Blind, St. George's Fields, Southwark,* 1860, 1889.

4. *Elementary Education Blind Bill, as amended by Standing Committee of the House of Lords,* 1890.

OUT of the thirty-two millions of subjects over whom her Majesty now reigns as Queen of Great Britain, taken in round numbers, about thirty-two thousand are said to be blind. This estimate, however, must be understood to include a considerable number of those partially deprived of sight, as, during the last forty years, the ratio of blind persons in every million has slowly but steadily fallen from 1,020 to 819, a decrease of $\frac{1}{5}$ of 1 per cent. The smallness of this decrease, when so much has been done in other directions to lessen the ravages of disease, arises from two facts: first, that in a considerable number of cases blindness is the result of some untoward accident—stone-throwing, a splinter of broken glass, a sudden blow or fall—and secondly, and in a still larger number of cases, is the result of neglect, ill-treatment, or exposure to cold when the victim was but a few days or weeks old. So large a percentage of blindness, indeed, is due to this cause that the Royal Commissioners, while noting it, suggest a special remedy, viz. the employment of trained midwives* among the poor, and the careful use of perchloride of mercury for washing the eyes. Thirty per cent. of all the cases in schools and asylums are due to purulent ophthalmia, for which this preparation is found to be the best remedy, at once cheap, harmless, and easily procured, a point of vital importance when it is remembered that ‘one or two days makes all the difference between saving and losing vision.’† The number of children actually blind from birth is comparatively small, but that of those who afterwards become blind from accident or disease goes on increasing; and it is on these two latter points, therefore, that legislation is demanded and

* As in Holland and Denmark.

† Mr. R. Brudenell Carter, 2637.

can do good. In such trades as are found to be directly injurious to the sight, as iron ship building, granite work, grinding of cutlery, &c., where a chance spark or splinter is too often fatal, the use of some special covering for the eye might be made compulsory, while in the case of infantile disease preventive measures are still more easily within reach.

In treating of the general condition of the blind this is one of the chief points at which the 'Report of the Royal Commission' glances, and on which all the members are agreed, and of the importance of which there can be no possible doubt.* The express object of the Commission was to enquire into this general condition, and to recommend such remedies as, after careful consideration, seemed at once most practical and beneficial. The Commissioners have spared neither time nor toil to make their report an exhaustive one, as in some respects it is. They have called before them a host of persons, both at home and from abroad, who were likely to furnish useful information, and received from others on the Continent, and in the United States, many books, documents, and valuable reports bearing on the subject of their special enquiry. They have also issued a series of questions to a large number of blind persons throughout the country, enquiring into their condition, wants, and means of support. The chief schools and institutions for the blind in the United Kingdom, as well as abroad, have been inspected and reported on; and a vast mass of curious information has been obtained, treating of the various systems of education pursued in Paris, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, full notes of which are to be found in the appendix. The report itself, characterised by that wordy style peculiar to Blue Books, occupies fifty folio pages, and these we must endeavour to condense into a much smaller space, quoting, where needed, the exact words, and noting the special recommendations.

First, as to the general condition of the blind and their most pressing needs and requirements. In number about 32,000, they belong chiefly to the indigent class, a distinct group who, if left uneducated, become a burden, not only to themselves but to the State, the cost of their education being, from various causes, far greater than that

* The present article is confined to that part of the Royal Commissioners' Report which deals with the blind. The portion of the Report relating to the deaf and dumb is equally comprehensive and instructive.

of sighted children, and even then less complete. Omitting, for brevity's sake, the statistics of Ireland and Scotland* (which have, more or less, the same characteristics as those of England), there is left a total of 22,800 blind persons, of whom 1,700 range in age from five to fifteen years, named in the report as 'educable' (*sic*), the number actually at school being estimated at about 1,500, thus yielding a high average of children under instruction when compared with sighted pupils in ordinary national schools. But, as a very large number of persons lose their sight between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five, from disease or various accidental causes, we have a large class for whom little or nothing has been done, and who are mostly content to lead a life of idleness. Too old to obtain admission into any school, and unable or unwilling to be taught a trade, these help to swell the crowd of younger idlers, street fiddlers, and hangers-on on a providence that now and then intervenes in the shape of a pension from some charitable society. Of these pension societies one of the oldest and wealthiest is Day's† Charity, possessing funded property to the amount of 100,000*l.*, the interest of which is devoted to pensions to the blind. Another, still more richly endowed (with a quarter of a million sterling) and of far wider range of views and practical use, is 'Gardner's Trust for the Blind,' which, say the Commissioners,

'has been of the greatest service in supporting existing institutions, in encouraging the foundation of new ones, and assisting the blind to help themselves'—

a final clause of extreme importance. A new scheme drawn up by the Court of Chancery in 1882 provided that of the total income $\frac{2}{5}$ ths be devoted to the instruction of the blind in music, $\frac{2}{5}$ ths towards suitable trades, handicrafts, and professions other than that of music; a like sum to such trades, &c., including music; and the remaining $\frac{3}{5}$ ths in pensions and donations. Of this scheme the Royal Commissioners highly approve (in spite of the extreme vagueness of clause 3), although, as they elsewhere add,

'pensions, as at present distributed, do not always tend to thrift, but are rather a discouragement to industry.'‡

* Both these countries are excluded from the operation of the Blind Bill.

† Day and Martin were partners in the well-known and once famous blacking.

‡ It is satisfactory to note that in one of these pension societies, that for Granting Annuities to the Poor Adult Blind (8,000*l.*), some little care is taken to elect the most really deserving candidates.

Of the truth of this final remark there can be no possible doubt. A gift that is a discouragement to industry is a fatal gift to any class of adults; and a far more certain and true provision for them remains to be made by the establishment of workshops, where they may be taught some useful handicraft, and so to earn something, however little, towards their own living. There is a constant danger of pensions being granted, not to the friendless most in need of help, to the aged, and to those unable to work, but to the lazy and improvident, or to those who have interest with managing committees or possess funds enough to canvass for votes. Two-thirds of the money thus squandered on unworthy objects might well be spent in teaching such unworthy recipients to work for their own living.

Taken as a whole, throughout the United Kingdom the care and education of the blind are undertaken by public and private charity, and at a vast expenditure. That it is, on the whole, wisely done, and with good results, the Commissioners freely admit, adding, however, their conviction

‘that the present condition of the blind may still be considerably ameliorated, both by legislative action and by the improvement of existing organisations, so as to make them more independent of charitable aid than they now are.’

The work, such as it is, is at present carried on in sixty-one institutions, nine being educational schools for resident pupils, twenty-three being workshops for teaching and carrying on various handicrafts, twenty-six where both these systems are combined, as at the well-known School for the Indigent Blind, Southwark; and three being asylums for the aged and distressed. At some of these mixed schools the admission, by election—as at St. George’s—is entirely free; at others small annual payments are required from such parents as can afford them, the full cost of education and maintenance for each pupil being in all cases high, and ranging from 35*l.* to 50*l.* per annum, in one case to 60*l.*

As to the industrial work of the blind, good as it may seem to the eyes of the benevolent, there is a prejudice against it in the public mind, as being inferior to that of sighted workmen, however large the sale; and to some extent the prejudice is just. Much of the work is, and must be, done by beginners learning a trade; but a far larger portion is done by skilled hands, and will bear comparison with any brought into the open market, notably

brushes, mats, and baskets.* Hence arises the need of special workshops in central positions, where youths of seventeen or eighteen may, on leaving school, be further instructed to perfect their work, and make it good enough not merely to satisfy charitable customers, but to command a fair sale and price from the general public. The two great difficulties which the blind man has to meet, on his first start to earn a living, are the want of customers and of a fit place to work in. He may make a dozen of choice baskets in a week, but without a sale for them he starves. His stock of materials is soon exhausted, his spirit dies out of him; he toils on to the last, but

‘Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve;’

and so by degrees he is driven into the streets to beg, or he lingers on in his lonely garret, a hapless burden to his friends, until the workhouse† is his only resource. To ascertain the exact truth as to these points the Commission sent out upwards of 6,000 forms of enquiry to such blind men as had any fixed abode, to ascertain what proportion of those trained in the various institutions were following the trade there taught them, and with what results. Of these fifteen per cent. were earning 5s. a week, twenty-five per cent. from 8s. to 10s., while about sixteen per cent. with difficulty earned a wage of from 10s. to 15s.—a state of things, says the report, ‘owing to indifferent teaching or ‘lack of customers.’ The largest number of those able to earn anything were basket-makers—viz. twenty-two per cent. of the whole—while those engaged at music and piano-tuning amount to only nine per cent., and so on down to weaving, which seems to fare worst of all.

Out of the total number who replied to the queries 4,600 were unable to maintain themselves without charitable help, and 3,000 were earning nothing; while the best off were the few employed as readers, missionaries, or district visitors among their fellow-sufferers, who earned as much as 18s. per week. There is reason to believe that in answering these enquiries the blind often made the worst of their actual condition, under some vague idea that the Royal Commission was about to give ‘pensions all round’ to the most needy; but the picture in any case is dreary enough, and

* Specially the mighty hampers of wicker-work supplied to the General Post Office by St. George’s School.

† Such children, says an experienced witness before the Commission, are simply being trained to pauperism.

must force the managers of the various schools to consider with grave care how far the trades now taught are of real practical use, and what can be done to improve them—in number and variety. The mere fact that 3,000 trained pupils were actually earning nothing by industrial work, after a costly training of, say, 250*l.* per man, is a matter which demands instant and exact answer from all interested in the welfare of the blind. It is to be regretted too that these enquiries into the condition of former blind pupils relate to men only. The trades taught to male pupils in the various schools seem to be numerous and well-chosen—basket-work, mat-making, weaving of rugs and cocoa-nut matting, brush-making, sacking, palliasses, bed-ties, &c., and more rarely turning and rough carpentering. But for the females far less has been done, and even that little of but an inferior kind, and seldom going beyond the various sorts of knitting and netting. In these two branches there is no sound reason why the work of the blind girls should not be as good as that of any sighted worker, nor any reason whatever why they should not learn all the finer kinds of basket-work, straw-plaiting, network of all kinds, crochet, and the making up of the cheaper sort of straw bonnets, hats, and woollen caps. Their needlework may never be first-rate; but they might at least be taught to hem pocket-handkerchiefs, towels, &c., and to mend their own clothes. In too many schools the industrial training of the females is but narrow and useless. They can make a clumsy pair of stockings, or possibly manage to get feebly through a psalm tune or a chant on the piano or organ, but can do little or nothing that will help them to get a living when school days are over and they have to face the world as they best can.

Such, then, is the general condition of affairs on which, as well as on the two chief points now in dispute among those engaged in the education of the blind, the Royal Commission had to come to some distinct decision, the two problems being: ‘On what system shall the blind be taught to read?’ and ‘What part is music to play in the general curriculum of instruction?’ The sixteen Commissioners appointed to consider these knotty questions, round which a fierce battle has been waged for the last fifty years, include, among others, an active and busy bishop (of scanty leisure), a well-known member of Parliament (himself blind), a scientific baronet, an ex-Minister of Education, a barrister-at-law, a retired admiral, and four other gentlemen either engaged in or specially connected with the education of the

blind, and of strongly antagonistic views. It was, therefore, hardly to be expected that the report of such a body of enquirers would be unanimous in all respects ; and it is satisfactory to find that the inevitable compromise touches no point of vital importance. Two of the experts, while signing the Report, say—

‘ We agree with the Report as a whole, believing it to be the best compromise possible under the circumstances. Nevertheless we desire to place it on record that a few points are not in accordance with our views ;’

while a third adds—

‘ While signing this Report as a compromise on many points of controversy, I wish to record my differing to a certain extent from the conclusions mentioned in certain paragraphs, &c., relating to endowments and pensions, &c.’

Mainly owing, no doubt, to the patient skill and sagacity of the noble lord who presided over the Commission, some practical resolutions, however, have been at length reached, and these we have now to consider with reference to the two special points of controversy.

The various systems of type for the blind may be divided into two classes, the alphabetical and the stenographic ; the former adopting the Roman letter as its basis, as used by the rest of the world ; the latter adopting an arbitrary scheme of shorthand signs, or dots, totally unlike the alphabet in common use, and to be understood only by the initiated. The advocates of the Roman letter found their plan on the broad principle that everything should be done to increase and deepen the connexion of the blind with sighted men. They would teach them to spell, to read, and to write in the type used by all other men, and thus establish a bond of vital unity between the sighted and the sightless. It was well said, fifty years ago, by one who deeply considered the question, ‘ *Le plus grand malheur des aveugles est leur isolement.*’ Whatever merits, therefore, the arbitrary systems may have, one fatal defect must run through them all, viz. that they tend to make this isolation all the deeper by cutting the blind reader off from the rest of the world, and specially from those best able to help him when he comes to a hard word. All printing for the blind, it must be remembered, is in raised or embossed type, at once perceptible to the touch. The task, therefore, of learning one of the arbitrary systems, whether of dots or stenographic signs, is to the young scholar much like mastering a

new language—with this difference, however, that when he has at last mastered it, and hard work has in the course of years deadened his sense of touch, no friend or companion at home will understand, or be able to make out with the eye, a single one of the mysterious symbols which stand for letters or words. That the word ‘mysterious’ is rightly applied may be seen at once by glancing at the following examples.

No. 1, ‘Lucas’s system’—purely stenographic—in this guise :

l \ i x 2 | 1 - >

Translated into letters : If t bl bi hs p.

Translated into words : If the blind boy has patience.

Of this system it may suffice to say that it is probably the worst ever invented for the torture of the blind student, and, being rarely used, is all but exploded and defunct, though time and money are still wasted in printing fresh books for which there is no demand.

No. 2 is the invention of Mr. Moon, himself blind, who claims to have avoided ‘the complicated figure of ‘the Roman letter by a revised alphabet, each letter ‘being formed out of one line, or two at most, with a ‘partial resemblance to those in common use; with five ‘contractions, each represented by its final letter, as : 7 ‘for *ing*.’ The inventor’s language is here rather obscure, but of its accuracy, and the so-called ‘partial resemblance,’ our readers may easily judge for themselves, as well as of the mysterious system of dots invented by M. Braille, and now finding many advocates for the purposes both of reading and writing and musical notation. Take, for example, a few well-known words in the ordinary Roman type. (1) A MAN’S OWN GEESE. Translated into Moon’s type they appear as (2) ^ 7 ^ 2 ' i o n 2 7 7 7 / 7, while in Braille they are metamorphosed into

A man’s own geese

• •• •• •• •• •• •• •• ••

A single glance at these examples will show beyond doubt that whatever difficulties may beset the finger of the blind boy in dealing with No. 1, the old, familiar Roman letter (known to all the world, and possibly to himself before he lost his sight), they are in no wise lessened by the lunar type, No. 2. A few of the letters are all but identical in

the two systems. Some are slightly altered, for no reason, it would seem, but a Moonish caprice; as easily deciphered in one case as in the other, e.g. *∨* for N, *┌* for E; while others are hopelessly disguised for all sighted readers (who might help the blind boy) under arbitrary forms, as *—* for P, *Ƶ* for Y, *—* for Q, *└* for M; while such contractions as *∩* for *ing*, and *∩* for *tion*, only serve to make the whole affair more like a cryptogram than a line of plain printing. And, further, though a blind child may learn to read by Moon's type, there are no means of learning to write in it. If he wishes to write a letter which his sighted friends may read with their eyes, and blind ones with their fingers, he must go back to the old Roman type, use a common embossing frame, and then word by word say his say in the following fashion, pricking letter by letter:

MY DEAR FATHER

in a plain serrated type, which any child of six can read with ease.

But, if the blind boy turns to Braille, he at once embarks on an unknown sea—a mysterious arrangement of dots, in which no old, familiar landmark is of the slightest aid, and no friendly pair of eyes, unless previously initiated, can possibly help him. In this scheme if *⠠* stands for B, another added dot *⠠* turns it into L; and if *⠠* stands for E, it also does duty for P; to say nothing of a string of contractions as arbitrary as the alphabetical signs, all of which must be well mastered if he ever wishes to read with ease or despatch. It is said, however, that this complicated system has found advocates, and is liked by many of the blind themselves. That it should seem perfect in the eyes of M. Braille, the inventor, is only natural. To the blind it has one strong attraction—that it is specially *for them only*; that very few sighted people can make head or tail of it; and, above all, that by means of it they can carry on a correspondence with each other of which nobody else can decipher a single word. This, naturally, is a great charm to a secretive race who hate to have their letters read to them. But that such a system should find any other advocates apart from these is a problem hard to be understood. Nor do the Royal Commissioners help us much in the matter. 'It is capable,' they say, 'of being used by old and young' (as, indeed, is the Roman letter or Moon); 'it is gradually gaining ground, and likely to advance, were it not that some institutions having

‘libraries in other types dislike making a change.’ They recommend it as suitable for persons born blind—quickly read, and printed in a small bulk—though ‘many experienced witnesses prefer the Roman type,’ on the same ground which holds good in so many American and English schools, ‘that it is better for the blind not to be cut off from the rest of the world.’ Meanwhile rival schools and rival societies go on printing books, each in its own favourite system, at an enormous outlay, the price of an embossed Bible (the cheapest) being 5*l.* or 6*l.*; time, money, and labour are thus wasted for want of unity, and the blind man has to be content with a single volume where he might otherwise have hoped to get a score at a tenth of the cost. The question is one which common sense ought long ago to have stepped in and settled; but she has had the door shut in her face by rival prejudices, and the battle of the books is continued with unabated vigour.

What is really needed is simply this: 1. An embossed type, resembling as nearly as may be that in general use among seeing men; so that the blind scholar may derive every possible help from the remembrance of letters which he may have once seen, or from any sighted reader; both of which advantages are denied to him by Braille and Moon. 2. All words must be correctly spelt, in full, so that when he has learned to write, others may be able to read his written words. 3. The type must be clear and sharp to the finger of the adult hardened by age or rough work, and to the softer touch of the little child.

Science, which has done so much for all other readers, ought surely to be able to provide for this one class a typography and a literature that shall, at a moderate cost, help to make them wiser and happier, and bind them fast to their fellow men in the world of books. At present even the wealthy blind man has but few books within reach, and these few chiefly of the driest possible flavour—dictionaries, manuals, readers, or, dreariest of all, pages of advice and warning manufactured specially for him as deprived of sight. Books of amusement, such as the sighted now have in abundance, to the blind boy are all but unknown. In school he rarely reads out of any book but the Bible from one end of the week to the other. After mastering the alphabet he was probably set to work at once at one of the Gospels, and in that continued for, say, six months. Then another Gospel, and so on for three or four years, the final issue being that by dint of sheer repetition he at last reads whole pages of his

dreary lesson by rote—faster than his fingers can travel over the words, with little thought of their sacred meaning and even less of their divine source. But let one general system of embossed printing be once agreed on, funds united, and energies thrown into one channel, and all these evils will be avoided. To no worthier purpose could a portion of any future State aid be devoted. Beyond a doubt some modification of the Roman letter must be the foundation of that system; and, having mastered that for reading and writing, let the blind scholar take Braille, with all his dots, as an adjunct for arithmetic, music, or other special subject.

We now come to Music, the second of the two disputed points—a pursuit, says the Report (p. 76),

‘which seems specially suited to the blind, and undoubtedly affords to them much solace and enjoyment, and should therefore form a part of the curriculum in every school. As, however, all have not a gift of music, the study should not be persevered in as a means of living, except in special and promising cases, the competition with sighted musicians being so great that only exceptionally good training can lead to success; and many well-qualified blind men fail to obtain situations or to earn a living. Except, therefore, in special cases, every student should also receive industrial training.’

These are wise and weighty words, of the highest importance to all managers of schools. That a large number of the blind may be taught ‘some branch of music *fairly well*,’ as the Report says, may be true enough; but out in the world of hard work and fierce competition ‘fairly well’ is of no possible value. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred people will not even hear of a blind man as candidate for a vacant situation. In proof of this the evidence of a single witness (well supported by other testimony) will suffice—that of Sir J. Stainer,* formerly H.M. Inspector of Music in Training Colleges and Elementary Schools. In 1886, after examining the musical pupils at St. George’s, Southwark—one of the largest and most important schools in Europe—he thus concludes his report:—

‘I express my entire concurrence with the action of the committee in not training many pupils for the musical profession. Many blind persons have a special aptitude for music; but no amount of careful study or training can remove the fact that blind musicians must largely get their knowledge of music at second hand—i.e. from some one who has sight. Several distinguished musicians have, indeed, been afflicted with blindness; but no analogy can be drawn between the career of

* Now Professor of Music at the University of Oxford,

an experienced musician, whose eyesight has failed, and one whose whole life, or the chief part of it, has been under the cloud. . . Just now too greater caution than ever is needed. The musical profession is in every branch completely overstocked; our large institutions of musical education have never been so crowded with zealous and talented pupils . . . all about to swell the ranks of public performers and private teachers. . . It is for the best interests of the blind not to force them into a profession where competition for daily bread is of the keenest kind.'

To the same effect speaks the then chaplain and secretary to St. George's (Report, 1880 to 1886) :—

'Our difficulty lies not in training a pupil to become a good organist, able to conduct any ordinary musical service, but to find employment for him when trained, however efficient he may be. No one will select a blind man while he can get an equally good sighted musician. Chances of employment are most remote. As tuners of pianos they may possibly find some trifling work; as professional musicians the odds are all against them.'

In "most of the English blind schools music is taught with more or less efficiency, but with much the same result, as may be gathered from the evidence of many witnesses. It is well, therefore, to find the Royal Commissioners speaking out on this point with unmistakeable clearness :—

'It is only on the condition that the blind are equal or superior in ability to the seeing that any appeal can be made to the general public for employment as musicians . . . nor can they rely on any preference accorded to them on account of sympathy with their unfortunate position.'

They are, therefore, left to their own resources, narrow and limited at the best; belonging, as the majority do, to the indigent class (Report, p. 8), on whom sympathy indeed is freely bestowed, but no such aid as shall procure for them the employment so terribly needed. To obtain this the fight is uphill all the way. One element of success the blind man undoubtedly has, which for a time may sustain him. Whatever others may think of him, he firmly believes in himself and in his own endowments. He can make a basket or a mat that shall vie with the best work in the market. If a musician he will rival Mendelssohn or Mozart, and outsing Sims Reeves or Santley. But slowly, by degrees, the world robs him of this exalted self-complacency, and leaves him only the bare residuum of honest confidence, without which the keenest eyesight and the shrewdest ability are always apt to fail.

We are led to these remarks by having to cite as a witness the 'Report of the Normal College and Musical Academy at 'Norwood,' at the head of which is Dr. Campbell, himself blind, and possessed of many gifts. An American, we believe, by birth, not without a strain of Scotch blood, inherited with the proud name of Campbell, he seems to have in him the independence of spirit and dogged tenacity of purpose which mark the two races. He is a Campbell of the Campbells. He is also a Royal Commissioner, and to his untiring exertions, aided by the munificence of a well-known specialist (also on the Commission and partially blind*), is mainly owing the foundation of the Norwood Academy in 1872. Starting in a somewhat humble fashion, with a few pupils, it has now become one of the chief, and certainly the most ambitious, of the blind institutions in England; with accommodation for 150 or 160 pupils (each paying in advance about 60*l.* per annum), a large staff of paid teachers and professors, at a total annual outlay of 13,000*l.*, the item of salaries and wages alone amounting to 3,700*l.*, a large amount for comparatively so small a number of pupils. If, however, the outlay seem large, the curriculum of education, in which music holds the supreme place, is comprehensive enough to satisfy the most ardent of modern reformers. It embraces

'Scripture lessons* and Bible history; reading, writing, arithmetic, geography; English and general history, analysis, English composition, and literature; elocution, Latin, French, German, and Italian (two languages selected according to circumstances); natural history, botany, physiology, astronomy, physics; the science of government, political economy, and the science of language.'

If, therefore, to this splendid course be added such a study and mastery of music as shall enable the fortunate blind pupil to gain an easy livelihood, parents and friends must admit that they get a good deal for their money. But, as the cost of such an education places it utterly beyond the reach of the great body of the blind—mainly of the indigent class—it is easy to understand the wise and cautious words of the Royal Commissioners and their emphatic judgement (p. 89):—

'While we acknowledge the great services rendered to the education of the blind by the Norwood Academy, we do not think it advisable that all blind institutions should be formed on the same model.'

* No mention is made of any chapel attached to the Academy, of a chaplain, or of any special provision for religious worship or teaching.

Of the wisdom of this decision it is impossible to doubt, in spite of the sanguine views of the director of the Academy and the whole tone of the Norwood reports. According to their verdict it is not only the best of all possible academies, but the only one worthy of imitation. Music is its very life and breath, and the mighty programme of musical instruction as superbly comprehensive as that of the other branches of study. To carry it on are needed four pipe-organs, sixty pianos for teaching, and twenty-six for tuning; while, as to its success, let Dr. Campbell be witness:—

‘As vocalists, pianists, and organists the students have been recognised as artists by the most eminent authorities in this and other countries; they have appeared as principal soloists in the “Messiah,” “Creation,” and “Elijah,” “Hymn of Praise,” “Stabat Mater,” &c.’

He does not indeed mention where and when these remarkable appearances took place; nor does Mr. August Manns, the well-known musician, in his high but mysterious eulogy of one special pupil, which thus concludes:—

‘Mr. H.’s truly remarkable rendering of Brahms’ twenty-five variations, on a melody of Handel’s, was a masterly display of pianistic virtuosity animated and guided by high-art maturity’ (*sic*).

It is not quite clear what ‘pianistic virtuosity guided by ‘maturity’ may exactly mean, but the words are doubtless terms of high art of which Mr. H., once a pupil and now a teacher at the Academy, is well worthy. But ‘One swallow ‘does not make a summer,’ and Mr. H.’s success does not by any means prove that music is *the one* profession specially adapted for the blind.

The general results of the musical training must therefore be tested more closely. The Academy was founded in 1872, and may, therefore, be fairly said to have been in existence twelve years. ‘We already have,’ says the Report (1888), ‘a number of skilful blind organists, now in excellent positions as organists and choir-masters;’ and then follows a list of sixteen students (besides Mr. H.), with the names of their appointments (though not the dates) and some excellent testimonials as to character and ability. These are truly good results as far as they go, but the vital question is, ‘How far do they go?’ Sixteen qualified pupils have obtained situations in twelve years, i.e. scarcely one and a half per annum out of the whole number trained during that period. What that total, exact number is we have no means of judging; but, assuming it to be at least a

hundred who have gone forth to earn their bread, and to face the difficulties which other blind schools have found insurmountable, sixteen per cent. can hardly be regarded as a high average of success, for such accomplished musicians, as against eighty per cent. of failures.

Turning, however, to another branch of musical training, we find a far more hopeful account of affairs, there being no valid reason why a blind man (*cæteris paribus*) should not make as admirable a tuner as one who has eyes. In perseverance and intelligence, indeed, he may easily surpass the average sighted tuner; and there is, therefore, no doubt as to the value of the various testimonials from several well-known manufacturers of pianos, who speak in high terms of the efficiency of the Norwood men, as a single example will show. 'I have 'now,' says one, 'three of your tuners in my employ, and 'find them superior to most sighted workmen.' From this it is clear, first, that as tuners really musical pupils may become proficient workmen, able to earn a living, especially if trained in some industrial handicraft, so as to have two strings to their bow; secondly, that music, as a profession, should be absolutely confined to pupils of real ability and taste, and even of these to such a number only as may be reasonably sure of finding employment. To such as these music will be a gift of the highest order, and save them from the degradation of life in the streets, or, worse still, of the music-hall and the public-house.

Music will ever be the blind man's ruling passion; but that it may be a blessing to him, and not a curse, he must be taught to know, to master, and to love only that of the purest and best kind. What he does he must be able to do well, or the gift will be fatal. He must learn not merely to scrape a fiddle in a more or less exasperating fashion, or blow into a cornet with painful success, so as to gain admission into the school band, but to do far more and far better; or within a year of his leaving school—away in the country village or alone in the London garret—the cunning of his hand will fail him and his music be worse than useless. People will say, 'It is very 'clever for a blind man,' but there it ends; and such words will not even provide bread and cheese for a day. His descent into the streets is not far off, and unless he has learned to make a basket or a mat he will soon become one of the forlorn minstrels who, says Mayhew, 'behind a 'string and a dog haunt the kerbstone, and fill the ears of 'the sorrowful with strains of still greater sorrow.' The higher sense of true music is gone from him, and the want

of this sense is to melody what the loss of fragrance and colour would be to flowers, or of colour to the sunset sky. And of all this loss he is at last unconscious.

Of the importance of physical training and outdoor sports for the blind the Royal Commissioners speak most strongly; urging that what is done at St. George's, Southwark, at Manchester, and, we believe, at York should be done at all schools in a gymnasium under a trained teacher. Nowhere has this been more fully carried out than at St. George's, already famous for the excellence of its industrial work. Of this latter kind no work finds a place at Norwood; but the physical training is conducted on a scale of surpassing extent. The pupils are taught not only to swim (an art of rare value), but to skate, on rollers or over ice; to play at so-called football, cricket, bowls, and skittles; to row, to ride the tricycle, to throw the hammer, and to put the stone. In short, they are better off in this respect than if at an ordinary school for boys who can see. The principal has not yet added archery, fencing, or tennis to this long list of blind accomplishments, and, before doing so, he will perhaps consider of what practical use it is to teach a man to skate who cannot possibly see any obstacle in his path, whether it be a brother skater against whom he suddenly cannons, or rotten ice, or a heap of snow, over which he may break his own neck; or why he should pretend to be playing at cricket when the ball at which he strikes is invisible to him and to the whole eleven; or at football, when the ball is a loaded stick which nobody kicks, but is simply tossed into the air to fall no one knows where among his opponents.

Blind men, indeed, have achieved even greater feats than these. One celebrity, not long since, climbed to, or rather was led or dragged up to, the summit of Mont Blanc; Jack of Knaresborough once reached the weathercock of a lofty steeple; Holman, the blind traveller, made his way to the top of Adam's Peak, 7,000 feet above the sea. But *cui bono*? 'Of all the glorious vision by the way,' he himself says, 'I could see nothing with these visual orbs, but standing on the highest peak, I felt all its beauties rush into my soul.' Nor was even this outburst enough:

'Nec satis audaci montem superare triumpho,'
but he must next join in an elephant hunt, and 'being in at the death,' he adds, 'I climbed upon the mighty carcass, and there stood and danced in triumph.' But it is to be

doubted whether the game is really worth the candle, whether such mad frenzy is to be expected from the blind, or is worthy of imitation.

But we must hasten now to sum up in brief the chief recommendations made by the Royal Commission after their long and exhaustive enquiry, and to show how far these have been adopted in the Elementary Education Bill for the Blind, &c., recently passed by the House of Lords. Assuming the number of blind children between the ages of five and sixteen years to be about 2,000, the Commissioners recommend that these, besides passing the ordinary standards of our national schools, should be carefully trained in industrial work; and from the age of sixteen to twenty-one years should receive State aid, whether in a school or at a central workshop; to perfect their knowledge of a handicraft, and to be able to earn their own livelihood; similar aid being extended to such as may have lost their sight in adult life, when too old for admission into any school. This assistance would be given for a reasonable time, but forfeited by idleness or misconduct.

With regard to existing institutions for the blind—said to possess a total annual income of 23,000*l.* (probably far below the actual amount)—seeing that, as a whole, they are doing good work, ‘the sole object of future legislation should be to ‘improve the said charities, though without judicial interference.’ In connexion with every institution a regular supervision should be maintained over all the pupils after leaving the school, and funds provided for their assistance in all needy and deserving cases, according to the excellent system now carried out in Saxony, of which an admirable and most interesting account will be found in the appendix, and well repay all patient readers. So far the Commissioners deal with ordinary primary schools; but there is a want—so say the Royal Commissioners—not only of secondary schools into which the blind should be drafted after leaving the primary, but also of a higher-class college, to ‘be aided by a ‘State grant, in which classical, mathematical, and general ‘literature may be effectually taught, to prepare youths for ‘the universities, with educational grants and scholarships.’ Whether the teachers in all these schools should be blind or sighted has long been a mooted point, which is only partly decided by advising that blind teachers should have sighted assistants, or where there is but one that he should possess sight. And of the wisdom of this decision there can be no

reasonable doubt; for, beyond dispute, a teacher of the blind must possess keen sight as well as keen wits and intelligence; and no man deprived of one of these qualifications can possibly be so well qualified as he who has them all. All such teachers should be trained and certificated; all schools regularly inspected and reported on by efficient men wholly unconnected with the given school or academy, and thus free from all taint of partiality or party bias. Such, in brief, are the recommendations made by the Royal Commission, after long, patient, and exhaustive enquiry.*

But now comes the question of cost—all-important and inevitable. Putting aside the 2,000 blind who now are, or ought to be, under actual instruction in primary schools, there still remain about 20,000 adults of all ages between twenty and sixty years for whom no provision has been yet made, a few of whom obtain the doubtful benefit of a pension.† Nearly all are untaught and untrained; many must at last drift into the hopeless night of the workhouse, and all are more or less a burden to their friends. Of these 20,000 probably one half would fall under the proposed scheme of State aid; and, at the lowest estimate, no such plan of instruction could be possibly carried out at a less outlay than from 10*l.* to 20*l.* per head. This would entail a total annual outlay of from 150,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*, to say nothing of the cost of providing and maintaining proper buildings and workshops, a staff of trained teachers, servants, and guides, and (omitting all mention of a higher collége) be,

* How long and exhaustive the enquiry has been is amply proved by more than a thousand folio pages of evidence taken before the Commission, through which, however, the reader may easily find his way by the help of Mr. Lyon's admirable digest, without which he will be hopelessly at sea.

† Worse than doubtful. 'To give a man of twenty or twenty-five a pension,' says one witness, 'is the worst thing you can do for him' (Report, p. 725). 'Pensions,' says another, 'discourage self-help and help to weaken the recipients.' Yet in one case, cited by the Royal Commission, a pension was surely deserved—by Henry Wilkinson, who became blind in 1806, entered the Bristol School at the age of twelve, and left it at twenty; taught himself chair-caning, which gave him an insight into other trades, and so managed to make a living for sixty-two years, earning, however, more money by helping his wife at the mangle than by any trade. He told the Commissioners that he had been married several times, had turned many mangles, and maintained himself up to the time of his receiving a pension, being now in his eighty-third year,

in fact, too vast an enterprise to be even dreamed of at present. A host of difficulties beset its very inception. No proper distinction has as yet been drawn between the two great classes of the blind—those suffering from congenital blindness and those who have lost their sight in later life. Their very number has only been guessed at. All have been massed together as blind and treated after one fashion, as if altogether alike; whereas their condition in many cases is totally unlike, their needs being dissimilar and demanding different modes of treatment in many points of vital importance. The training and teaching of a youth or a man who has lost his sight but a few years must essentially differ from that of the boy born blind; and the difference may be so great as to involve separate instruction and teachers possessed of totally distinct qualifications. No decision has yet been reached as to whether boys, youths, and men should be classed together for purposes of instruction, mingled with sighted scholars and workmen, or kept apart. Much has been done to improve and enlarge the industrial work of the males, children and adults. Nothing worthy of the name has been attempted for the females, whatever their age; though in many cases a blind girl on leaving school is perhaps in greater need of employment than a boy of like age. In some of the English schools the industrial teaching of the female department is next to nothing; in the best of them it scarcely goes beyond knitting and netting, and in almost all of them it is meagre, monotonous, and imperfect. There is no apparent or sound reason why girls should not learn many of the finer kinds of industrial work now taught to boys only, and some, perhaps, which have not yet been attempted in lace-weaving or the manufacture of delicate brushes. Such are the difficulties, and such the deficiencies, which demand careful examination and settlement before any great scheme for the improvement of the education of the blind can be carried out, any vast claim for national aid be entertained—or even exist outside the covers of the Blue Books, in which it now reposes. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the Elementary Education (Blind) Bill, as amended by the Standing Committee of the House of Lords, and likely soon to become law, makes no provision for carrying out the great scheme proposed by the Royal Commission, but simply enacts certain ways and means by which every blind child in England or Wales shall for the future be brought easily

within reach of instruction in a primary school. In brief, the provisions and requirements are as follows :—

‘ 1. The expression *blind* shall mean too blind to be able to read ordinary school books used by children ; and by *school authority* shall be meant a school board, or attendance committee. 2. It shall be the duty of every school authority to enable all blind children (not under seven years of age), not being idiots, and for whose elementary education efficient provision is not already made, to obtain such education in some school duly certified by the Education Department and open to H.M. inspectors of schools. 3. For the purpose of providing sufficient school accommodation for its own district a school board may contribute such funds, and on such conditions, as it thinks fit towards suitable provision in another district. 4. It may also contribute towards the expenses of any certified school such reasonable sums for the teaching and maintenance of each child as may, subject to the Education Department, be agreed on. 5. It may make arrangements for boarding out any blind child in a home near the school, and pay all necessary expenses, having due regard to the religious persuasion of the parents, the pupil being in no case compelled to receive religious instruction contrary to their wishes and views. 6. If the parents fail to select a school, the court may order such child to attend some certified institution, and for its instruction and maintenance may contribute such annual or other sum as the Education Department approve, the parents being required to contribute such weekly sum as may be agreed on between them and the school authority who shall have power to enforce this order, or to revoke or vary it at any time. 7. No parent, however, shall, by reason of any such payment made under the Act, be deprived of any franchise, right, or privilege. 8. Each county council shall contribute one half of the net expenses incurred by the school authority, subject to reference to the Education Department, whose decision shall be final. 9. The provisions of the Act shall apply as if the blind person between the ages of fourteen and sixteen were a child, but nothing in it shall extend the age of compulsory education. 10. The Act shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland.’

Why Scotland and Ireland should be excluded from these admirable and beneficial arrangements we are at a loss to understand ; but of their value and importance to the blind of England there can be no possible doubt, belonging as the majority do to the lower, if not indigent class. ‘ The blind,’ says Mr. M. Tait, an able witness of great experience, (Report, p. 469), ‘ as a rule are of the poorest, and blindness, to a large extent, is the consequence of vice and neglect. Out of the 2,200 blind now in London only twelve are supposed to belong to the upper or wealthy class.’ For this small minority, therefore, the children of wealthy parents, no special provision need be made ; while for the great majority, whether of children or of adults, the

Bill now passed by the House of Lords does more than open the gates of hope ; for though its immediate provisions touch only blind children under fifteen, there is little doubt that the legislation thus begun will be extended, and that sooner or later the chief recommendations of the Commission for the welfare of the thousands of helpless blind adults* will also be carried out. In all the great towns of England central workshops will be established, where the blind of all ages may be taught and trained in, and enabled to carry on, the best and most practical trades, under Government inspection and control. Books will be printed on one approved system, at the lowest possible cost, and the blind man will slowly learn that he is no longer cut off from the rest of the world, but bound fast to it by many ties. A greater or better gift than this he can never attain. Isolated to a certain extent he must and always will be ; but the two kingdoms of light and dark will no longer be hopelessly divided. The world will still be of two great domains, things visible and invisible, to him as to all others, but both equally true and equally real ; and with the key of faith he may at last unlock the gates of both. The mighty world of external things, indeed, the voices of earth, sea, and sky, which appeal to the imagination of seeing men and go to the creation of orators, poets, painters, and musicians, may never so appeal to the man deprived of sight. Of their full beauty, harmony, and power he may never gain any worthy conception. But he may, nevertheless, learn that he too has a place in life and a work to be achieved ; with light enough even for *him* and a noble content in following it. He will be handicapped, yet will not fear to enter the list of competitors. Some races there will be into which he cannot enter at all, and yet not a few in which he will learn to surmount many of the difficulties and avoid or overcome most of the obstacles in his path. That he shall do this, and take a chief and vital part in its achievement, will be the aim of the wise teacher. It may take 'a long time to learn to be blind,' but, as Huber (himself blind) once said, 'there is no certainty more sure ' than the certainty of a blind man ;' no faith more ready to take root if the ground be prepared, more steadfast when once established, or more capable of good fruit when it has drunk in life from the air and sunshine about it in the world. Once shown how the battle is to be happily fought

* Adults, of whom, says one witness before the Commission, not more than ten per cent. can read.

even by *him*, no more grateful disciple can be found than the blind scholar, or more worthy of discipline. In what way this shall best be done the 'Report of the Royal Commission' offers to all who are interested in the welfare of the blind a rich and vast storehouse of information, such as demands their warmest thanks to the noble chairman and secretary, and all who helped in its compilation. Embracing as it does the whole general condition of the blind, in other countries as well as our own, with full statistics as to their welfare, progress, needs, and hopes, out of its ample treasury might easily be compiled a set of choice handbooks on the land of darkness and its many inhabitants, a wide field still being left for future explorers. In no other existing pages of print is such a storehouse to be found, nor wise, impartial guiding, if sought for, more likely to be met with, than in the broad, generous, scheme on which the Royal Commission have spent years of patient toil.

ART. VI.—1. *The History of the Remarkable Events, Biographical and Historical, of the Past.* By the Sheikh ABDERRAHMAN el GABARTY. National Printing Press. Cairo: 1890.

2. *Egypte sous la Domination Française.* Par M. AMÉDÉE RYME. Paris: 1877.

3. *A History of the Egyptian Revolution.* By Mr. A. A. PATON, F.R.G.S. London: 1870.

THE period of Egyptian history from 1798 to 1801, during which the French were in occupation of the country, has received the attention of many writers both in England and in France. Accounts have been compiled from the various contemporaneous memoirs which exist in both countries, and the broad historical facts are by this time sufficiently well ascertained. The second and third of the works, to which we have drawn attention above, give the story of the occupation from the English and French points of view respectively. There is, however, a third point of view, which is, at the present day, when the British Government have been in military occupation of Egypt for eight years, even more interesting and more instructive, and that is the native point of view.

It is, as all who have lived in the East are well aware, extremely difficult to find out that which amongst Orientals

corresponds to what is called public opinion in the West. Not only is there found in the people of that part of the world a strong disposition, whether natural or acquired, to conceal their thoughts, but those thoughts themselves are of so indefinite and unfixed a character that in the case of individuals it is almost impossible to arrive at what they really are. There does, however, exist within the different classes and sections of these communities a kind of liquid public opinion which, though easily disturbed, has a tendency to seek its former level when the disturbing cause has been removed. By frequent observations, and careful elimination of abnormal circumstances, those who are acquainted with these peoples are able to arrive approximately at their general views and feelings. It is, of course, a still harder task to endeavour to carry out an investigation of this character after the expiration of nearly a century; and in most cases the absence of trustworthy records and other material upon which to base any definite conclusions would prove an insuperable obstacle. By a piece of good fortune the materials are at hand for forming a very fair estimate of the manner in which the Egyptians viewed the occupation of their country by the French in the chronicles of the Sheikh Abderrahman el Gabarty.

Abderrahman el Gabarty was born at Cairo in the year 1167 of the Hegira, corresponding to the year 1754 of the Christian era. He was descended from a family that enjoyed a high reputation in the Mussulman world of Egypt for science and learning, and his father occupied the chair of astronomy in the celebrated Mohammedan university of El Azhar. The Sheikh was himself a distinguished member of the Ulemas. He took no inconsiderable part in public affairs during the last years of the rule of the Mamlouk beys, and was at this period of his life held in considerable favour. During the French occupation of Egypt he was appointed a member of the divan, which Bonaparte had established in Cairo. Under Mohammed Aly he occupied a small post at the palace, the duties of which consisted in announcing the hours of prayer. On the night of June 18, 1822, he was strangled on his way back to Cairo from Mohammed Aly's palace at Shoubrah. There were many rumours as to the motives of this murder, of which the most widely spread was that it was done by the order of the Pasha of Egypt himself in consequence of his having learnt from an enemy of the Sheikh that the latter had written some memoirs which were not altogether complimentary to

his rule. A few years later many manuscript copies of Gabarty's work were found circulating in the libraries of Cairo, but its publication was prohibited until the accession of the present Khedive. The author, in his introduction, states that for the first part of his history down to the year 1756 of the Christian era, he has had recourse to materials of doubtful authenticity. Between 1756 and 1776 he relates facts of which he had personal knowledge, but which he neglected at the time and wrote down subsequently. What he describes after that date down to the conclusion of the history, consists of events of which he had personal knowledge, and which he analysed and registered at the time of their occurrence.

The whole period of the French occupation is comprised within this latter portion of Gabarty's history. The daily incidents and rumours that came to the writer's knowledge are noted down day by day as they happened. There is no attempt to shape the facts in conformity with any preconceived theory or personal prejudice, and it is precisely this quality that makes the memoirs so valuable for our purpose. Gabarty gives a very fair and very candid account of the administration of the French, and of the feelings and opinions of the people in regard to it, but he is chary of expressing his own private views. It is only by reading carefully between the lines and by taking advantage of an occasional chance epithet that we are able to discover what the Sheikh really thought of the occurrences which were passing before his eyes. Judged by the standard of his class he must have been a man of a singularly open and unprejudiced mind, and especially free from intolerance or fanaticism. His criticisms and observations are marked by a calm judicial spirit which would do credit to many more enlightened historians; and he was by no means inspired by the wish to vindicate his own countrymen at the expense of the French invaders. Nevertheless, with all this, he was in every respect a devout and orthodox Mohammedan, and, consequently, a strong Conservative; and through all his writings may be perceived a very pronounced dislike of those social and religious changes which were the inevitable result of the domination of a European Power.

M. Ryme, in his history of the occupation, makes no mention of Gabarty's writings, and was apparently ignorant of their existence. In any case, the account he gives of the feelings and wishes of the Egyptian people is drawn from French official sources, and is usually quite the reverse of

what is stated by the Arab historian. Mr. Paton, on the other hand, has drawn largely upon Gabarty, and has translated many of the most interesting passages. He was, however, somewhat hampered by being unable to read Arabic. His quotations are, accordingly, not always perfectly accurate; though, considering the difficulties with which he must have had to contend, it is surprising that the mistakes into which he has fallen are so few and comparatively so unimportant. At the present time Gabarty's memoirs are being carefully translated into French by four Egyptian gentlemen, but the more interesting portions, which comprise the French occupation and the reign of Mohammed Aly, have not yet appeared.

In October 1797 France was practically at peace with the Continent of Europe. One power alone still remained to be subdued, and at the commencement of 1798 preparations were being made on a large scale to invade England or Ireland. Bonaparte at first appeared favourably disposed to the attempt. As the time for taking action approached, the difficulties and dangers that stood in the way of success became more and more apparent to his mind, until finally he came to the conclusion that, for the moment at all events, the project was impracticable. It was, however, a matter of the first importance to divert public opinion in France from home affairs, and at the same time, if possible, to strike England in some vulnerable spot whereby she would be the less able to resist a subsequent direct attack. Moreover, from the point of view of his personal interests, Bonaparte could not afford to let his sword remain idle. Under these circumstances he suggested to the Directory the invasion and occupation of Egypt. Egypt, he said, was the 'route de l'Inde,' and, were it in the possession of France, England's commerce with the East would gradually but surely be destroyed. She must inevitably be driven out of India, where her place would be taken by France. Apart from other considerations, Egypt, under good administration, would become a rich and fertile colony that would soon repay many times over the expenses of the expedition. Lastly, a great step would have been taken towards the realisation of that constant dream of French ambition—the transformation of the Mediterranean into a French lake. Unable to resist these arguments the Directory, somewhat reluctantly, gave their assent to the proposal. In an incredibly short space of time the vast and elaborate preparations for a colonising expedition of the first magni-

tude were completed. The French fleet sailed from Toulon on May 19, 1798, and, capturing Malta on the way, disembarked in the neighbourhood of Alexandria in the first days of July. That port was captured after a very slight resistance. The invading army, which consisted of about 25,000 men, immediately pushed on to Cairo; the Mameluke forces were defeated at the battle of the Pyramids, and the French entered the capital on the night of July 23.

The system of government which had been established in Egypt at the time of the Turkish conquest under Sultan Selim, and under which the country was groaning when the French arrived, is deserving of a brief mention. The nominal ruler was the Pasha, sent from Constantinople by the reigning Sultan. To obviate the risk of this functionary becoming too powerful, or proclaiming his independence, the country was divided into twenty-four districts, each under the rule of a Mameluke bey. These beys, who were of Turkish or Circassian origin, were the real sovereigns of the land. Each of them was surrounded by a band of from 500 to 600 Mamelukes, who composed a sort of irregular cavalry. The different beys were, of course, in a state of perpetual warfare one with another, and their only idea of government was to ill-use and plunder the unfortunate people of the country. The people themselves were divided into a diversity of races and interests. The mass of the population were Arabs engaged in either agricultural or commercial pursuits. The aristocracy of this portion of the community was composed of the Ulema, or doctors of sacred law, who were generally of ancient family. After the Arabs came the Copts, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, who then, as now, monopolised the minor posts connected with the collection of revenue, the principal work of administration in an Oriental country. A certain number of Jews, Syrians, and orientalised Europeans, the latter known by the generic name of Franks, made up the inhabitants of the country, who did not amount altogether to more than three millions. These people were, all of them, entirely ignorant of the civilisation of the West, and they had the vaguest possible ideas of the strength and resources of a modern European nation. So much was this the case that Gabarty informs us that when the first rumours of French invasion arrived the people thought that 'even if all the Franks should come, they would not be able to stand against the Egyptians, but would be trampled beneath their horses' feet.' Their confidence was but

short-lived. Against the disciplined ranks of the veterans of the Republic the medieval warfare of Mourad Bey, the Egyptian commander, could avail nothing. The Mameluke government, at that time divided between the two most powerful beys, Mourad and Ibrahim, was overthrown, and Bonaparte found himself the master of Egypt.

The policy of the General in regard to the internal affairs of Egypt was directed to three great ends: first to destroy the power of the Mamelukes; secondly, to bring over to the French side the mass of the indigenous population—that is to say, the Arabs, and especially the Sheikhs, who formed the most influential class; and, thirdly, to introduce European civilisation and reforms into the administration, with a view of ultimately transforming the country into a French colony. In pursuance of this policy Bonaparte created and disseminated two immense fictions, which continued to colour the policy of the French during the whole of their occupation of Egypt. One was that the French troops had invaded the country in order to uphold the sovereignty of the Sultan, and the other that Bonaparte himself and the French nation in general were orthodox Mohammedans and true believers in the prophet. Immediately upon the capture of Alexandria a proclamation was issued to the people of Egypt, in which the following passage occurred:—

‘Cadis, cheiks, imans, dites au peuple que nous sommes aussi de vrais musulmans. N'est-ce pas nous qui avons détruit le pape, qui disait qu'il fallait faire la guerre aux musulmans? N'est-ce pas nous qui avons détruit les chevaliers de Malte, parce que ces insensés croyaient que Dieu voulait qu'ils fissent la guerre aux musulmans? N'est-ce pas nous qui avons été dans tous les temps les amis du grand-seigneur (que Dieu accomplisse ses desseins!) et l'ennemi de ses ennemis? Les mameluks, au contraire, ne se sont-ils pas toujours révoltés contre l'autorité du grand-seigneur, qu'ils méconnaissent encore? Ils ne suivent que leurs caprices.’

This quotation is sufficient to show the lines upon which Bonaparte attempted to conciliate the people of the country he had invaded. The numerous proclamations which he afterwards issued are all inspired by the same idea, often expressed in very much stronger terms. We shall have occasion hereafter to advert to some of these, in which the falsifying of facts and extravagance of language are carried to the highest degree possible. Apart from the question of the morality of adopting devices of this nature, Napoleon was in fact committing a grave political blunder. In the first place, not one single individual among the Egyptians

was deceived by his profession of Islamism. Gabarty makes actually no comment whatever upon the extraordinary statements contained in the first Alexandrian proclamation, treating them with silent contempt, and contents himself with explaining the manner in which the French were enabled to translate it into Arabic. Moreover, the religious sentiments of the educated few were offended by what appeared to them blasphemy in the mouth of a Christian, while the ignorant many looked upon the attempt to conciliate their Mohammedan prejudices as a sign of weakness. The baneful effects of these two initial mistakes may, we think, be traced through all the subsequent history of the ill-fated French occupation. They were mistakes into which the English in all their dealings with Orientals have never hitherto fallen, but which were perhaps excusable in one who had had no previous practical experience of the East.

No sooner did Bonaparte find himself securely installed in Cairo than he took steps to restore order in the capital and the provinces, and to reconstruct the machinery of administration, which had been thrown out of gear by the destruction of the Mameluke power. Divans composed of the principal local sheikhs were instituted at Cairo, Alexandria, and the provinces. These were intended to act as a sort of buffer between the military invaders and the people. At first the Cairo divan was utilised to assist in collecting contributions to provide for the necessities of the French troops, for the army relied altogether on the resources of the country, but Gabarty remarks that after a time the sheikhs ceased to assemble, as no business was brought before them. Various municipal reforms were introduced, and, though the work was temporarily interrupted by the decisive victory gained by Nelson over the French fleet at Aboukir, it was being carried on with ever-increasing activity, and apparently with ever-increasing confidence, on the part of the French up to the very moment when the sullen resentment that had been smouldering in the breasts of the inhabitants of Cairo broke out into open revolt.

It is both curious and interesting to note the impressions produced on Gabarty by his first introduction to European manners and customs, and to a state of society several centuries in advance of his own. Accustomed to the horrors of barbaric warfare, and to the rapine and plunder that followed in the wake of each victorious Mameluke, the people were astonished at the orderly behaviour of the French army after the capture of Cairo. 'The soldiers,' relates the

Arab historian, 'went without arms in the public places, and made no disturbance. They even used to jest with the people, and would pay a high price for what they required. They gave a dollar for a hen, and a small piastre for an egg, in accordance with the prices of their country.' As soon as the troops were established in Cairo, cafés and restaurants were opened by some of the Greeks and other resident Europeans in the city. These excited considerable curiosity amongst the natives, and Gabarty gives a minute description of their internal arrangement, dwelling with especial emphasis upon the extraordinary fact that there was a fixed price for each article, and that no bargaining took place with reference to its amount. The light-hearted and careless mirth of the French soldiery gave a severe shock to the grave and unemotional sheikh, and the erection of a kind of café chantant draws from him the caustic remark that the greater part of the French nation are given over to follies and vanities. It is interesting to observe the small effect produced upon the minds of the natives by some of the inventions of modern science. After a preliminary announcement, couched in rather grandiloquent terms, the French sent up a balloon, apparently with the intention of impressing the people. Gabarty mentions the incident with great contempt, and says that, so far from a balloon being a kind of boat in which people could travel in the air, as the French had stated, it appeared to him rather to resemble a paper kite, such as children use in their pastimes. On the other hand, the introduction of wheelbarrows, with which the French endeavoured to replace the basket which has been used from time immemorial in Egypt for the transport of materials, aroused a good deal of interest among the people. Curiously enough, this simple but useful article took no permanent root in the country, and even to-day is never seen among the labouring classes.

The Institute of Egypt, founded by Bonaparte to collect information about the country and to diffuse knowledge among its inhabitants, made a considerable impression upon Gabarty, who possessed an inquiring mind, though it may be doubted whether it produced any effect whatsoever upon the mass of his fellow-countrymen, who appear to have regarded the chemical and electrical experiments performed for their benefit by the French as a kind of inferior magic. On the whole, the social aspect of the French appears to have been viewed by the Arabs in a spirit of good-humoured contempt.

It was, however, quite otherwise in regard to their administration and the reforms they attempted to introduce. On these points discontent—as yet hidden, but very real—was day by day spreading amongst the people, until it culminated in revolt. We have very carefully examined the Arab account of the insurrection, and of the events that preceded it, with a view to finding out the true causes of the discontent, and we propose to state them in some detail. It will be found that they throw valuable light upon the difficulties and risks attendant upon the government of a half-civilised Mohammedan people by a dominant Power, which, if not perhaps at that time a Christian Power in the full sense of the term, was at all events so regarded by the Arabs.

Bonaparte's first care after the occupation of Cairo was to provide for the payment of his troops. The confiscation of the property of the Mamelukes not producing sufficient to meet the wants of the moment, recourse was had to forced contributions from the various communities and guilds in the town. These impositions were not only heavy in comparison with what the inhabitants were accustomed to pay, but the time allowed for their collection was very short. The people protested against a system so opposed to the dilatory methods of Oriental government, but to no purpose; and the impartiality with which exactions were imposed on small and great alike probably only served to increase the irritation against the French.

The Egyptians had long been accustomed to the demands of an ignorant and rapacious Government, and they would doubtless have submitted in time to the increased burdens due to the employment of the methods of European civilisation. What they felt much more was the interference with their habits and customs caused by the attempts of the French to reform the municipal administration of Cairo. Regulations were issued imposing upon the population the duty of keeping the streets clean, and lighting them at night. The enforcement of these measures was entrusted to the native police, who were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunities they afforded for corruption and favouritism. The people were irritated by the vexations and annoyances caused by the necessity of looking after the lamps and keeping them alight; and Gabarty complains that the whole city was engaged in this business, as though they had no other cares that called for their attention. The destruction of the gates by which the principal quarters of Cairo were closed

at night greatly alarmed the people, and caused a rumour that the French were preparing for a general massacre of the Moslems ; while an attempt to level a cemetery situated in the middle of the town caused so great an outcry that it had to be abandoned. The names of all the inhabitants of the city were placarded in the neighbourhood of their dwellings, and they were forbidden to receive strangers, or to absent themselves, without the permission of the governor. All strangers and foreigners were ordered to return to their own country within three days. The irritation caused by these various measures, some of which were in themselves excellent, was, however, small in comparison with that felt at the sanitary regulations enforced by the French. At the period of which we are writing Egypt was subject to frequent visitations of the plague, and the doctors who accompanied the French army insisted upon the adoption of such precautions as were then usual in Europe. Without attempting to enumerate them, it is sufficient to say that in almost every respect they ran counter to the customs and Mohammedan prejudices of the natives. Nor was time able to do anything to appease the feelings with which they were regarded. Three years later, when the French were preparing to evacuate the country, nothing seems to have afforded so much satisfaction to the people as the abandonment of measures of this description. A further grievance was occasioned by the domiciliary visits which were necessary to ensure a proper observance of these regulations, and by periodical searches in private houses for arms. In a Mohammedan's eyes nothing is more sacred than the apartments reserved for the women, and any intrusion upon their privacy was violently resented.

There can, we think, be little doubt that another great cause of dissatisfaction was the pretension of the French to take a prominent part in the national and religious festivals of the country. The responsibility for this course must rest mainly upon Bonaparte, who apparently thought he was affording a convincing proof of the sincerity of his professions of Islamism. The annual celebration of the rise of the Nile, when the water is admitted into the Khalig, or canal which traverses the city, took place soon after the arrival of the French. Bonaparte, surrounded by his staff and at the head of his army, presided at the ceremony, but Gabarty significantly mentions that while the Syrians, the Copts, and the European inhabitants of Cairo took part in the customary rejoicings which followed, there was not a single

Mussulman to be seen. A few days later arrived the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet. The sheikhs, unwilling to see this sacred festival profaned by the presence of the infidel, attempted to pass it by in silence. The matter reached Bonaparte's ears, and he insisted upon the usual celebration being performed. To add to the joy of the true believers, a review of the French army was held, and the general's private band played all day and all night in front of the house of the Sheikh el Bekri, one of the principal religious personages in Cairo. The birthday of Hussein, another Mohammedan festival, was celebrated under similar circumstances, and equally in direct opposition to the wishes of those principally concerned.

It is evident that these proceedings on the part of the French were not calculated to increase their popularity with the sheikhs as a class, nor was their treatment of individuals more judicious or more successful. When the divan of Cairo was established, an attempt was made to force the members to wear rosettes of the French colours. Gabarty gives a curious account of this incident, which is not unworthy of notice as throwing light on some of the peculiarities of the Mohammedan character. He states that Bonaparte, having assembled the sheikhs of Cairo at his house, produced some rosettes of red, white, and blue silk, and fastened one of them on the shoulder of the Sheikh el Sharkawy. The latter tore it off and threw it on the ground, whereupon Bonaparte changed colour and became very angry. The interpreter on this interposed, saying, 'Oh sheikhs, you are the friends of the general, and he wishes to honour you with this mark of distinction; when you wear it you will be the more respected by the army and the people.' 'But in the eyes of God and of our co-religionists,' they replied, 'we should be the more disgraced.' Bonaparte was greatly irritated at this answer, and declared that the Sheikh el Sharkawy was not worthy to remain president of the divan. The other sheikhs attempted to appease him and begged that he would not force them to do what was contrary to their religion; but all they could obtain was a delay of twelve days in which to consider the matter. Subsequently the public crier ordered the people to wear the tricolour as a mark of submission and friendship. Gabarty says that the majority, believing it to be opposed to the law of the prophet, did not obey, and that only the timorous were to be seen wearing it. On another occasion Bonaparte suddenly appeared in person at the house of the Sheikh

el Sadaat, who was ill in bed, and accused him of having received treasonable letters. In the meantime a large crowd assembled close by in the Mosque of Seidna Hussein, and when the general reappeared they began to recite in loud tones the prayer called the Fatiha, the custom of the Mohammedans before giving battle. Bonaparte enquired the cause of these cries and was told that they were praying for his welfare. He was able to get away unmolested, but, as Gabarty remarks, 'it was a critical moment, and the people were within an ace of breaking out into revolt.' Numerous other instances are related by the Arab historian in which influential and respected sheikhs received very rough treatment at the hand of the French authorities.

We have already pointed out the shock given to Mohammedan prejudice by the occasional, though perhaps necessary, invasion of the harem in the enforcement of police regulations. The manner in which certain ladies of position were treated by the French caused still greater irritation amongst the upper classes. The wife of Radwan Kashif, an influential Mameluke, was denounced by one of her servants, who was a Copt, as having arms and other Mameluke property concealed in her house. A search was instituted and the accusation was verified, whereupon the lady was not only fined 4,000 dollars, but was kept in prison for three days and nights—a punishment which, according to Mohammedan ideas, hardly any crime could justify in the case of a woman. Again, a lady called Nefisa, the wife of Osman Bey, was compelled, in spite of the intercession of two of the most important sheikhs in Cairo, to appear in person before the governor to answer a charge of having attempted to send certain property to her husband, who was one of the leaders of the hostile Mamelukes. The sheikhs begged that she might be allowed to return to her house for the night pending a full enquiry, and offered themselves to take her place. This request was refused, and the lady was obliged to sleep in the French quarters in a room full of Moslem and European women. Whilst thus infringing the privileges enjoyed for centuries by Mohammedan women, the attempts of the French to remove their disabilities and give them the *status* of their sisters in the West, however just in principle, did not tend to diminish the feeling that was growing up against European innovations. A proposal to modify the law of inheritance with a view of improving the legal position of women in this respect caused great excitement among the Arabs, and had to be abandoned. A curious passage in

Gabarty, written shortly before the French evacuated the country, gives some idea of the feelings with which grave and respectable Arab sheikhs regarded the change wrought in the manners and customs of their women by contact with a European soldiery. We subjoin a translation :—

‘ And among the events of the year was the emancipation of the women, and the straying of a great number of them from the paths of modesty and virtue. When the French came to Egypt, some were accompanied by their wives, and used to walk in the streets with them. These women had their faces uncovered; they wore dresses and coloured silken handkerchiefs, cashmere shawls on their shoulders, and embroideries of divers colours; they rode horses and donkeys, rushing through the town at a furious pace, laughing and jesting with their guides and with the common people. The native women of light morals and from the lowest classes began to incline towards the French soldiers, and to associate with them, by reason of the latter’s predilection for the fair sex and the money they spent upon them. At first this intercourse was conducted with a certain amount of decency and fear of shame and careful precautions against discovery; but after the revolt of Cairo and the recapture of Boulac by the French, and the destruction of its people and the taking of their goods, the French seized upon such of the women and girls as they chose, imprisoned them in their own houses, dressed them after the fashion of their own women, and treated them in the same manner in every respect. And the majority of them put off altogether the veil of modesty, and were joined by others from among the wicked, so that while tyranny and calamity, the plundering of their goods and the accumulation of their possessions in the grasp of the French, overwhelmed the people, the women lost all modesty and decency and morality and respectability, carried away by the nature of the French, their strong inclination to women and subordination to them, their compliance with their wishes and desires, even when the women abused them or struck them with slippers. Their eyes were turned astray, and their minds were corrupted from their inclination to evil desires, more especially in the case of those who had hitherto been kept in seclusion.

‘ A great number of the French became suitors for the daughters of the notables and married them, desiring to make use of the influence and generosity of their fathers-in-law, and they made a pretence of adopting Islamism, making the two professions of faith, for they possessed no creed of their own which they respected. The governors of the divisions of the city went about accompanied by Moslem women in European attire, who interfered in the affairs of the people and the ordinary administration, giving orders and making proclamations. A woman would even walk out alone or in the company of friends and associates like herself, preceded by cavasses and servants bearing sticks in their hands and driving the people out of the way, just as if some great official were passing by. They even gave their opinions and orders in matters of public interest.

‘ And especially at the time of the rise of the Nile and the entry of

the water into the Khalig and the navigation therein, the emancipation of the women and their intercourse with the French grew apace. They went about together in boats, they danced, they sang, they drank, all day and all night, dressed in gorgeous attire and covered with jewels. They were accompanied by musical instruments, and the sailors added their share to the jesting and folly, lifting up their voices as they plied the oar, from the vanity of their disposition and the wantonness of their hearts, especially when overpowered by hasheesh. They lost all self-control, and shouted and beat their drums and cymbals, and danced and made the most extraordinary imitations of French words and phrases in their songs.

‘As for the negresses, as soon as they perceived the dispositions of the French towards women, they came in crowds, both singly and in pairs. They jumped down walls and climbed over walls to get to them. They showed them the secret hiding-places of their masters, where their treasures and possessions were concealed.’

It was inevitable that the French occupation should greatly improve the position of the Copts, Syrians, and other native Christians, and that these latter should acquire an influence they had not heretofore enjoyed in the administration of the country. After the manner of all *parvenus* they were not slow to adopt an insolent demeanour towards their former masters, and seize the opportunity of revenging the insults and oppression of centuries. ‘Copts,’ says Gabarty, ‘were appointed to collect the revenue. They ‘went down into the provinces like governors, beating and ‘imprisoning the people, and using violent means to obtain ‘their demands.’ At the celebration of the anniversary of the Republic the pious sheikh is shocked by the principal Copts and Syrians appearing in gorgeous costumes embroidered with gold, and riding upon mules richly caparisoned. A Greek adventurer, whom Gabarty describes as the lowest of the Greeks of Cairo, was appointed head of the police. He had originally been a porter in the service of one of the chief Mameluke beys, and afterwards kept a drinking-shop in the Frank quarter. The tribunal of justice established by the French was composed of six Copts and six Mohammedans, and the president was a Copt. It is hardly surprising that many of these men made use of their newly acquired powers to promote in every possible way the mutual distrust which existed between the Arabs and the French, and very bitter were the feelings of the former when they saw the confidence reposed by their conquerors in those whom they had always been accustomed to hate and despise.

The people were, indeed, in no mood to be trifled with.

The impositions and taxes that were collected with ever increasing vigour, the daily interference with their habits and customs, the spectacle of the infidel interfering in their religious observances, treating with harshness their most respected leaders and carrying the spirit of insubordination into their domestic lives, the insolence and tyranny of the native Christians, all conspired to fill their hearts with a burning resentment that required but little to burst out into open revolt. This was the moment chosen by the French to enforce a measure for the compulsory registration of titles. The Arabs looked upon it as an attempt to confiscate their property, and it is clear from the French account of the incident that they were not far wrong. The enactment was, in fact, purely fiscal, and was intended to replenish the exhausted treasury-chest of the French army. Two per cent. on the gross value was charged on registration, and all properties to which the title could not be proved were liable to confiscation. As all acquainted with the East will well understand, this latter provision would include the greater part of the landed estates throughout the country. Heavy duties were at the same time imposed upon successions and upon all transactions between private individuals. This legislation had the effect of alienating the last class to whom the French might otherwise have looked for assistance. The well-to-do—those who had something to lose in times of trouble—no longer cared to use their influence to repress the spirit of insurrection that was spreading rapidly amongst the lower and more fanatical classes. To their minds anything was better than the slow but certain process of legalised robbery. The train was laid, and it needed but the match to cause an explosion. The occasion was soon found. A house-tax—a method of raising revenue to which the people were unaccustomed—was imposed. Government officials were sent into all the streets and houses to estimate the amount which each should pay. The people came together in crowds crying out against tyranny, and three months after the entry of the French into Cairo the city broke out into open revolt.

The mob, once roused, displayed the utmost fury. They rushed through the streets massacring the French and the Copts and Syrians, and plundering the houses in the quarters of the native Christians. General Dupuy, the Governor of Cairo, was killed and many other French officers. Barri-
cades were erected in the street, and, for a short time, the greater part of the town was in possession of the insurgents.

Bonaparte, as soon as the news reached him, acted with his customary promptitude. The points most threatened were reinforced and cannon placed on the heights commanding the city. On the day following the outbreak a brisk cannonade was directed against the Mosque of El Azhar and the surrounding quarter, the centre of the revolt, which soon reduced the terrified inhabitants to submission. The French troops entered the town, 'rushing through every part of it,' says Gabarty, 'like devils, and throwing down all the barricades they found.' They stabled their horses in the Mosque of El Azhar, and treated the sacred building and the Koran with every indignity. The Arab historian gives a piteous account of the state to which the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were reduced, and of the scandalous scenes enacted by the French in a place which had hitherto been respected and reserved for Mussulmans. The Greeks and Syrians seized the opportunity to bring many false accusations against the Moslems and to increase the wrath of the French. A great number of people were arrested and tried by Christian judges. Some were beheaded, and others sent to prison and put to the torture to make them confess the hiding-place of their riches. Eleven prominent sheikhs who were designated as the leaders of the revolt, were publicly executed and their property confiscated. The meetings of the divan were suspended, and Cairo was placed under strict martial law, while an extraordinary contribution of several millions of francs was imposed on the inhabitants. This contribution was exacted with very great rigour, and, to use the Arab proverb, 'he that could not give the fruit gave the tree.' Simultaneously with the putting into execution of these severe measures, a proclamation was issued to the people of Egypt, nominally by the Sheikhs of Cairo, but drawn up in reality by Bonaparte himself, in which the wise and beneficent deeds of the French are held up to their admiration, and the fiction of their Mohammedan propensities is reiterated in even stronger terms than heretofore. The following extract gives some idea of this extraordinary production, which concludes with the practical advice to pay the taxes regularly:—

'Peuple d'Égypte ! tu n'ignores pas que de tout temps les Français ont été, parmi les diverses nations européennes, les seuls amis des musulmans et de l'islamisme, les seuls ennemis des idolâtres et de leurs superstitions. Ils sont encore les fidèles alliés de notre seigneur et maître ; ils sont encore prêts à lui donner des témoignages de leur

affection et à le secourir au besoin. Ils n'aiment que ceux qui l'aiment, et sont les ennemis de ses ennemis. De là, leur haine mortelle contre les Russes, qui . . . désireraient s'emparer de Sainte-Sophie et des autres temples voués au culte du vrai Dieu, pour en faire des églises consacrées aux profanes exercices de leur perverse croyance.'

The next two months were employed by the French in executing various military works which were intended to render impossible the recurrence of any insurrection on the part of the people. The Arabs and the French remained in a state of sullen hostility to one another, and such social intercourse as had formerly prevailed was completely at an end. The French soldiers no longer went about unarmed, and the Mohammedans dared not show themselves in the streets after sunset. Gabarty mentions that the Copts, Syrians, and Jews in the service of the French began once more to conduct themselves insolently towards the Moslems, and to ride horses and carry arms. Towards the end of December Bonaparte reconstituted the divan of Cairo. He announced his decision in a proclamation which, for the extravagance of its language and the absurdity of its pretensions, is unequalled, we should imagine, by any document which has ever been published to the world. That there may be no doubt as to the correctness of the Arabic translation, we subjoin the French original:

‘ Habitants du Caire,

‘ Des hommes pervers avaient égaré une partie d’entre vous ; ils ont péri. Dieu m’a ordonné d’être clément et miséricordieux pour le peuple ; j’ai été clément et miséricordieux envers vous.

‘ J’ai été fâché contre vous de votre révolte ; je vous ai privés pendant deux mois de votre divan ; mais aujourd’hui je vous le restitue ; votre bonne conduite efface la tache de votre révolte.

‘ Shérifs, ulémas, orateurs des mosquées, faites bien connaître au peuple que ceux qui de gaieté de cœur se déclareraient mes ennemis n’auront de refuge ni dans ce monde ni dans l’autre. Y aurait-il un homme assez aveugle pour ne pas voir que le destin lui-même dirige toutes mes opérations ? Y aurait-il quelqu’un assez incrédule pour révoquer en doute que tout dans ce vaste univers est soumis à l’empire du destin ?

“ Faites connaître au peuple que, depuis que le monde est monde, il était écrit qu’après avoir détruit les ennemis de l’islamisme, fait abattre les croix, je viendrais remplir la tâche qui m’a été imposée. Faites voir au peuple que dans le saint livre du Coran, dans plus de vingt passages, ce qui arrive a été prévu, et ce qui arrivera est également expliqué.

‘ Que ceux que la crainte seule de nos armes empêche de nous maudire changent ; car en faisant au ciel des vœux contre nous ils

sollicitent leur condamnation : que les vrais croyants fassent des vœux pour la prospérité de nos armes.

‘Je pourrais demander à chacun de vous compte des sentiments les plus secrets de son cœur ; car je sais tout, même ce que vous n’avez dit à personne. Mais un jour viendra que tout le monde verra avec évidence que je suis conduit par des ordres supérieurs, et que tous les efforts humains ne peuvent rien contre moi. Heureux ceux qui, de bonne foi, sont les premiers à se mettre avec moi !

‘Signé, BONAPARTE.’

Gabarty gives the proclamation *in extenso*, in order, as he says, that the reader may appreciate the senseless absurdities which it contains.

It was about this time that Bonaparte resolved upon his expedition to Syria. The Turks, aided by the English, were engaged in making preparations on a large scale to drive the French out of Egypt ; and Bonaparte hoped to disconcert their plans by taking the offensive himself. We do not propose to discuss here the details of that campaign or the causes of the disasters which marked its close. The position of the French in Egypt was, however, profoundly affected by each vicissitude through which the French arms passed ; and the ultimate failure of the expedition was the real death-blow to the dream of creating a French empire in the East. Having completed his preparations, Bonaparte marched out of Cairo on February 10, 1799, leaving about 17,000 men to garrison Egypt during his absence. General Dugua was left in command at Cairo, and General Desaix continued his campaign against Mourad Bey in Upper Egypt. The French who were left behind in Egypt seem at first to have been apprehensive of another insurrection when the master hand that held the people down was removed. Rumours of a Moslem rising were circulated by the native Christians. They proved unfounded ; but the French were very careful to do all in their power to conciliate the Mohammedans and to remove various grievances of which they had complained. The native Christians were ordered to wear the distinctive costumes which had been obligatory before the arrival of the French, and they were forbidden, in accordance with the old custom, to eat, drink, or smoke in the streets during the Mohammedan fast of Ramadan, so as not to hurt the feelings of the orthodox believers. The soldiers did not show themselves much in public, and the French officials gave Turkish dinners to the principal sheikhs and merchants and overwhelmed them with unwonted courtesies. This change of

attitude was not, however, of long duration. The early successes of the French arms in Syria revived the spirit of their countrymen in Egypt; and the various regulations which were so irksome to the Mussulmans began once more to be strictly enforced. Severe penalties were imposed upon whosoever spoke evil of the French. The Copts and Syrians and other native Christians held public rejoicings at the French victories and took advantage of the occasion to again deck themselves out in gorgeous attire. We observe in passing that the demeanour of the native Christians afforded, during the whole period under consideration, an accurate barometer of the position of the French in the country. When the spirit of the Copts and Syrians rose, it was a sign that the affairs of the invaders were flourishing. When they fell, the reverse was almost certain to be the case.

The turning point in the campaign of Syria was the siege of Acre, which was commenced on March 18, 1799. Up to that moment the expedition had been successful. From then onwards one disaster after another began to overtake the French, until they were finally compelled two months later to raise the siege and retreat to Egypt under circumstances of unparalleled hardship. Towards the middle of April rumours of the successful resistance made by the English and Turks at Acre began to circulate in Egypt. The people took heart, and the usual signs of disaffection began to manifest themselves. A fanatical youth ran through the streets of Cairo calling upon the Moslems to rise and massacre the French. He was arrested, not before he had killed one Frenchman and attacked two others, and was executed on the following day. The French authorities, fearful of another insurrection, imprisoned several of the young man's associates, and instituted a very thorough search for arms in the neighbourhood. The same day a Christian was severely beaten by a Mohammedan for riding in front of a mosque without dismounting, in accordance with the ancient custom, to show his respect. The Mohammedan was punished, but the incident was significant of the spirit that was abroad.

In the provinces grave disorders arose. Moustafa Bey had been appointed by Bonaparte to take charge of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and had been allowed to remain in Lower Egypt till the time of departure arrived. He now began to look on the French cause as hopeless, and, surrounding himself with a numerous band of fellahs,

Bedouin Arabs, and Mamelukes, broke out into open revolt. For a brief time he succeeded in holding the country between the desert and the eastern branch of the Nile, but his followers were soon dispersed by General Lanusse at the head of 600 men, and he himself forced to take refuge in Syria. One result of the insurrection was that there was no pilgrimage to Mecca that year, a fact which Gabarty considers the most extraordinary event that had happened since the arrival of the Turks in Egypt. A much more serious trouble broke out in another part of the Delta. A false prophet arose, who in less than three weeks managed to collect some 3,000 or 4,000 adherents. He captured the town of Damanhour, massacring the French garrison that held it, and defeated the various detachments of troops sent by the French to dislodge him. These successes enormously increased the number of his followers, and he soon found himself at the head of 10,000 men. He repulsed a considerable body of French troops after seven hours' severe fighting, and for a time remained master of the situation. At length General Lanusse, who had returned from his expedition against Moustafa Bey, succeeded in defeating the insurgents, and in the battle the false prophet was himself slain, but his disciples long continued to disturb the tranquillity of the Delta. Encouraged by the news of these revolts, Mourad Bey and the remnant of the Mamelukes attempted a descent upon Lower Egypt. Taught by the experience of the past, they avoided coming to a direct action with the French, and contented themselves with remaining on the skirts of the desert, ready to take advantage of any reverse that might overtake their former conquerors.

It was, indeed, high time for Bonaparte to return. The city of Cairo disaffected, the provinces in disorder, the Mameluke forces ready at any moment to make a descent, a Turkish invasion imminent—never had the occupation been in so critical a position. The French army re-entered Cairo on June 14. No means were neglected to persuade the inhabitants that they were returning triumphant from a victorious campaign. The General rode into the city at the head of his troops, accompanied by the standards and prisoners taken during the war. The standards were suspended from the minarets of the principal mosques, and the prisoners were marched about in the different quarters of the town for several consecutive days. A proclamation was issued recapitulating the triumphs of the French arms

in Syria, and concluding with the astounding statement that Acre had been so completely destroyed that there did not remain one stone upon another. It is difficult to understand what the object could be of so palpable a falsehood, and Gabarty himself is moved from his customary gravity to produce a parody, in which the real reasons for the abandonment of the siege are set forth in terms by no means complimentary to the French. At the same time other proclamations were addressed by Bonaparte to the inhabitants of Egypt, threatening them with every kind of pain and penalty should they attempt to revolt, and promising, if they remained quiet, to lighten their burdens and protect their religion. Upon this latter point he waxed very eloquent, and went so far in his zeal for Islamism as to ridicule and abjure the doctrine of the Trinity. He further promised to build at his own expense a large and beautiful mosque in Cairo. While attempting to charm the Egyptians with fair words, Napoleon did not neglect those military measures which were rendered necessary by the coming struggle. He reorganised his army, extinguished the last traces of the insurrection in Lower Egypt, drove Mourad Bey and his forces back towards the south, and was once more able to concentrate his whole forces in repelling the Turkish invasion. The Ottoman troops landed at Aboukir on July 11, and were supported by a British squadron under Sir Sidney Smith. On the 23rd Bonaparte arrived with his army at Alexandria, and two days later completely defeated the Turks. Several thousand men were killed or driven into the sea, and Moustafa Pasha, the Turkish commander, was taken prisoner.

The news of the landing of the Turkish forces at Aboukir had caused great rejoicing amongst the inhabitants of Cairo, and they began openly to curse the Christians. The latter on their side informed the governor that the Moslems were plotting a revolt. At the meeting of the divan this accusation was refuted in energetic language by one of the principal sheikhs; but, nevertheless, the French, as a precautionary measure, put the head sheikhs of the different quarters in prison. The excitement was soon calmed by the intelligence of the victory of the French, and the sheikhs, adapting themselves with Oriental facility to circumstances, came in a body to offer their congratulations to Bonaparte. They were received very coldly and reproached with their too hasty manifestations of joy when they still thought the French would be defeated. The native Christians

were, of course, in high spirits, and Gabarty is much distressed at the excesses in which they indulged. 'They imitated,' he says, 'the Mamlouks in the time of their power. They went about with their wives, drank wine, and sang improper songs.'

It was at this moment that Bonaparte suddenly and secretly left Egypt. Whilst at Alexandria he had received intelligence of the reconquest of Lombardy by the allies. The year 1799 was a year of disaster to the Republic, and from within and without grave dangers menaced her existence. It is probable that, from the time of the unfortunate campaign in Syria, Bonaparte had made up his mind to seize the first favourable opportunity of returning to Europe. He must have seen plainly that, as things had turned out, the Egyptian expedition was destined to end in failure. The hour for departure had come, and taking advantage of the temporary absence of Sir Sidney Smith's squadron, he hurriedly embarked with a few companions for France.

Thus ended Bonaparte's connexion with Egypt. The great general had with the utmost ease crushed the power of the Mamelukes; he had triumphed over insurrection from within and invasion from without; but his original scheme of founding a great French colony had failed. The French were not more firmly established in the country on the day when Bonaparte quitted for ever the soil of Egypt than the day when he first set foot in Cairo. The causes are not far to seek. With all his genius, both as a military commander and as an administrator, Bonaparte was sublimely ignorant of the peculiarities of the Oriental character. Nothing could be more opposed to his nature than the procrastinating and ultra-conservative temperament of the Arab, never disturbed from a patient endurance of the ills of life unless by occasional bursts of fanaticism. Not that he ignored the importance, indeed necessity, of conciliating the Mohammedan element. On this point his theory was excellent, but unfortunately his practice imperfect. His views are very clearly stated in the following extract from the letter of instructions he left behind for General Kléber, his successor in Egypt:—

'Vous connaissez, je pense, citoyen général, mes idées sur la politique à suivre envers l'Egypte elle-même. Quoi que vous fassiez, les chrétiens y seront toujours pour nous. Il faut les empêcher d'être trop insolents, afin que les Turcs n'aient pas contre nous le même fanatisme que contre les chrétiens, ce qui nous les rendrait irréconciliables ennemis. Il faut endormir le fanatisme en attendant qu'on puisse le déraciner. En captivant l'opinion des grand cheiks du Caire,

on a l'opinion de toute l'Egypte et de tous les chefs du peuple. Rien, si l'on sait les prendre, rien n'est moins dangereux pour nous que ces chefs peureux et pusillanimes, qui ne savent ni n'osent se battre, et qui, comme tous les prêtres, imposent le fanatisme sans être fanatiques eux-mêmes.'

As we have already pointed out, however, the practical steps by which he attempted to carry out this policy were not successful, and neither he nor his successors were able to mitigate, much less to remove, the intense dislike with which the Mohammedans of Egypt viewed the French occupation of their country.

General Kléber, who succeeded Bonaparte in the command of the French troops in Egypt, offered a very complete contrast both in outward demeanour and in the policy which inspired his actions. A tall, handsome man of somewhat haughty manners, he surrounded himself with all the pomp and circumstance befitting an Oriental despot. Nothing had more astonished the Arabs than the almost frugal simplicity of Bonaparte's daily life and the easy and unaffected way in which his intercourse with them was conducted. In Kléber they found a very different personage. Gabarty mentions that upon his arrival at Cairo 'the sheikhs and notables of the town came to offer their homage to the new general. They were sent away and told to return on the morrow. When they came back they did not find a smiling countenance or communicative manners like those of Bonaparte.' In dealing with Orientals experience has taught the wisdom of not neglecting those adornments and trappings of power which to the Eastern mind appear to constitute its most important part. There can be no doubt that at first the natives formed a very favourable impression of their new ruler, and under happier circumstances he might have met with a very fair measure of success. Moreover, the policy he advocated, a policy which may be defined in two words as that of 'honourable evacuation,' naturally tended to increase his popularity with the inhabitants of the country. He had never at any time been more than a lukewarm supporter of Bonaparte's great colonisation scheme, and now that there was no hope of further succour from France he saw clearly that the position in Egypt had become untenable. The situation of affairs at the time of Bonaparte's departure was, indeed, according to an official statement drawn up by Kléber, extremely unsatisfactory. The French troops, greatly reduced in numbers, were deficient in arms and ammunition, and even in suitable clothing. The exchequer showed a

deficit of nearly twelve million francs. The Mamelukes, under Mourad Bey, were in Upper Egypt ready to make a descent on the first opportunity. The Grand Vizier with a Turkish army was advancing through Syria, while a Turkish naval force had just appeared before Damietta.

Under these circumstances, Kléber saw no course open except to enter into negotiations with the Sultan. While awaiting the result of his overtures he made strenuous efforts to provide his army with pay, and to improve its condition. In a short time he effected much, but the financial measures he was compelled to adopt pressed very hardly upon the people, and began to exhaust the resources of the country. In the meantime, the negotiations with the Turks were, through the mediation of Sir Sidney Smith, progressing favourably; and on January 24, 1800, the convention of El Arish was concluded, whereby the French army were to evacuate Egypt, returning to France with their arms and baggage. The news of the signature of the convention and the departure of the French filled the people of Cairo with joy. They thronged round Kléber as he passed through the streets, and the windows of the houses and shops were crowded with men and women cheering him. The chief personages of the city came in a body to offer their congratulations. For the first time since their arrival in the country the French were greeted with rejoicings that were not assumed. An extraordinary contribution of 3,000 purses, to defray the expenses of the departure of the army, was collected with the utmost ease. 'It is to hasten the departure of the French,' said the people; 'it will be a happy day when we see these infidel dogs depart.' 'These words,' says Gabarty, 'were uttered in the presence of the French, who heard them, and treasured them up in their hearts. The people of Cairo lost all self-control, and openly showed their hate for the French; they abused them, and cursed them, and mocked them; they took no heed of what was to come, and left no opening for forgiveness. The hearts of the French were filled with hatred and revenge.'

The French had already begun to evacuate Cairo, and to remove their effects to the coast, when the news arrived that the English Government declined to recognise the convention of El Arish, and would only consent to a capitulation if the French troops surrendered themselves prisoners of war. There could be but one answer on the part of the French. Kléber hastily reoccupied the fortifications round

Cairo, and prepared to attack the troops of the Grand Vizier, which were encamped close to the city in readiness to occupy it on the departure of the French. On March 20, 1800, the French troops marched out against the Turkish army, and after a vigorous attack gained a complete and decisive victory. The Turks fled in disorder into the desert, hotly pursued by their victors. In the meantime some of the Mameluke troops under Nashif Pasha had come round into Cairo—which had been left almost undefended—and took possession of the town in the name of the Sultan. They announced that the French had been cut in pieces, and persuaded the inhabitants to rise against the garrisons that had been left in the city. The whole interior of the town was in the hands of the Moslems. A general massacre of Christians took place. The French garrisons, isolated in different quarters, had the utmost difficulty in repelling the attacks made upon them. Kléber returned on March 27, but was unable to retake Cairo without further reinforcements, and it was not till April 25 that the insurrection was finally quelled, after thirty-five days of never-ceasing carnage and conflagration.

The revolt was repressed, but the consequences remained. Great suffering and distress existed in the town, and the French in their vengeance did not spare the people. Kléber summoned the principal sheikhs of Cairo, and, after sternly reproaching them for all that had occurred, fined them twelve millions of francs. They were detained for some time, and treated with considerable indignity. The Sheikh Sadaat was kept in prison, and tortured on more than one occasion, until he consented to divulge where his property was hidden. Gabarty gives a melancholy account of the ill-treatment to which the Mohammedans were subjected at this period. He says:—

‘ Jacob the Copt was appointed to collect the contributions from the people. He summoned before him the heads of the trades and of the quarters, gave them lists of names, and sent them out attended by French soldiers to exact payment. The people were beaten and imprisoned, and groaned beneath a tyranny the like of which had never before been seen. Those who possessed wealth were made to pay for those who could not meet the demands made on them, as well as for themselves, and a whole year’s taxes were collected in advance. A man was often made to pay two or three times over. The resources of the people were soon exhausted: they tried to borrow, but in vain; the French would not accept payment in kind, and they were reduced to parting with their goods and chattels at an almost nominal price. All the mules were taken away, and the Moslems were forbidden to ride.

The collection of the contribution was continued with ever increasing severity. Soldiers came round robbing the houses and beating and imprisoning those who could not pay. If a man were not found, his wife and children were arrested and put in prison, and his relations held responsible for his contribution. Moreover, the Copts and Syrians pressed grievously upon the Mohammedans, and followed the evil devices of their hearts, mocking them and saying, "Where is, then, 'your Mohammed to deliver you?' . . . The Copts showed the French how to collect the taxes, and managed to appropriate a considerable share to themselves. They came down into the provinces like princes, escorted by French troops, and accompanied by a crowd of retainers. They sent Coptic agents with soldiers and janissaries into the villages to collect the taxes, and if they were not paid within the time specified the village was plundered and burnt, and the women carried away. If the village sheikhs attempted to run away in their terror, they were seized, severely beaten, and dragged about, bound with ropes. The lowest and most degraded of the Copts were able to give free vent to all the spite and hate that filled their hearts against the Mohammedans.'

The people were cowed by these proceedings, but their feelings against the French were not rendered less bitter by the necessity of repressing any open manifestations of dislike. Twice had they risen in revolt, only to be made aware of their utter helplessness in face of their oppressors. Other and more secret means of revenge must be sought. When the sword of the patriot could avail nothing, they had recourse to the dagger of the assassin. Kléber, forgetful of the wise counsels of Bonaparte, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the powerful sheikhs of Cairo. Not content with treating them with great indignity collectively at the time of the imposition of the contribution, he had actually ordered the Sheikh Sadaat, the most influential and the most revered of them all, to be bastinadoed. The indignation amongst the Mohammedans was general and profound, and they awaited with impatience the first opportunity for vengeance. It was soon found. A fanatical youth named Suleyman was sent from Syria to assassinate the French commander. On his arrival in Cairo he put himself in communication with the Ulema, and revealed his design to four of the principal sheikhs of El Azhar. He passed forty days and forty nights in prayer and fasting, and on June 14, as General Kléber was walking in a garden near the French headquarters, found his opportunity. Rushing out from a place where he had concealed himself, he struck the general four times with a dagger. Kléber fell bathed in blood; he was carried into headquarters, where

he immediately expired. The assassin was captured red-handed, and was subsequently put to death under circumstances of somewhat unnecessary cruelty. Three of the four sheikhs who had been tacit accomplices in the crime were decapitated, but the fourth escaped to Syria.

Upon the death of Kléber, the command of the French army was assumed by General Menou, the senior among the generals left in Egypt. The change was not, in the eyes of the army, an improvement. Menou had no military talents of any kind, and was rather a man of counsel than of action. The coldness of his manner and a certain absence of military smartness in his outward appearance were not calculated to impress the soldiers, whilst the weakness of his character rendered him altogether unfit to control the somewhat turbulent spirits of the other French generals. His unpopularity was increased by the fact that he was looked upon as the chief of the colonial party and opposed to Kléber's policy of evacuation. The French were at this time eager to return to France, and to leave a country which the misfortunes they had encountered had taught them to detest. Menou, on the other hand, was a most zealous partisan of Bonaparte's original scheme of colonisation, and had pushed his enthusiasm for Egypt and the Egyptians so far as to become a Mohammedan, to marry an Arab wife, and to call himself Abdallah, the servant of God. There appears to be no doubt of the genuineness of his conversion, but from a statement made by Gabarty it is clear that the Arabs looked upon it as merely a pretence, and no more believed in his Islamism than they did in that of his chief.

The next few months were passed in profound tranquillity. At the time of Kléber's assassination the French had feared that the fanatical spirit might spread and result in another insurrection. The city was searched for arms and the Mosque of El Azhar closed. Their apprehensions were, however, groundless, the people remained quiet, and Menou was able to devote himself to the great work of reorganising the administration and perfecting the civilisation of Egypt. His domestic policy was founded on a mixture of Mohammedan sympathies with the philanthropic philosophy of the French revolution. He was on the side of the Mohammedan against the native Christian, on the side of the fellah against the village sheikh. He filled the divan of Cairo entirely with Mohammedans, and took away the administration of the finances from the Copts with the intention of ulti-

mately collecting the taxes by purely Moslem agency. With more energy than prudence, he began to introduce reforms into almost every branch of the administration, while at the same time, in order to increase the financial resources of his army, he not only enforced the payment of the arrears of the extraordinary contribution imposed by his predecessor after the revolt of Cairo, but created also a certain number of new taxes. He published a new commercial tariff, imposed a tax upon trades and professions, and a somewhat heavy annual contribution upon the different foreign communities residing in the country, and established a succession duty. This last tax was to be applicable to all nationalities alike, and the words in which Menou published this decision are not unworthy to be recalled at the present time, when the French nation appear in Egypt as the principal upholders of European privilege. He says in his proclamation :—

‘ Du temps des Mamlouks, chaque nation cherchait à se procurer des privilèges particuliers. Sous un gouvernement juste et dirigé par de bonnes loix, ces privilèges sont abolis, et chacun, qui a le même droit d’être protégé par les loix et le gouvernement, doit payer sa cote-part des dépenses publiques et par conséquent être soumis aux mêmes impositions.’

Many of these regulations were very unpopular with the army, especially those subjecting their property to taxation. We find, moreover, at this time several proclamations from the general to his troops complaining of their conduct towards the natives, forbidding them to interfere with Mohammedans riding in the streets, and generally impressing upon them the necessity of treating the inhabitants of the country with a certain amount of respect.

It might have been expected that, however impolitic Menou’s administration may have been in view of the very insecure position of the French occupation at that time, the natives would at all events have fared better under the rule of one whose Mohammedan leanings were so pronounced. Strange to say, the exact reverse appears to have been the case. The pages of Gabarty are full of descriptions of the misery and distress of the people throughout this period. Before the town of Cairo had recovered from the effects of the first contribution, a second was levied and collected with the utmost rigour. Many persons were thrown into prison, and tortured until death relieved their torments; others escaped, but a notice was issued that if they did not return within thirty-two days their houses would be pillaged. The

Copts, Syrians, and Greeks began again to ill-treat the Moslems and forced them to stand up when they passed by in the streets; if a Mohammedan neglected to rise in the presence of a superior officer, he was immediately taken away to prison and bastinadoed. A Copt, who was charged with the collection of part of the contribution, behaved in a particularly brutal manner to the people. Accompanied by French soldiers, he entered every house, and if his demands were not complied with had them pulled down without mercy. At Boulac he imprisoned men and women together, and then suffocated them with burning cotton. The sufferings occasioned by this second contribution, and the violent and arbitrary deeds to which it gave rise, lasted for quite six months. The various reforms introduced by Menou during this period seem only to have increased the irritation of the people without in the least relieving their distress. About the beginning of February 1801 the plague reappeared, and with it all the sanitary regulations which were so odious to the Mohammedan mind. At this time several proclamations from Menou began to be circulated amongst the natives denouncing the authors of alarming news and threatening them with instant execution. 'Nobody,' says Gabarty, 'could understand the motive of these warnings, for the people were too much occupied with the payment of the taxes to think of anything else.' Had they known the real cause of the activity that now began to manifest itself among the French, they would indeed have been delighted, for they were the first signs of the beginning of the end.

Towards the close of 1800 the British Government resolved to make another attempt to dislodge the French from their position in Egypt. An army of about 15,000 men, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, was despatched for this purpose, and on March 8, 1801, they succeeded in effecting a landing at Aboukir after a brief but severe opposition on the part of the French garrison at Alexandria. It is not our intention to describe the well-known incidents of the short campaign that followed. On the 21st the French, having concentrated their forces, made a determined effort to drive the English out of the strong position which the indolence and inaction of Menou had allowed them to occupy. Sir Ralph Abercromby was slain, but the French troops were, after severe fighting, repulsed. This was the turning-point of the campaign. The English were reinforced by 6,000 Turks, and after a series of successful operations divided the French into three

isolated bodies, so that the capitulation of Menou, who was shut up in Alexandria, was merely a matter of time. The Grand Vizier was in the meantime slowly advancing through Syria on Cairo, which was garrisoned by not more than 7,000 French troops under General Belliard.

When the intelligence of the landing of the English first reached Cairo, the French were greatly afraid of another rising on the part of the people. They arrested some of the leading sheikhs as hostages upon the departure of Menou for the coast, and endeavoured to impose on the inhabitants of the city by their usual expedient of spreading false rumours of French victories. They suspended the collection of taxes, and even abandoned the quarantine regulations that had caused so much annoyance to the Mohammedans. As a matter of fact, the population made no movement. The explanation given by Gabarty of this somewhat singular circumstance is that a large part of the inhabitants of Cairo had removed into the provinces on account of the hated precautions taken by the French against the plague; but probably their recollection of the severity with which the two former revolts had been put down was one of the chief motives by which they were actuated. In the meantime the position of General Belliard and his troops was growing more and more difficult. The plague was making fearful ravages amongst the soldiers. The English, under General Hutchinson, and the Turks, under the Grand Vizier, were approaching, and on June 16 Cairo was invested on all sides. Under these circumstances, resistance was hopeless, and on the 26th a convention was signed by which the French troops were to evacuate Cairo and retire to Rosetta, where they were to be embarked for France. The town was finally evacuated on the night of July 10, and on the morrow the Turkish troops entered amidst the cheers of the populace, who received them with every demonstration of joy. This joy was, however, greatly moderated, says Gabarty, when the Turkish janissaries took possession of the shops, sharing the profits with the rightful owners in accordance with the old Ottoman custom.

The French occupation was now practically at an end; but General Menou, with the obstinacy which characterises weak minds, refused to recognise the uselessness of further resistance, and, though closely besieged in Alexandria, managed to hold out for seven weeks longer. At length, yielding to the wishes of his whole army, he abandoned a struggle which had become hopeless. On September 2 a

treaty of evacuation was signed, and on the 18th General Menou and his troops embarked for France.

Such was the end of the French expedition to Egypt. Brilliant in its beginning, it passed through a succession of misfortunes and disasters until it reached the humiliation and defeat which marked its close. The dominion of the French in Egypt was a dominion built upon sand, and when the floods came and the winds blew, like the house in the parable, it fell. Neither the extraordinary genius of Bonaparte, nor the stern severity of Kléber, nor the Moham-
medan sympathies of Menou were able to effect that which, nearly a century later, the wise but unsensational policy of the British Government has achieved. It would be unfair to judge the methods employed by the French by the standard of political morality which prevails at the present day in Europe. We may, however, point out one cardinal difference between the policies pursued by the two European countries who have been in military occupation of Egypt—a difference which, to our minds, rendered inevitable the failure of the French, and which, we venture to predict, will result in the final success of our countrymen in their difficult task, which is still only partially complete. The French governed Egypt to promote the temporary political interests of their own country. The English govern Egypt to promote the permanent interests and prosperity of its population.

ART. VII.—*The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke.*
Privately printed. Edinburgh: 1889.

THE journals of Lady Mary Coke have for some years reposed in the charter room of the Earl of Home. After the death of the writer the manuscript became the property of her favourite niece, Lady Frances Scott, the posthumous daughter of Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, by her eldest sister, Lady Caroline Campbell. The diary, continued with brief interruptions, covers a period of twenty-five years. The handwriting is remarkably clear and firm. The earliest date existing in the text is August 18, 1766. It came into Lord Home's possession through his grandfather, Lord Montagu, nephew of Lady Frances Scott. To Lord Home also belongs the fascinating introduction written in 1827 by Lady Louisa Stuart, the youngest daughter of the minister Lord Bute. This sketch, privately printed in 1863, covers

about a hundred and twenty-two pages. It was written for the purpose of giving to Caroline Lucy, Lady Scott, an account of the family circle of her great-grandfather, the celebrated soldier and statesman John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich. Possessing, as we already do, the Stuart-Wortley letters, with their matchless introduction by Lady Louisa Stuart, the Walpole and Selwyn letters, and those of Lady Suffolk and Lady Sundon, to say nothing of those of Pope, it would seem as if we already had all the data required for the social history of the eighteenth century, as if the papers already in our hands needed no corollary. Yet curiosity never flags, and we are eager for every detail, for every illustration of what is really familiar matter. The eighteenth century is not dead. It lies behind us, and though we call it frivolous the nineteenth century was born of it. Its ideas are still living, and the study of its manners must be important, considering that in the eighteenth century manners and customs had all the force of laws, and were often more respected. Thus every unpublished letter or diary is treasure-trove; thus we find ourselves longing that the repositories of the Vine might be made to disclose their contents, thus we are grateful to Lord Home for printing this diary of London's most fashionable madcap, the *enfant terrible* of society when George III. was young. It is by the courtesy of Lord Home that we are able to-day to give our readers some account of this, the latest contribution to our acquaintance with what has been called the Augustan age in England.

The book is rendered, by its admirable notes, doubly rich in facts and allusions corroborative of the knowledge which we already possess. It is not a mine of anecdotal riches, for Lady Mary was very matter of fact; its pages are not wise or witty, but nothing in them, after the lapse of a hundred years, can offend any sensibilities or injure any reputation. What matters it now that the Chevalier St. George did, in May 1741, presume to lure Duke John from loyalty into the forbidden paths of Jacobite sympathy? No doubt at the moment the staunch Whig, the old soldier of Sheriff Muir, was furiously angry at the attempt. He certainly resented compliments which were meant for flattery, and cared not for promises which were to take effect when the Pretender and his family should be restored to their just rights. It was an insult to take for granted that the chieftain had his price and might be tempted. Possibly also the Hanoverian prince, still rather insecure on his English throne, was annoyed

when such a document was forwarded to him for his perusal. But to-day what does it signify? Then those strictures which Lady Louisa Stuart permits herself about the voices, spelling, and deportment of 'the bawling Campbells:' they can hurt no one now. They do but enhance the charm of the courteous sweetness which distinguishes the low-voiced daughters who preside to-day at the tea table of Argyll Lodge. Time has taken the edge off Lady Mary Coke's absurdities and off her biographer's biting wit, but it has not dulled our interest in the life of the century from which we inherit so much.

For it must not be forgotten that we are the heirs of the eighteenth century, and that to an extent to which no other society in Europe can lay claim. Here in England no revolution, no great social cataclysm has come to sweep away brutally the lives, the fortunes, and the associations of our leisured classes. Disintegrating causes may have been at work, but they have worked gradually; the steps of change have been almost imperceptible at the moment, and if we do now wear our motley 'with a difference,' that very 'difference' does but serve to give a piquancy to the records of the past. We are more out of breath than our ancestors were, and the pace of life is faster, though it will be seen, in Lady Mary Coke's journals, that a fashionable beauty, a hundred years since, could manage to press a vast number of trivial occupations into the twenty-four hours. Wealth, which is more distributed, does not go as far as it did in the reign of George II., but the ends of the earth are now brought together, and the appliances of comfort are immensely improved. If we have become less insular, and if our consciences submit to outward influences more readily, it is that tradition has lost its hold; but, on the other hand, we have invented a jargon about art and agnosticism, and a morality which astonishes more than it edifies. Two things certainly distinguish our *fin de siècle* from the eighteenth century. The condition of the poor is changed for the better, and philanthropy, which was then singular, has now become almost universal. The other direction in which real progress has been made is in scientific knowledge, and in the application of science to engineering, sanitation, and all the chemistry of common life. But these things do not affect the recesses of human nature. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was wont to say that, travel as widely as she might, she found only, all the world over, the same men and the same women. That remark is true to-day, though the distance we have to travel back to the

era of the first Georges has to be measured by time and not by space, not by leagues but by decades. The tragi-comedy of society goes on just as it did, just as in the days of Marivaux, who used to wonder at the very small stock of properties required by the actors in life's interminable drama—nothing, he said, but a mouth, two eyes, and a nose! In truth nothing has changed since then. The race is still to the swift, the absent are still in the wrong, and the jokes of rich men have the same success which the Vicar of Wakefield noticed them to have in his vicarage parlour or kitchen. The whims and caprices of Fortune's favourites are still tolerated with the same complaisance, and if we hear complaints of the vulgarity of modern life, complaints about this 'the omnibus era' of Renan, from which all barriers have been removed, or are removing themselves, the readers of Lady Mary Coke's journals may take comfort. There they will see that, in the treble refined company who then occupied the pinnacle of fashion, the art of living was not always practised with extreme refinement. In fact, Jane, Duchess of Argyll, and her daughters were ill-educated women, who used locutions and who made faults in spelling that would be considered unpardonable in the girls of a High school of to-day, while the allusions of the Ladies Pomfret and Dorchester were such as we should now only expect to glean from the talk of an apple woman with a cab-driver. But because these things were so, and because the novels of their day were cynical in their coarseness, we cannot be blind to the fact that the modern English novel, of commendable taste and purity, is often replaced in the modern boudoir by the works of Zola, Bourget, and Maupassant, which leave the novels of the eighteenth century far behind. In the same way, if play be not as high in the drawing-room as it was in the days of George Selwyn, and if Lady Mary Coke would not now be obliged by fashion to risk nightly considerable sums of money, yet English ladies are to be seen at Monte Carlo, and there at its gambling tables rub shoulders with all that is vilest in the way of the sharpers and adventurers of both sexes, which Lady Mary Coke would have refused to do. There has come an alteration of manners, but it is in the way of greater promiscuity, not in the direction of a really soberer taste, and if Swift and Pope wrote to and about fine ladies in a way which would not now be tolerated, the jealous tempers which envenomed their pens are still alive, and 'Society Papers' go as far as they dare in spreading scandal and retailing the anecdotes

which keep quarrels alight. The relations between men and women are fundamentally unalterable, and now, as then, *coteries* prove exclusive, while genuine good breeding is only to be found where a gracious tradition of conduct lives in a kind and sympathetic nature, in one that is endowed with noble aims and blessed with simplicity.

Gifted in all those desirable ways was Lady Louisa Stuart, that delightful survivor into our own time of 'the grace of a day that is fled.' Her letters were remarkable for delicacy of taste, for observation as keen as that of Molière, and they bear witness to a literary ability only second to her clear judgement or to her goodness of heart. Her introduction to these 'Journals' is the wittiest thing that has been written since the appearance of the romantic and spasmodic schools has banished humour—in fact, since her grandmother, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, laid down her pen. To what extent Lady Louisa had inherited that nice acumen and that pungent style the public early became aware, because the authorship of the introduction to the Stuart Wortley papers was an open secret. Sir Walter Scott, always in her confidence, reposed unbounded trust in her taste, and from his 'Journal,' which has newly issued from the press, it would appear that in 1832 he meditated some literary undertaking either in conjunction with her or connected with her. But perhaps it is not now realised how varied were Lady Louisa's accomplishments, how wise her goodness. She died, unmarried, at the great age of ninety-four, passing quietly away in her own house in Gloucester Place, having carried into the middle of this century the ties and recollections of the last. Without pedantry and without affectation, her heart was indulgent, while her judgement was severe. Help, encouragement, sympathy, and counsel she had for all who craved them, but she put in their place all the pretensions and vulgarities of the self-confident, and thought that good breeding was as an external conscience to the world of good society. She was also fortunate enough to enjoy the last coquetry which can fall to a woman's share: that of the intelligence, for she preserved to an extraordinary degree the faculties which at ten years old had made her so precocious. At that age she showed to Lady Mary Coke the beginning of a French romance written by herself, and informed her that she meant to write a play, of which the plan, already fixed, was to be taken from Roman history. Through a long life she wrote much and well, but, owing to a touch of old-fashioned exclusiveness, she always

declined to come before the world as a woman of letters. In a letter to the Honourable Mrs. Stewart McKenzie, of Seaforth, she gives us a glimpse of her feeling on this subject. That Highland chieftainess apparently nursed a project of publishing an account of her own interesting tour through India. Lady Louisa Stuart, while urging her not to rush into print, adds—

‘I am more than ever confirmed that loss of caste, and, what is worse, loss of peace and comfort, would have been the consequence. Oh! what a *mer à boire* would all this be to a woman of quality! The pros and cons, the *dits* and *redits*! and finding oneself unawares engaged in a faction, instead of standing on one’s ground independent.’

Unfortunately Lady Louisa Stuart, not content with this policy of reserve during her lifetime, gave directions before her death for the destruction of her manuscripts. Regrettable as was that command, we seem to understand the motive that prompted it. Nothing escaped a perspicacity like hers, and Lady Louisa had noticed that literary taste changes with every succeeding generation. Dr. Johnson did indeed venture the assertion ‘that good ink, like good wine, was none the worse for age,’ but Lady Louisa perhaps remembered the shrewder saying of Voltaire, ‘*Qui de son siècle n’a pas l’esprit, de son siècle a tous les malheurs;*’ so not to expose compositions which might be out of date to the misfortunes of adverse or pitying criticism, she destroyed her poems. But historical and biographical notes do not lose their value from the variations of fashion. They never go out of date, and thus there remain of Lady Louisa’s writings the Introduction to the Wharnclyffe edition, some memoranda intended to illustrate the Selwyn correspondence, and now incorporated into the notes of these ‘Journals’ and the remarkable memoir of the family of John, Duke of Argyll, which serves as its introduction.

It is fortunate that this piece of racy English was excepted from the destruction to which Lady Louisa Stuart doomed her manuscripts. Were we called on to select from the men of the eighteenth century in England one individual rather than another whom we should wish to realise by the help of a telling and original sketch, we should not hesitate to choose before all others the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich. A strange combination of circumstances, even more than a rare combination of qualities, points him out for the choice. It may, of course, be retorted that it cannot be easy for poet or historian or novelist to add any touches to

the portraits already left of him by Pope, Scott, Stanhope, and Macaulay. But Lady Louisa Stuart was none of these things; she was only a woman of great opportunities, who from the recollections of her parents, of Lady Suffolk, and of Mrs. Kingdon was able to gather up incidents unknown to the other writers who have described the soldier of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. 'Born to shake alike the senate and the field,' Ian Roy, red John of Argyll, had a personality of the most interesting sort, and there is even a touch of the fabulous about him, which is the more curious as he belongs not to the mythical and misty ages of the *Soil Diarmid*, but to the wars of Marlborough and to the poems of Pope. He certainly filled a unique position in the history of his country and of our Hanoverian kings.

The great clan of Campbell, besides its authentic history, has a fabulous one, dimly seen through those 'mists of antiquity' which come in so usefully to drape the heroes and demi-gods of noble houses. Some derive its origin from a Norman ancestor—from *Campobello*—but for this assertion there is no better foundation than the appearance of a Campbell on the Parliamentary roll of Robert the Bruce, under the latinised form of Campobello. The Highland pronunciation, 'Cawmil,' suppressing the Latin features, ought to banish the notion. Quite as legendary, but far more attractive, is the supposed descent from Diarmid, the Adonis of Celtic mythology, the blameless young warrior who fell in conflict with the Boar, and in memory of whom the Campbells carry a boar's head as their crest. If Diarmid was its progenitor, it can only be remarked that the fortunes of this race have changed since that most self-sacrificing hero was done to death. The clan Campbell has been eminently successful, and it has, as a rule, vanquished and overcome all its enemies. It is now divided into several branches, and they have each many offshoots. The three main divisions—Lowdon, Breadalbane, and Cawdor—have all issued from the parent stock of the Campbells of Lochodha or Lochawe.

Diarmid, so runs the legend, was enticed by a crafty enemy to measure the monster he had just slain by pacing it from tail to tusk. One of the bristles pierced his naked foot, and Diarmid, dying of the wound, left Princess Graine a widow. He now lies under the mist-covered slopes of Ben Laighal, in Sutherland, where his grave may be seen to this day. But the *Soil Diarmid* has managed by force or fraud, by fire or sword, by treaty or by marriage, to annihilate or assimilate all the rivals it possessed, and to stretch its arms

well-nigh from sea to sea. The McArthurs, the MacPhies, the Stewarts of Lorn, the Macnaughtens, the Mackinnons, the MacAlaisters, the Macdougalls, and even the Macdonalds themselves have had to surrender portions of their territories. Some families have been harried and dispossessed, some have paid tribute, and some have given heiress brides to these formidable Campbells. The following figures will furnish in a few lines a sketch of their rise and progress, and of the increase of their government. In 1400 they could only bring 1,000 claymores into the field, but in 1715 the number exceeded 4,000. After the rebellion of 1745, and before the disarmament of the Highlands, there were in Argyllshire 13,257 fighting men. Once the disarmament had taken place even the most ambitious chieftains had to learn to reckon by ploughshares rather than by swords. It was no doubt a sinking in poetry, but after a hundred and fifty years the acreage is really sufficient to gratify the proudest. We will begin by striking out of our reckoning the vast number of families (like the Campbells of Marchmont, of Blythswood, and of Succoth) who disseminate the name over all parts of Scotland, and who (massing their estates together) might roughly be said to hold about 360,000 acres. Restricting ourselves to the great central house of Argyll and to its three powerful branches, the distribution of property is as nearly as possible on this wise:—

Argyll (of Lochawe)	{	in Argyllshire . . .	168,315 acres.
		in Dumbartonshire . . .	6,799 "
Campbell of Breadalbane	{	in Perthshire . . .	234,166 "
		in Argyllshire . . .	204,192 "
Campbell of Cawdor	{	in Nairnshire . . .	46,176 "
		in Inverness-shire . . .	3,943 "
Campbell of Lowdon	.	in Ayrshire . . .	18,638 "

It was the struggle of the Reformation epoch that tested the influence and stability of the house of Argyll. Through the stormy sixteenth century the fourth, fifth, and sixth earls were the mainstay of the Protestant cause and a standing menace to the Crown. But the Stuart kings whom they had threatened knew how to be revenged, and in the seventeenth century two Argylls in succession (in 1661 and 1685) lost their heads on a scaffold in Edinburgh. Their heir naturally went into opposition, and flying to Holland till the Stuart tyranny should be overpast, he only returned in the suite of William of Orange. When this Archibald did return to Lochawe, it was to raise a regiment, and he received from William the title of duke in return for his exertions,

and for a loyalty to the king on this side of the water which his detractors represented as sometimes doubtful. However that may have been—and the periods of anarchy and political disquiet are always times of doubtful morality—he was certainly an abettor in the massacre of Glencoe. With him, however, closed the savage records of Argyll in 1703, and then succeeded the last male heir of that intrepid race, the famous Red John. Just twenty-five years of age, handsome, courteous, sunny-tempered, valiant, and as yet unmarried, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe terms him ‘a sad, robust villain;’ Pope’s lines about him are well known, and Lord Stanhope, who called him ‘princely Argyll,’ only left it to Lord Macaulay to speak of him as the model of every courtly grace.

His first step was to restore to Argyllshire the bodies of the two statesmen which had first been mutilated by the axe of the Stuarts and then exposed to public insult and dishonour. Their corpses had found a temporary and charitable resting-place at Newbattle, under the pious care of that Marchioness of Lothian who was the second daughter of the murdered Marquis Archibald. From this vault they were withdrawn, and laid by Ian Roy in a bier-shaped barge along with the remains of his father, the first duke, newly deceased at Newcastle, on his way down to Scotland. With all due pomp, with dark green tartans fluttering and to the wailing of the pipers’ lament, they were floated down the Clyde. Vast crowds followed their progress. When they reached Dumbarton the excitement seemed to grow even deeper, for Niel Campbell, the governor, the husband of Lady Vere Kerr, had their blood in his veins. He turned out the garrison, and Dumbarton’s drums beat, and all her bells tolled, as the three dead chieftains, the MacCailane Mohr, passed under the rocky walls of the fortress. In this way ‘the Campbells came’ home to Kilmun in Cowall.

It was, perhaps, this weird procession, in which Ian Roy, with the fair face, had to play the part of chief mourner, or it may have been his miraculous escape when, as an infant, he fell from the windows of Lennoxlove on the morning of his grandfather’s execution in Edinburgh, that began for Duke John the half fantastical reputation which he enjoyed, and which he still continues to enjoy, in Argyllshire. He was said to possess a talisman—a stone taken from an otter’s head—and, thanks to this charm, to be bullet-proof. There were men who had seen the French bullets rain off his doublet when he served with the army in Flanders, and in many other ways he was supposed to vie with Cailean Rougatch (singular or

wonderful Colin), one of the founders of his house. Legends were all the more likely to gather round him as he was long absent from Caisteal Ionaravra, now carrying arms with Marlborough, now sent ambassador into Spain, now sharing the councils of the King. The benefits which the royal family of Hanover received from him in peace and in war, at Sheriff Muir and in the Senate, were all too great to be repaid. They were, perhaps, even too many to be fully acknowledged by sovereigns who had been warned against him and his brother, Lord Islay, as 'children of powerful traitors,' whom prudence would fain keep at a distance from the throne, but whom the first Georges were certainly not able to dispense with. Soaring above the petty distinctions of faction, Duke John never made use of power to wreak a private grudge. Not only is there no massacre of Glencoe to lay to his charge, but he did all he could to soften the sufferings of the attainted families. But the most generous conduct is not always that which is the most appreciated. He was not popular with Sir Robert Walpole, and if he was often in office he was often out of it, and after the Porteus mob he was certainly in disgrace with Queen Caroline. The threads of many intrigues were held by that queen consort. Convinced that Argyll, who had the power to become dangerous, was unfriendly to herself, she returned the feeling with interest, and there can be little doubt but that her displeasure rendered the harness of public life wearisome to this great servant of the Crown. The Chevalier St. George tried to work on his vexation; the hostile next accused him of treachery, while his admirers declared that it was his moderation and humanity that had made him unacceptable to the Queen. Burton, the latest and the best of Scottish historians, says, in speaking of his disgrace, that 'its immediate cause 'is not and may, perhaps, never be known.' The Duke of Argyll resigned office. It is time to hear what Lady Louisa Stuart has to say of the *lares* and *penates* to which he retired.

'The Duke was twice married, from which it might be erroneously inferred that he had a high opinion of women; but the contrary was the fact. He had been married very young to a rich citizen whom he hated! They parted quickly, and the little acquaintance he could be said to have had with women since was confined to the followers of a camp. In a word, he believed scarcely any woman truly virtuous, but held it certain that none could be so who had the slightest share of mental endowments, natural or acquired.'

• Lady Louisa Stuart gives an amusing account of the

admiration which the great duke, virtually a widower, if not one in reality, excited in the breast of Mistress Jenny Warburton, one of the maids of honour.

‘No man can help being a little flattered by the sincere, involuntary preference of almost any young woman. One conversation gave birth to others; these led to visits, the visits grew frequent, grew daily, and in a short time his attachment to her became notorious, and was as passionate as extraordinary. But, what was remarkable and a proof that the world can sometimes be just, it raised no scandalous reports to her prejudice. The town, the Court, nay, the sister maids of honour, watchful spies upon all that passed, bore witness to its perfect innocence, and pronounced her character unimpeachable. . . . But in less than two years after died the Duchess of Argyll, his separated wife, who had long been a languishing invalid, hopeless of recovery. A fever of gossiping instantly ran through the Court. “What would happen? Would the Duke verily and indeed marry Jenny Warburton, or would he, now come to his senses, make her his best bow, and seek out a more advantageous match elsewhere?” for he was held to be rather too fond of money, and Jenny had not twenty pence portion. When Queen Caroline, then only Princess of Wales, heard the news, the feeling of one woman for another made her say to Lady Suffolk, “How I pity that poor Warburton! Her agitation must be cruel, and she must so dread being in public, where everybody will be whispering and every eye watching her looks! Go and tell her I excuse her from attendance; she need not wait to-day, nor indeed till all this tattle has subsided.” Mrs. Howard hastened with the good-natured message, but instead of relieving the person pitied, whom she found sitting stitching with the greatest composure, it only made her stare. “Not wait to-day? Why must not I wait? What’s the matter? Is the Princess angry with me? Have I done anything?” “Done! bless us, no! My dear Mistress Warburton; it is her Royal Highness’s kind consideration for you. She concludes you cannot like to wait. She is afraid of your being distressed.” “Dear! I always like waiting exceedingly, and I ain’t in distress. Who told her I was?” “Oh! she is sure it must overpower you. You will never be able to stand it.” “Not able to stand? Why, does she think me sick? Pray tell her I am as well as I ever was in my life, and perfectly able to stand. It is the oddest fancy to have come into her head;” and back went Mrs. Howard, laughing, to make the Princess quite easy about the agitation and sensibilities of poor Mistress Warburton. Not so cool was the other party concerned. He flew to her with ardour, wanted to omit the form of mourning for a woman with whom he had long ceased to think himself connected, and urged her to let their hands be joined without delay. This she peremptorily refused, though, as it appeared, rather from a whimsical kind of superstition than from any sentimental nicety. “No, indeed, she would not marry a man who had a wife above ground, not she!” and all his arguments and entreaties being answered only with the same words being repeated over and over again, he was forced to relinquish his design. In six months’ time, when

the decent ceremonial had been observed, and the first wife might be presumed quite safe in her grave, their union took place. Marriage, you know, is an eminent breaker of spells, and time is another ; yet, palpably bewitched as the Duke of Argyll was, neither could accomplish his disenchantment. To say he proved an excellent husband would be speaking poorly ; he remained throughout life a faithful, doting, adoring lover. . . . This uncommon passion stood the test of what in many cases has poisoned matrimonial comfort, of a disappointment too apt to put men unreasonably out of humour with their wives. Without undervaluing women as much as he did, it was natural that the head of so great a family should long for a son, and he longed most inordinately, while, as if to tantalise him, daughter perversely followed daughter, to the number of five (one dying a child), and his hopes, often renewed, regularly ended in fresh mortification, none the less bitter because Lord Islay was his presumptive heir. The brothers frequently disagreed about politics, and usually about everything else, and sometimes were on a foot of intimacy, at others not upon speaking terms. At best there was that direct fundamental difference in their natures which will rarely allow the nearest, and even the kindest, relations to be partial and sympathising friends. . . .

To resume the narrative at the time when the Duke went out of office, we see him, as Lady Louisa describes him, with his lot cast, his career nearly closed, all his daughters except Lady Mary grown up, and his own circle past all chance of improvement.

‘ My mother said it was absolutely grievous and provoking to behold the society, if society it could be called, of that house—the spirit of dulness predominating, the toad-eaters, the prozers, the chatterboxes, the old housewives and housekeepers surrounding a man not only so eminent, but so peculiarly agreeable, and who, with a tone and manner that would have made nonsense pleasing, had such a variety of interesting conversation. But those that, like herself, were capable of tasting it seldom got leave to enjoy it for five minutes in peace. Either his Jane came up and took the words out of his mouth without ceremony, or else the clack of her tea-table arose, and some tale of scandal, or history of a game of quadrille, or dissertation about buying-dishclouts drowned his harmonious voice, and drove him to take refuge in a corner with one of his military or political followers. . . . The daughters, being daughters, of the useless and mischievous sex, their birth a calamity, themselves an encumbrance, were unfortunately classed among the trifles left to her sole superintendence, their father interfering only with a negative so curious and characteristic that it would be a pity to pass it over. He forbade their learning French, because one language was enough for a woman to talk in, and the Duchess, who did not know a word of it, had not the least mind to dispute the position, as what they should be taught was a question wholly beneath his attention, and, as she was convinced by her own experience and example that most other branches of education were

equally needless with foreign tongues, the young ladies learned writing and accounts from the steward, and needlework from a governess very little superior to the housekeeper. "For, after all," reasoned the mother, "if you had a pack of girls, if you were so unlucky, what on earth could you do but find husbands to take them off your hands? Well; then, *she* knew nothing of this, and she never was taught that; and, pray, had not she married? Aye, and married the Duke of Argyll too!" No wonder she thought the argument conclusive. . . .

'At Sodbrook the nursery was a small house built on purpose for them, and called the "Young Ladies' House." Here they did what they pleased; nobody cared; and they romped as much as they pleased with my father and uncle when the Eton holidays added them to the party. If Time would but have stood still, this order of things would have lasted for ever unchanged; but he has a trick of moving onwards. The children grew up, as all children do, and the parents, though surprised at it, as most parents are, could no longer exclude them from their society. . . . Lady Caroline, the eldest child, and in some sort the heiress (for the Duke meant to make her a son by giving her his English estates), was presented at Court, and her sisters were admitted into the parlour, where for some time fear of their father kept them in silence and decorum, Lady Mary excepted, who was too young (being only fifteen or sixteen when he died) and had too much of the Tollemache blood to be afraid of anybody. Her fearless prattle entertained him, and she grew a favourite, to the great detriment of her future disposition.

'I have repeatedly heard my father impute the ungovernable violence of Lady Mary's temper in after life to his uncle's injudicious indulgence of her at the period when she was just old enough to know she ought to overcome her passions, and yet young enough to have resisted them with some success. Not indulgence alone; for, exactly as you have seen a schoolboy teach his pony to lash out, and his cur to snap at people's fingers, the Duke took delight to put her in a fury, crying, "Look, look at Mary," when she flew like a little tigress, screaming, scratching, and tearing; then, after laughing heartily, he would finish the improving lesson by coaxing her with sugar plums to kiss and be friends. The timid reserve of the elder ladies did not last long. Lord Strafford, a very young man of large fortune, happening to dine at their father's on his return from his travels, was so charmed with the beauty of the second, Lady Anne, that he immediately asked her in marriage. After she was disposed of all restrictions seemed to cease, all bounds were broken down: the others freely exalted the discordant voices which they all inherited from their mother, and they became the most noisy, hoydening girls in London.'

Lady Strafford must certainly have been beautiful in her girlhood; and the portrait of Lady Caroline bears witness to her charms. She was rich and prosperous, and above all fortunate in her husband. Her marriage is interesting because it is the only alliance ever made between the Scotts and the Campbells. Lady Dalkeith inherited considerable

property, including the Caroline Park, near Edinburgh, which still perpetuates her name, though it has now ceased to be inhabited by any member of the Scott family and has been turned into an ink factory. As a mark of favour the title of Baroness Greenwich was given to her. Lord Dalkeith died after seven years of marriage, and left her with three sons and two daughters. These descendants were, in truth, the heirs-general of the dukedom of Ian Roy, and but for the circumstance that the dukedom of Argyll is a male entail the Dukes of Buccleuch would now be ruling at Inverary, and free to add one more ducal coronet to those which they already possess.

‘Lady Betty, the third daughter, married her cousin, and their niece says of them that their steady, cordial, and perfect union was a sight beautiful to behold. Lady Betty Mackenzie’s figure, though too thin, passed for fine in her youth. Her face was even then plain, but not yet seamed and disfigured, as we saw it, by the confluent small-pox. The older she grew the stronger those who had known her mother thought the resemblance between them in features, manner, and mind. Like the Duchess, she was honest, upright, well-meaning, and good-natured; like her, ill-bred, positive, and anything but wise. She did not, however, inherit her Grace’s insensibility: there they were very dissimilar, for Lady Betty had a warm heart, and most assuredly the power of loving. We now come to that extraordinary person Lady Mary Coke, a study for observers of human character, as a rare plant or animal would be for a naturalist. Her beauty had not been undisputed, like Lady Strafford’s; some allowed, some denied it, the dissenters declaring her neither more nor less than a white cat—a creature to which her dead whiteness of skin, unshaded by eyebrows, and the fierceness of her eyes did give her a great resemblance. To make amends there were fine teeth, an agreeable smile, a handsome neck, well-shaped arms, and a majestic figure. She had the reputation of cleverness when young. . . . In information she greatly surpassed her sisters, having a turn for reading, and for reading of a solid kind—history and State papers, in which she was well versed so far as related to England. But she had not a grain of taste for any work of genius. . . . Conversant with the driest matter of fact alone, she contrived to apply it to the increase of her own self-importance, and heated her brains with history as others have done with romances. . . . Nothing ever happened to her after the fashion of ordinary lives, not to mention the unprecedented behaviour of most men, women, and children that she had anything to do with. She could not be caught in a shower but it was such rain as never before fell from the skies. The dry rot that broke out in her house was totally different in its nature from the dry rot in the house of her neighbours, and, in case of a cold or sore throat, woe to the apothecary who ventured to quicken her pulse and excite her ire by tendering that established consolation, “*It’s*”

going about, ma'am, I assure you. I suppose I have now twenty patients with just the same symptoms as your Ladyship's," for all her disorders were something nobody else could judge of or ever experienced. I once heard her literally talk of the exquisite pain which she suffered from pricking her finger.'

The marriage of such a heroine could be no common matter. Unfortunately for her the Duke, after a long paralytic illness which affected his nerves, had been carried off twelve months after the marriage of Lady Dalkeith, and when Mary, his youngest child (with a portion of 20,000*l.*), was not yet settled in life. The Duchess of Argyll, though originally averse to the connexion, listened to Lord Coke's proposals of marriage, and Lady Mary brought the rather prolonged negotiations to a close by saying she liked him. The Duchess then began to persuade herself that she also liked him very much. 'He appears to me to have a very good understanding, a great deal of knowledge, and, I think, a very sweet disposition. That of his play, to be sure, was entirely owing to his father.' Thus she reassured one of her married daughters. The Duchess further consulted her brother-in-law, Lord Islay, who shared her opinion as far as Lord Leicester was concerned, adding that *he* was a man to be much on one's guard with. Lady Strafford, while writing to the bride, says of Lord Leicester that 'his ill-breeding would make disputes run very high. 'Indeed, she wished Lady Mary a better father-in-law.' Perhaps she also wished her a better husband, for she says a good deal about a Mr. Percy Wyndham O'Brien, afterwards Lord Thomond, who was either a suitor or else had been suggested as a possible match for her youngest sister. The engagement to Lord Coke, however, went on, the more so that Lady Leicester, as the Duchess averred, had '*sett her Heart and Sole upon this marryage for her Son, and is frightened out of her witts least anything should happen to put a stop to itt.*' Plainly the misery of a granted prayer was to be in store for all concerned in this young lady's bridal. The *dénouement* was hastened by Lady Mary's incorrigible caprices. Her engagement unluckily lasted over many months—months full of import to England and to London, for the trial of the rebel lords distressed and divided society, but months during which this perverse girl found nothing better to do than to irritate her betrothed. Irrevocable mischief was done, though the marriage was not broken off—perhaps because other suitors might secure a girl whom Lord Coke's family thought a good match for him, but Lady Mary

treated with ineffable disdain a man as proud as herself, and one whose sense of broad humour suggested to him how to punish her for her contemptuous usage of him. They were married in 1747; but Lord Coke's acquaintance with his fair-haired and high-börn bride went no further than the ceremony performed in church before a circle of admiring and perhaps rather anxious friends. To pay off the long score of her insolence he left the lady to her virgin reflections. Lady Mary had a mania for everything that was singular, but here was a singularity that made her the talk of the town. It was now her turn to experience all the fury of 'a woman scorned;' and, as Lady Louisa Stuart puts it, this happy pair went on thenceforward in a way suited to their promising outset.

'Lord Coke immediately resumed his former habits of gaming and drinking, lost no opportunity of attacking her father's memory, ridiculing her mother, disparaging the name of Campbell, and slyly throwing out whatever else could irritate her most. You will enquire how she bore such treatment? Why, her lawyers answered the question. They set forth that she ever comported herself in a courteous and obliging manner; she, they said (Lady Mary), being of a "sober, "modest, chaste, and virtuous disposition," which perforce reminds one of the meek spirit ascribed to Humphry Hoer's wife (Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough) in Arbuthnot's "History of John Bull." But we must remember that the said Lady Mary's teeth and claws were not yet already grown; besides, people who, like her, fairly love a grievance always support real evils better than those fabricated by their own imagination. As heroic sufferers they are in their proper element; it is exactly the character they aspire to exhibit, and so it inspires them with a sort of self-satisfaction calculated to produce apparent equanimity.'

During the first months of this ill-starred marriage Lord and Lady Leicester sided with the bride, but after an ineffectual attempt to make Lady Mary forgive the past Lord Leicester, whose heart was set on having heirs to his title and estates, became her determined enemy. It used to be said of her that she never missed an opportunity of being an amazon, a martyr, or a tragedy queen, but from the turn which her affairs had taken she really was to be pitied. The brutality of father and son could not be exaggerated. She was hurried from one place to another, and a duel was fought about her with a Mr. Bellenden. Then skirmishes grew into pitched battles. The relations on both sides formed into factions, and when Lady Mary, pleading ill-usage, shut herself up for months, the Leicesters demanded her keys, opened her letters, and forbade the servants to

admit the Duchess of Argyll or any member of her family. At last Lady Mary swore the peace against her husband, and instituted a suit for divorce, on the ground of his cruel usage. The notoriety which Lady Mary loved was now hers. Horace Walpole made very merry over a 'lawsuit' which disclosed secrets in high life so well fitted to amuse him, but after 'hearing the history of Lord Coke three thousand 'different ways' he added that, in his opinion, the old ladies who went to the trial could not fail to have their grey hairs brought with shame to the grave. Her side loudly spoke of Campbell beauty and Campbell goodness. Yet, although reduced to living in a garret, the wife seems to have found it difficult to prove that her husband had ever overstepped his lawful authority, except in the single instance when he had denied her mother the permission of visiting her. The case broke down, because the plaintiff mistook assertions for arguments. Then Lord Hartington appeared as a mediator; terms were finally agreed on, and Lady Mary continued for three years to lead a life of great retirement at Sudbrook. Lord Coke's death alone brought this sad state of matters to an end. It had been one of humiliation and fear to Duke John's high-spirited daughter, and Horace Walpole's comment upon the whole affair, with its regrettable publicity, might not inaptly serve as Lord Coke's epitaph, 'I think, if possible, we *brutalise* more and more.'

Lady Mary wore mourning and abstained from amusements for a time, and this 'decent behaviour,' as Lady Louisa terms it, was greatly to her credit, and seems to have done much to establish her in the good opinion of Princess Amelia.

She was only six-and-twenty, and accordingly before many summers were over her head plans of marriage were formed for her between young Jack Campbell of Mamore, the heir to the dukedom of Argyll, and even with the notorious Lord March, so well known as Duke of Queensberry. The rise and fall of the latter plan have never been understood, as Lord March was the last man in England to be taken for a marrying man. Assuredly had Lady Mary Coke become his wife society would have again become convulsed about her, and again have had its grey hairs brought with sorrow to the grave. Lady Mary Coke's real object was to connect herself with the Court, and this she first managed through her acquaintance with Lady Yarmouth. Public life in England, from the Restoration to the opening of the reign of George III., had sunk to a low level of morality, but

the new dynasty had to be supported, and Lady Mary, having convinced herself of a private marriage between the King and Lady Yarmouth, struck up with the latter a violent and, it must be added, a lasting friendship, and one which was useful to herself by giving her a thorough knowledge of the Royal Family in all its branches. It was not perfectly easy for the daughter of the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich to enter at once into favour at Court. When her father left office it had been under the suspicion of fomenting the differences between the King and the Prince of Wales. The heir apparent disliked his parents, especially the Queen, and the party of his friends does seem to have obtained numerous recruits in the Argyll family. Of the sisters of the Prince of Wales one was married to the Prince of Orange, Mary had become Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, while Louisa was to become Queen of Denmark. There remained Caroline (always suspected of being in love with Lord Hervey) and Amelia, the politician of the group. The Queen had died in 1737, so that the influence to be gained by this princess was considerable. She sided with her brother rather than with the King, and to this circumstance is owing the really important part which the princess played in the circle where Lady Mary Coke obtained a footing.

History repeats itself, and if the Prince of Wales was coldly looked upon by his royal father he in his turn snubbed his eldest son, and seemed blind to those qualities of real good sense, innate rectitude, and genuine manliness to be found in the prince whom Britain afterwards learnt to revere as George III.

'If the eldest ever faltered out an opinion, it was passed by unnoticed, sometimes knocked down at once with, "Do hold your tongue, George; don't talk like a fool." . . . Some distinguished foreigner praised this young prince. "Aye," replied the Prince of Wales coldly, "yes, George is a good boy, but Edward has something in him, I assure you. Edward will be somebody; you will hear of it one of these days." The Princess Amelia did not share this opinion, and was wont to describe her younger nephews as the best-humoured asses that ever were born, and as far as the Duke of York was concerned he proved void alike of steadiness and principle. He got the better,' adds Lady Louisa, 'of that respect which daily familiarity with royalty here, there, and everywhere had not worn away. He was the first of his race who began the good work of demolishing it, by running about giddily with all sorts of people (of course principally the worst) until his frolics won the public attention.'

Poor, foolish young fellow! he was only twenty, but he attracted Lady Mary Coke's attention, though she was thirty,

two years of age, a disparity that must, says Lady Louisa, 'spoil a romance, but which in real life spoils nothing; on the contrary, gives a zest and a spirit to flirtation by gratifying the vanity of both parties.' The flirtation once begun, Lady Mary took care to keep it within the bounds of strict propriety. She was just in the noon of life, 'those golden days when the mind ripens ere the form decays,' and it must have required a sincere passion for royalty to make her attach herself to this very insignificant young man. Her relations watched the play and by-play of their unequal friendship with mixed feelings of amusement and jealousy, till the Prince himself began to quiz her, and the Duchess of Brunswick began to make jokes about 'her sister Mary.' Yet it is difficult to imagine how the supposition arose that the Duke of York and Lady Mary Coke were secretly married. Her eldest sister, Caroline, either believed or pretended to believe in this alliance, but there is not a scrap of paper tending to prove a promise or a tie between them, however obscure. It was not until after the death of the Duke of York, which happened at Monaco in 1767, that Lady Mary signed '*Mary*,' and gave herself some of the airs of a royal widow. George Selwyn and her cousins naturally made sport of all this, but to the poor lady herself it was far from being a matter for laughter. She missed the Duke of York out of her life—perhaps out of her calculations, because the marriage of a prince of the blood with a subject was not then the thorny matter which it became after the passing of the Royal Marriage Act. To no less a personage than to the Prince of Wales himself had Lady Diana Spencer and her dowry of 100,000*l.* been proposed. Princess Amelia had had a flirtation with the Duke of Newcastle, and there were over-well-informed persons who held that she was privately married to the Duke of Grafton, from all of which materials, as well as from the marriages of the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, Ian Roy's daughter might easily have built herself a city in the clouds. Dead men at all events can neither tell tales nor contradict them; so she hugged her sorrows and went softly. No one pitied her, and even Horace Walpole, 'the poet of her praise,' as Lady Louisa Stuart calls him, described her thus:—

'Though she is so greatly born she has a frenzy for royalty, and will fall in love, and at the feet, of the grand duke and duchess, especially of the former. . . . However, bating this madness—and every English person must have their madness—Lady Mary has a thousand virtues and good qualities. I have often tried to laugh her out of her

weakness, but as she is very serious she was so in that, and if all the Sovereigns in Europe combined to slight her she would still put her trust in the next generation of princes. Her heart is excellent, and she deserves and would become a crown, and that is the best of all excuses for desiring one.'

As Lady Mary's diaries were kept for the amusement of her sisters, they are naturally full of domestic details as well as of the births, deaths, weddings, foibles, and card parties of her neighbours. Our space does not permit us even to point out, far less quote, the many passages which are interesting because they show the making of social history in England. Though she wrote so freely to her sisters, Lady Mary often complained of their indiscretion in repeating the pieces of information which she supplied. Horace Walpole termed Lady Greenwich 'that shrill Morning Post;' and, indeed, the whole family loved gossip, while Lady Mary alone of the party gave any time to reading or took any interest in politics.

'When I came home a servant of Mr. Walpole's brought me the book he has just published, "Historical Doubts on the Life and Reign of "King Richard III." I am quite happy to have it to carry into the country with me. . . . I made Lady Frances a present of the late Bishop of Winchester's (Hoadly) book on the Sacrament, finding, to my great surprise, that nobody had mentioned the subject to her. . . .'

Sometimes Lady Mary expresses weariness of the 'fine world,' but she was much disgusted when the breath of the coming democracy met her.

'I found Princess Amelia much surprised at its being said that Mr. Wilkes was likely to be chose (March 1768). At the usual hour I went to the Opera, when I was told that Mr. Wilkes had been arrested for a thousand pounds. but that the debt had been immediately paid. He seems to have some very good friends, and people don't scruple to say that Lord Temple is one. . . . I dined at home and went to Mrs. Campbell, where I heard that Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Cook had been returned, and Sir William Proctor thrown out. Mr. Wilkes carried it by a majority of 500 votes. . . . Lady Betty gave us the account of Lord and Lady Bute being kept up all night by the outrageous behaviour of the mob. . . . As I returned home the town was a fine sight. Every house was lighted, and I never remember to have seen on the greatest occasions so fine an illumination. I mett with a woman in Piccadilly that was rather uncivil. As I came by she was crying out, "Wilkes and liberty!" and my servants making no answer she gave such a blow to my chair that she had very near upset it, and then said, "Why did you not say who you was for?" . . . Lord Ligonier told me he heard the mob had been very outrageous at the Duchess of Hamilton's the night before: broke down the gates of the court, and

demolished all the windows, probably because she would not light her house. . . . At the usual time I went to the Princess Amelia. Her Royal Highness talked a good deal of the violence of the mob, and said she wished it might end where it was. The Princess had gone to Lady Holderness on Monday evening, and finding she was going to Mrs. Harris', said she would go with her, and accordingly they set out, but meeting with the mob the coach was stopped, and they were desired to declare for Wilkes before they were suffered to proceed; but as none of the Princess's servants were behind the coach she was not known. *April 11.* I went to an auction, where I met Lord Byron, who told me his niece Lady Frances Howard was to be married Thursday or Friday, and that he was then going to Lady Carlisle to enquire which of the days had been fixed on. . . . After going to some shops I waited on the Duchess of Northumberland. She was not quite dressed, and made me wait some little time, for which she begged a thousand pardons, but said she had some excuse, being very much surprised in the morning with a note to inform her that a whole family of the name of Percy were just arrived from France to pay her a visit. The story is this: You must have heard, I believe, that when her Grace was at Paris, being told of a page of the Prince of Monaco's, whose name was Percy, she sent him 500*l.*, and at the same time enquired whether there was any more of his family in France, and was told there were several branches of the Percy family in Normandy. Upon which the Duchess said, "One day or other I will certainly visit my cousins in Normandy." All this I had from her, to which she added, "But, behold, my good cousins would not wait, but are come to visit me, and at a most inconvenient time, as I am going abroad. I think the best thing I can do is to carry them back with me, but in the meantime I found myself obliged to send and take them a lodging, and invited them to dinner."* *Friday.* I did not stay long at St. James', and found at Lord Hertford's Mr. Walpole, looking perfectly well, notwithstanding his fit of the gout. . . . What do you say to the rebellion at Eton? . . . Lady Betty called on me, but I don't recollect she told me any news, excepting that the House of Commons had sat the night before till nine o'clock at night. Mr. Seymour had made a motion to address the King to have all the papers relating to Corsica (during Paoli's resistance to the French) laid before the House, which the Ministers not consenting to the Opposition divided. . . . The Duke of Newcastle died yesterday. *Thursday evening, December 1768.* I went down to the House between three and four o'clock. The American papers were still reading, to which the very few members that were then in the House did not attend. We had all our usual ladies, and the addition of the Duchess of Ancaster. Lady Rockingham came in soon after, and placed herself by the Duchess of

* The original family of Percy held the lands of Montchamp, near Vire, in Normandy, after Algernon, the founder of the English branch, followed William the Conqueror. Their last descendant married not very long ago that accomplished man of letters the Vicomte Hector de la Ferrière, but has left no children.

Portland. Behind her sat Betty, the fruit woman, by way of support, and next her the first counsel of Mr. Fletcher, that she whispered with the whole time. It seemed Betty is a violent politician and always in the Opposition. The debate began by Lord Mountstewart making a motion. Lord Percy seconded, and was answered by Lord John Cavendish, who, though he supported the interest of his friends in opposing the motion and desiring the House to go upon the return only, did it with moderation, candour, and politeness, as is seldom practised in that House. Sir Gilbert Elliot then stood up, and spoke a long time. He was answered by Mr. Burke, who is certainly a fine speaker, very eloquent, but on this occasion I did not think made much use of argument. Lord Clare rose after him, and said he should not attempt to follow that rainbow, much less endeavour to catch it; that it had brilliant colours and nothing else. . . . When the House divided it was thought that the majority of the Opposition would be considerable, but it proved much greater than they themselves expected. The numbers were—for altering the return, 217; against it, 95. Sir James Lowther bore it with temper and moderation beyond what could have been expected. . . . The new Opera is, I am told, extremely disliked. Mr. Walpole says he will go to it no more. . . . I shall send you this journal, though it is no more than three sides of paper. I hope this journal will amuse you.'

We are convinced that it will amuse our readers, but it is time for us to return to the family of John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich. His widow had two ladies, Mistress Jane Cockburn and Mistress Yonge, constantly with her; Lady Dalkeith and Lady Strafford lived far from her, but Lady Betty and Mr. Mackenzie often shared with Lady Mary the care of an old lady whose eccentricities were certainly not lessened by old age. Describing life at Richmond one day to her sisters, Lady Mary wrote—

'I rose pretty early, in order to ride in Richmond Park. As it was not for parade I chose my little mare. She went very prettily, but the day is so hot I was obliged to come home by ten o'clock. I had a letter yesterday from Lady Dalkeith to beg I would let her know all I hear, but I have a great inclination to punish her and be as long in answering her letter as she was in answering my last. I am too good-humoured, so I have wrote three sides of paper to Lady Dal, and sent her abundance of news, but at the same time scolded her tightly. Four o'clock: called down to dinner before I was quite finished. Ate a great deal, and went out as soon as I had dined; put up four roots of trees in the park by way of seats. Before I bid you good night, I will tell you a little news. The Princess Caroline is to be married when her Majesty has lain in about a fortnight, that the ceremony may be performed in her bedchamber and nobody present but the Royal Family. After she is Queen of Denmark she is to be seen by nobody, but set out immediately, and is to be accompanied in her journey by a countess, as well as by Lady Mary Boldby, but the lady is not yet named. Her

Majesty is to go by Hanover, and will be met by the King upon the frontier of his dominions, where she is to quit all the English. Not a chambermaid belonging to this country is to go with her into Denmark.

'*Friday.* The weather is delightful. Went out again and stayed until it was time to dress, having to dine with Lady Charlotte Finch at Kew. Before I went out Lady Betty and Mr. Mackenzie arrived; both perfectly well. A little after two I set out. The Princess-Amelia and the Princess of Brunswick had been to visit their nephews, but were gone before I came. Lady Tweeddale and her children dined there. The three little Princes went at five o'clock to the King and Queen. Lady Tweeddale told me that the Dowager Waldgrave's complaint had brought her into a terrible condition, and that she was so greatly altered she had hardly the remains of beauty. Yet, she added, the Duke of Gloucester's attachment continued, but she thought in her condition she was very unfit for either a wife or a mistress; then turned to me and asked if her mother was not a washerwoman. I said I really would not determine her profession. . . . *Sunday, August 31, 1766.* At eleven my mother, Mr. Mackenzie, Mrs. Yonge, and Jane, went in her coach to church, and Lady Betty and I followed in my equipage. The sermon was not bad, but so immoderately long I own I was almost asleep. After it was over Lady Betty and I went to Lady Blandford, whom we found feeding her birds in the garden. While we were there Mr. Walpole came to make her a visit. I don't think he looks well, and complains of having had the gout in his stomach. The end of next month he goes to Bath; we are to breakfast with him on Thursday at Strawberry Hill. Four o'clock: dined upon a tough shoulder of venison that I bespoke for myself. . . .

'*Thursday.* Went at eleven o'clock to Strawberry Hill. When we came to Richmond Ferry the ladies would go in a little boat; I accompanied them out of complaisance, as you well know I have no fears. Strawberry Hill looked in great beauty, but Mr. Walpole was not well, complained of pains all over him, and was to go to town in the evening.'

Lady Mary Coke's life was spent in and among the beautiful riverside spots where, like Pope, the poet of the Thames, she could

'Behold the ascending villas on its side
Project long shadows o'er the crystal tide.'

She enjoyed their beauty as well as their company. Moreover she was a good gardener, and reports her myrtles as 'in the highest bloom you can imagine. Lady Betty being to carry Mrs. Yonge, after church, to see the Prince of Wales, I gathered a large nosegay of the myrtle to send him. *Monday.* The rain has terribly hurt my new-painted benches. Lady Blandford arrived. . . . When that was over she accidentally mentioned Lord Chatham (his elevation to the peerage had taken place this month), and though I knew it would not please her I said I looked upon him as one of the

greatest geniuses that any age had produced, and that his disinterestedness, of which I knew many examples, placed him very high in my opinion. She said all she knew of him was that it had been his measures that had involved the nation in debt. I told her I was persuaded she would see that his measures would extricate the nation from that debt. I told her I was persuaded she could not tell how that could be, since he had always declared himself above thinking accounts or studying economy. I rejoiced he was above such trifles, hoped his schemes were great and extensive—not bounded by the dirty economy of a shilling. With this up she got, and told me, since I was so in love with Lord Chatham, she could stay with me no longer, but couldn't help laughing at the same time, and asked me to come to her on Wednesday. . . . When I came to Gunnersbury one of the pages told me the Princess was gone to dress, and had ordered her coach at one o'clock, he believed to go to Sudbrook with the Princess of Brunswick. This, you know, was the very thing I dreaded, but there was no help for it. You may be sure I made what haste I could to get back, to put things in the best order I could, and to remind the Duchess of some forms that was necessary to be observed. She seemed very much pleased with the honour of their visit; but when they came I could not persuade her to go downstairs to meet them, so I made an excuse; but the scene which followed, though it will divert you, hurried my spirits beyond description. She quite forgot that they were princesses, or that there were any forms due to them. She went before them into every room. (You must now suppose her talking.)

"Pray, marm, observe my pretty deer, my turkeys, and my sheep: did you ever see anything like them?"

"The Princess Amelia asked whose picture it was over the chimney in the drawing-room.

"That is my grandson, the Duke of Buccleugh and Earl of Monmouth (!); but, marm, I must show you my bedchamber"—and in she walked before them. "Here is Pug's bed, and this is my little dressing-room. Pray look at that chair"—which God knows was no curiosity, excepting its being the only one in the room, as it has only a poor check cover.

"We then went again into the drawing-room, and the Duchess offered the Princess a pinch of snuff, which she declined, but showed her a box with a very fine picture of the late Duke of Brunswick, which the Duchess never looked at, but immediately put her fingers into the box and took the snuff, which is contrary to all forms. The Princess smiled, but behaved with all the good humour imaginable. You must now suppose them speaking.

"Princess Amelia: "Princess of Brunswick, suppose you play at quadrille with the Duchess."

"Duchess: "Why, I have no engagement this evening; she may——"

"Princess of Brunswick: "I am afraid I don't know the least of the game."

"The Duchess then told the Princess several stories, which she listened to with great complaisance. The Princess of Brunswick said

she saw my spirits were very much hurried. I owned to her Royal Highness they were, and begged she would believe that a few years ago my mother would not have omitted any of the forms that were due to their dignity, but that she had for some time lived so retired that she quite forgot all ceremony.

'When they took their leave the coach was not come up to the door, upon which the Duchess said—

"Marm, pray come back; I will have you come back!"

'Happy was I when they had got into the coach.'

In truth, poor Jane Warburton was fast breaking up, and the following year she was so ill as to leave little hope of her recovery. The day before her death the doctor reported her pulse as good, and Lady Mary says:—

'When I heard him say so I was easy, and determined to go and lie at Sudbrook.

'*Thursday.* I was waked in the morning by my maid coming into my room and telling me Mrs. Richardson was there and desired to speak to me. Thinking she must come with some bad news, it shocked me terribly. I begged not to see her, but my maid returned and told me she had brought a message from London that she must deliver. I desired she would come in; but, to my great surprise, she gave me a note to acquaint me with my mother's death. It shocked me so much, and I thought the manner of my being told it so cruel, though no doubt it was not intended as such. I begged her to leave me; and I believe I said that there could not be such haste to tell me news that could never have come *too late*. I lay in bed till twelve, in hopes of composing my spirits; but not finding myself better I got up, and passed a melancholy day. . . . Went to bed at twelve o'clock, but changed my bedchamber, not being able to bear the room where I had received the news of my mother's death. . . .

Sunday, April 19. Got up before nine, that my maid might have time to go to Lord Montague's, where the service of the Roman Catholic Church was said; for I like that people should be serious in their religion, whatever persuasion they are of. Read in the Bible and the service of the day. The clergyman came to give me the Sacrament. I wished to see Lady Strafford, but feel a dislike to the going out even to her before my poor mother is buried. She is for ever in my thoughts. At twelve o'clock I went to bed, but could not sleep for any time together, though I think I was not quite so cold as I was the last two nights.'

This entry is dated the 19th of April, so clearly the snow and the hard frost that Lady Mary records, and which proved so fatal to poor Duchess Jenny, must have occurred at a time which the modern calendar places in the month of May, and from this it appears that late and bad springs are not new trials either in the history of English gardens or of English sick-rooms.

As Lady Mary is suspected of having set her mind on marrying a royal duke, it may be supposed that the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and the public avowal of the Duke of Gloucester's marriage to a subject were felt by her as personal injuries and mortifications. This is how she alludes to the latter event :—

' *Sunday, November 9, 1766.* By the time I had breakfasted and dressed for Court it was time to go to chapel. I found Lady Francis Tilson in the closet. She gave me an account of the fine presents the King of Denmark had given her sister—a small pocket-book set with diamonds, and within it a note for 1,000*l*. The Queen was to be married last Wednesday. Lady Bridget Lane sat over against me. When the dukes came into the King's closet she bent forward and said to me: "Married!" meaning the Duke of Gloucester, who I think must have heard her. I replied very softly, "Married?" "I assure you it is true." Thinking it was not a proper subject so near the King, I made no answer. The Queen was not at the chapel, but came to the drawing-room, which was extremely full. I never got farther than just of the inside of the door, and had for my companions Lord Chatham, my Lord Chancellor Camden, and two bishops—no bad supporters, you'll allow.'

But the history of Lady Mary's adventures would be incomplete unless we were to give an account of her foreign tours, and of her friendship with the Empress Queen Maria Theresa, the leading power of Europe, and who from having been Lady Mary's friend became, so Lady Mary flattered herself, her enemy. England, after the monstrous acts committed by their Royal Highnesses of Cumberland and Gloucester, and not committed by Edward, Duke of York, Lady Mary felt constrained to leave. It was not the first time that she had made excursions into Germany to visit sundry Royal and Serene Highnesses. She had even once pushed as far as Berlin, with the hope of interviewing Frederick the Great, but after a week at Potsdam she had to beat a retreat, and comfort her own vanity that there was something in the King's obstinate seclusion which was equivalent to a favourable reception. At Vienna she was fated to be both more fortunate and more unfortunate. We resume Lady Louisa Stuart's narrative.

' Our ambassadors at foreign courts had not yet learned to dread invasions from their countrywomen; travelling boys and tutors did frequently give them a deal of trouble, but English ladies did not at that time go swarming all over Europe. The Empress Queen received and treated Lady Mary with all her habitual graciousness; Joseph, ever a most agreeable man in society, was well-bred and courteous to Sir Robert Keith Murray's friend; Prince Kaunitz, the Prime

Minister, followed his example; Count Seileren, who had been ambassador in England, welcomed her as an old acquaintance; the Thuns, the Lichtensteins, and the Esterhazys invited her to superb entertainments, and, on the whole, I suppose the months she passed among them were the happiest in her life. When about to go away she had a private audience of the Empress, who, with many flattering expressions of regret for her departure, desired she would accept a fine medallion set in jewels and wear it for her sake. All this was as so much sunshine beaming on Lady Mary's mind. In extraordinary good humour, breathing nothing but admiration for the perfect beings she had left, she came home to relate her *prospérités*. . . . It was unfortunate that Lady Mary paid a second visit to a city and a court where she had been so well received the first time. Feeling herself, so to speak, at home, she acted as she was wont to act at home—took part in some feud against a Court lady, and was surprised when the Empress thought she had no business to come and stir up dissensions at the Court.'

It is certain that Lady Mary's friends were more amused than concerned, or even surprised, at the rupture that followed. Lady Louisa Stuart says—

'No more audiences or medallions were to be obtained. The sovereign's frown had its accustomed effect on the courtiers, and there was no doing there what might so readily be done in England if the King had spit in your face (or, for that matter, you in his)—no leaguings yourself with the friends of freedom and holding your head higher than ever. Lady Mary left the territories of her enemy in complete, thorough, perfect dudgeon, and with only one consolation—as perfect a conviction that Maria Theresa, Empress of Germany, Queen of Hungary, the leading power of Europe, was her enemy: *hers*——! I remember hearing it suggested that some rumours respecting the deceased Duke of York might have reached the Empress's ears, and, as she was much surprised at Lady Mary's unlooked-for appearance a second time, might have led her to suspect the wandering heroine of evil designs upon the heart and hand of Joseph. This I utterly disbelieve.'

Once started in this vein of quarrels, Lady Mary met or made them wherever she went. As Horace Walpole said of her, 'she had a hundred distresses, and was like Don Quixote, who went in search of adventures, and when he found none imagined them.' She went to Paris.

'Imagine,' says Lady Louisa Stuart, 'a tall elderly English noblewoman, full fraught with all the forms, etiquettes, decorums, and nice observances which old women value and recommend, wearing a flat hoop, long ruffles, and a sweeping train, holding herself very upright, speaking very bad French, and, to crown all, abusing the Queen's mother without mercy. I say, imagine such a wight arriving amid the revelry then reigning at Versailles, and judge whether the giddy crew and their leader were likely to receive her with open arms.'

But worse than this was yet to come. It will hardly be believed that Lady Mary gave a finishing stroke to her absurdities by contriving to put, as Horace Walpole expressed it, a very good quarrel on foot between the Princess Amelia and herself. The royal lady and the capricious traveller had seen a great deal of each other through life. Nothing could exceed the kindness—nay, the forbearance—always shown by the superior for the faults, foibles, and eccentricities of her friend; but when Lady Mary became impertinent, and when, instead of apologising and making it up, as the King's daughter gave her the ready opportunity of doing, she went into heroics, then the Princess drew herself up, ordered the carriage of her ill-tempered visitor, dismissed her with a bow, and never saw her again. The Princess Amelia survived this rupture two years, dying in her house in Harley Street, very much regretted by her friends. She never was a favourite with her nephew George III., yet it is only justice to her memory to say that in the dull and coarse atmosphere in which she had been brought up she shone like a sunbeam in a cloudy day. She had the misfortune to be born at a time when Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, declared that 'in her woful experience most 'princes, thanks to flattery and want of intelligence, were 'alike.' Princess Amelia, however, was not quite alike, and under better circumstances she would certainly have been a commendable and a successful woman. The Court of her day was very far from being that compendium of virtues and accomplishments which it became in our Victorian era, and the education of royal ladies was then as defective as their lives were narrow, but this princess earned the affection of all who experienced her goodness of heart. It required, then, a caprice of temper that bordered on insanity for Lady Mary Coke to trespass as she did on so much indulgence. Possibly this untamed shrew regretted the quarrel when it was all too late, but it did not teach her any lessons of prudence or amiability. In truth, Lady Mary Coke proved herself such an astonishing woman, that no one was surprised when she brought about a rupture between herself and Horace Walpole. He often laughed at her, but he liked her, called her 'a dainty widow,' and, had she been amenable to reason, would have kept up with her one of those intimacies with a woman so common in French manners, and so necessary for Walpole's happiness. He had been, as Madame du Deffand told him, the best company in the world, the sovereign of the kingdom of taste at a time when a

vulgar Court had rendered letters unfashionable. He possessed this real or imaginary importance, that of a man of letters and fashion about town, and Lady Mary had also an imaginary importance, that of a dashing woman of quality with relations as important as herself. Yet a quarrel between two such persons was not quite unlikely. On the one hand he grew more valetudinarian, and she grew more contradictory and impertinent, and it is perhaps true that as people get on in life ill-humour waxes larger and wants more elbow-room. In one respect these friends, both so well adapted originally for bustling in the great world, were unequally matched. The reputation of Horace Walpole would endure through the centuries that were to come. He would live as the keenest delineator of manners, characters, and events, while a woman has but one real reign—that of her beauty. Now Lady Mary was old, and if she did not love her follies less she ought at least to have learned by sad experience that

‘Beauty must decay;

Curled or uncurled, that locks will turn to grey;

Since, painted or not painted, all shall fade,

And she who scorns a man must die a maid.

What, then, remains but well our power to use,

And keep good humour still whate’er we lose?’

That was precisely what Lady Mary never did. She scolded and caballed, and produced a good deal of ill blood and a great deal of laughter at her expense. Lady Louisa Stuart wrote, in 1803, ‘Lady Mary Coke called on me yesterday; she is very thin. I felt sorry for a person who had outlived the last of her youthful friends. I fancy it is a great chance whether you ever behold her again. Her existence is certainly not a happy one.’ At the time of her death Lady Mary was the owner of a house in Mount Street, but she actually died in a villa at Chiswick, which Lord Gower described as presenting a dull and *triste* appearance. She passed away in the autumn of 1811.

In the society where she long shone, and which she had convulsed with her ‘hundred distresses,’ she had become an extinct volcano. Of that society much harm has been said; its apes and peacocks have been reviled, but they can retort that their loves, hates, and pastimes are unforgotten still. There is no doubt that its beauties and its dandies were highly artificial, and that the men of fashion who set themselves above all human emotions were absurd enough. To be correct in attitude and step was the thing principally de-

manded of those who entered the narrow precincts of good society; but, since plain sense cannot govern, it is fortunate when at least good taste is regnant. That age was less exacting than is our own; but it was more sincere in this respect, that it had not agreed to censure that which all agreed to do. Nor were the men and women all bad, though play was high and though the conversation was often both deistical and dissipated where 'round our coaches crowd the 'white-gloved beaux,' and though of the belles it might truly be averred that

'With varying vanities from every part
They shift the moving toy-shop of their heart.'

These impeachments cannot be denied, but neither can it be denied that the circle of Strawberry Hill was a milestone in the social history of England.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken dargestellt.* Von J. OVERBECK. Vierte im Vereine mit A. MAU durchgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: 1884.
2. *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei.* Von W. HELBIG. Leipzig: 1873.
3. *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens.* Von W. HELBIG. Nebst einer Abhandlung über die antiken Wandmalereien in technischer Beziehung, von OTTO DONNER. Leipzig: 1869.
4. *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker.* Von K. WOERMANN. München: 1876.
5. *Choix de Peintures de Pompéi.* Par RAOUL-ROCHETTE. Paris: 1844-51.
6. *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculaneum und Stabiae.* Von W. ZAHN. Berlin: 1829-52.
7. *Pompeji: die neuesten Ausgrabungen von 1874-1881.* Von E. PRESuhn. Leipzig: 1881.

THE first visit to Pompeii is an event in life. Nothing in nature or art surprises and fascinates like this close glimpse of Greco-Roman life unfolded as if by enchantment in all its details. To the classical scholar it is a vivid illustration; to those whose minds are a blank page on the subject it opens a new horizon, it imparts a new enthusiasm

which has all the freshness of first love. In Théophile Gautier's pretty story, 'Arria Marcella,' the hero, Octavien, who visits Pompeii, falls into a trance, and dreams that the lovely form of which he has seen the impress on the hardened ashes in the Naples museum, has come to life again and loves him. When he clasps her in his arms, she turns into a handful of ashes; but the lovely vision clings to him all the rest of his days. He marries. His wife finds she is not his only love. She ransacks every secret drawer—in vain. Could she be jealous of Arria Marcella, the daughter of Diomed, the freedman of Tiberius? So it is with us when we visit Pompeii. We cannot at first believe that we are in a dead city—dead since eighteen centuries—so fresh does everything seem: the carriage-ruts on the stones, the inscriptions on the walls, the paintings in the houses.

'Frisch noch erglänzt die Wand von heiter brennenden Farben.
Wo ist der Künstler? Er warf eben den Pinsel hinweg!'

But we soon wake out of the dream, to find that an impassable gulf separates that old world from the world of to-day, and that we live in a wholly different order of ideas.

Everything at Pompeii is beautiful, even the commonest kitchen utensil. The genius of Greece had pervaded every industry. 'Unter allen Völkerschaften haben die Griechen den Traum des Lebens am schönsten geträumt.' Pompeii, though not a Greek colony, had been early under Greek influence. It was probably founded by the Ausonians, an old Italic race, sometimes called Oscans; but its oldest temple—which was in ruins long before the eruption—was a Greek temple of about the same date as the great Poseidon temple at Pæstum, the sixth century B.C.; and it shows that at that time Pompeii was occupied by Greek settlers. The close proximity of the Ionian colonies—Cyme (Cumæ), Diécarchia (Pozzuoli), Parthenope and the adjoining Neapolis—must have necessarily had an important effect. The Samnites, who subsequently invaded Campania, adopted the Greek civilisation, and Pompeii was influenced by Hellenism earlier than Rome. In industry and luxury, says Nissen, it was probably much in advance of Rome, where the conservative tendency of State institutions retarded their progress. The Oscan, the language of all the Samnite people, bore the traces of this culture. It is only known to us in a fragmentary way through inscriptions on coins and stone. The former were struck soon after the Samnite invasion, the latter are of a later date, and were found in considerable

numbers at Pompeii. At first mixed with Greek, Oscan developed into an independent language; and, at the time when the Romans penetrated into Campania, about the middle of the fourth century B.C., it was superior in some respects to the Latin of the same period. Like Etruscan and early Greek, it was written from right to left; but, while Etruscan has not yet been deciphered, the Oscan language has presented no such difficulty. It was closely related to Latin, and easily understood by the Romans, with whom the Oscan plays called the *Atellanæ* became so popular that they transplanted them in a Latin form to Rome. The poet Ennius prided himself on having three souls because he knew three languages—Greek, Latin, and Oscan—which, translated into modern phraseology, means that to learn a new language is to become a new man. Under the Roman influence the Oscan decayed, and, when the Romans finally conquered the Samnites in the Social War, it gave way to Latin, and, after having been abolished officially, gradually went out of use. One or two inscriptions, of a date not long anterior to the destruction of Pompeii, show that it was remembered by at least a few. The Pompeians learnt Greek at an early age. There is every reason for believing that the letters of the Greek alphabet found on the walls two or three feet from the ground, were written there by the children on their way to and from school.

The few allusions to Pompeii in Latin literature prove that it became a favourite resort of the Romans. Its lovely situation and climate, its fertility, its Greek traditions, combined to make it a little earthly paradise. Seneca spent his youth there; the Emperor Claudius and Cicero had villas there. Nor was it without commercial importance. Built on an elevation formed by an ancient stream of lava, it was situated at the mouth of the Sarnus—then a navigable river which, according to Strabo, constituted its harbour. The neighbouring towns—Nuceria, Nola, Acerræ—made use of it for exporting their produce; and Pompeii itself exported wine, oil, pumice-stone (*Pumex Pompeianus*), the fish-sauce called *garum*, and a special kind of cabbage. Nothing was feared from Vesuvius. The volcano had not been in activity within the memory of man; it was believed to be wholly extinct, and its green and woody slopes only spoke of fertility. Sixteen years before the eruption, however, a warning, in the form of an earthquake, disturbed the peace of the inhabitants. Both Seneca and Tacitus relate that ‘Pompeii, a celebrated town in Campania, was destroyed

'by an earthquake.' The destruction, however, was only partial, and the inhabitants had not quite completed the restoration when the final catastrophe overtook them. Two remarkable letters of Pliny the Younger give an account of the eruption, in which his uncle, the great Pliny, found his death. As in the Krakatoa eruption of 1883, the ashes were scattered far and wide. They 'ascended so high in the air,' writes Dion Cassius about a hundred and twenty years after the event, 'that they darkened the sun, and were transported by the wind into Africa, Syria, Egypt, and Rome. When they appeared in this city, before the news of the combustion in Campania had been received, the people could not imagine whence they came, nor judge it to be anything else but an effect of a general destruction of the world.' Titus's good intention of rebuilding the Campanian towns probably met with too many difficulties, for it was not executed; but another smaller Pompeii rose not far from the old one, and underwent the same fate in the fifth century. There are traces that the inhabitants of the old town returned to it, soon after the disaster, to try and exhume their portable valuables; but by degrees Pompeii was forgotten, though the site was more or less remembered, and its name was found in maps and historical records with that of Herculaneum and Stabiae.

Excavations were not begun till the middle of the eighteenth century, after previous attempts had been made at Herculaneum. In 1748 labourers, in digging in a vineyard, came across a bronze statue, and it was found that it would be far easier to excavate Pompeii than Herculaneum, as, owing to its more elevated situation, Pompeii had not been reached by the lava stream, and was buried under ashes and lapilli only. For a long time the excavations were conducted in a desultory and careless manner, with very few workmen and without a distinct plan, and in this way much was irreparably lost or destroyed. The houses, apart from the treasures they contained, were then thought to be of no interest; they were frequently covered up again after the objects had been extricated, and many have now been disinterred for the second time. The excavation of the amphitheatre, begun in 1748, was not completed till 1816. The street of the tombs, the great and small theatres, the temples of Isis and Æsculapius, the forum triangulare, the gladiators' barracks, and several private houses, were all begun between the years 1763 and 1769, frequently interrupted, and only finished many years afterwards. Winckel-

mann mentions that in 1762 there were only eight men at work in Pompeii. In 1764 the number rose to fifty, chiefly convicts and Tunisian slaves.

In the History of the excavations there is a characteristic account of a visit which the Emperor Joseph II. paid to Pompeii in 1769, accompanied by his sister, Queen Maria Caroline, and Ferdinand, king of Naples, to whom she had been married the year before. The emperor, on hearing how the excavations were carried on, expressed his astonishment and dissatisfaction. When he asked the director, La Vega, how many men there were at work, and was told thirty, he asked the king how he could allow such a work to be performed so languidly, and said that there ought to be three thousand people engaged on it; that there was no work like it in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America; and that it reflected special honour on the kingdom. In the beginning of this century the excavations were suspended, but Joseph Bonaparte, and after him Joachim Murat, recommenced them with fresh vigour. In 1813 there were no less than six hundred and seventy-four men employed, and for the first time a regular system was adopted. On the return of the Bourbons there was another period of slackness, and it was not till 1861 that the excavations became thoroughly well organised under the direction of Signor Fiorelli, who has carried them on ever since in the most able manner, and according to the best methods.

Of all the remarkable things found at Pompeii none are more important than the pictures, on account of the light they throw on ancient painting. While many masterpieces of Greek sculpture and architecture have come down to us, the Greek paintings, from the fragility of their nature, have perished, and it is chiefly in the Roman ruins that we find some tradition of them left. At Pompeii every house and every room was decorated with frescoes. The best of these were at first removed for their preservation to the museum at Portici, which was incorporated into the Naples museum early in this century. Descriptions can hardly give an idea of the charm of these pictures, of their rich harmonious colouring, which many art-critics have compared to Titian, of the serene, joyous conceptions of human life, of the grace and dignity of the figures. Stately gods and goddesses, sporting cupids, bacchantes, fauns, centaurs, dolphins, arabesques, are multiplied in infinite variety. Most of the subjects are taken from Greek mythology; but some represent scenes from the daily life of the Pompeians, and throw much light on their

habits and occupations. With few exceptions the subjects are treated with taste and delicacy. In a civilisation where to the gods themselves were ascribed the passions of mortal men, it is not to be wondered that art sometimes ministered to the licentious ideas of the day, but those pictures which have been removed from public view are few compared with those which must delight even the severest moralist. To Helbig specially belongs the merit of having traced these pictures to their origin. He divides them into two groups—those that have an idealistic, and those that have a realistic tendency. The former include the mythological subjects and a certain number of scenes from real life, such as female figures in meditation, at their toilet, painting or playing on musical instruments, and frequently in company with Eros. A few of the mythological subjects are dramatic, but most of them bear an idyllic character, representing scenes full of serenity and repose which the eye dwells on with pleasure.

The realistic tendency is represented by a certain number of scenes from daily life, such as the flogging of a schoolboy, a baker's shop, the fullers at their work. These are inferior, both in composition and execution, and are for the most part found in shops, taverns, and other places where little heed was paid to the decoration. They all bear a local character, each subject occurs only once, and they have undoubtedly been designed as well as executed on the spot, design and execution being on the same level. Some of the mythological compositions have been found, not only at Pompeii but in other Roman ruins, and seem to have been the common property of the Roman world and to have had a common origin. But though these were also executed on the spot, the greater part of them were evidently not designed in the Roman Empire. With few exceptions, such as the Death of Sophonisba, the only historical subject, Venus coming down to the wounded Æneas, and one or two others, the subjects are all Greek. Some of them have Greek inscriptions and other characteristics which all point to a Greek origin. This confirms what Pliny and other contemporary writers say of the condition of art in their day. When Pliny speaks of painting as a dying art, it is evident that he means that the creative power was exhausted; for the frescoes found at Pompeii and in other Roman ruins show that the execution, in decorative art at least, was still on a high level.

The period of Greek art to which the compositions can be specially traced is that of Alexander the Great and his successors. It was in his time that the Athenians began to

ornament their houses, which in the days of Pericles had been of an austere simplicity. While hitherto all the splendour of art had been bestowed on the temples and public buildings, the painters now began to paint small panel pictures for the private houses. At a later period these were replaced by imitations introduced into the wall-decoration itself, such as we see at Pompeii, a much less costly process, which was very generally adopted. It probably originated in Alexandria, the seat of Hellenic culture under Alexander's successors, and spread from thence by degrees over the whole Roman world, into the palaces of the Cæsars as well as the private houses. The subjects of the compositions have all the characteristics of the Alexandrine age. Since the great days of Pericles, art had entered on a new phase. The sublime but severe character of the art of Phidias had been softened by the genius of Scopas and Praxiteles, and the expression of the emotions had now become the study of the sculptor and the painter. The gods Zeus, Athene, Hera were less frequently represented than Demeter, Dionysus, Eros, whose cult had developed later and was more in touch with human life and human nature. The artists had not abandoned their ideals, but they rendered them more human. They accentuated the individuality in the countenance, and this gave a stimulus to portrait-painting. They selected in preference for representation those myths which gave the largest scope for the delineation of the feelings, and especially those in which the passion of love played a prominent part. Stories of a sentimental character, such as those of Narcissus, Cyparissus, Hyacinthus, now appear for the first time in art. This whole tendency is reflected in the Pompeian paintings, and gives them their priceless interest, as it enables us to trace them back to a special period of Greek art.

We vainly try to imagine what painting was in the days of Phidias, when Polygnotus covered the walls of the Lesche at Delphi with those great compositions which were never equalled for elevation of thought, though the technique was still in its infancy; or at a later period when Zeuxis and Apelles brought the art of painting to its highest development in Greece. But as the afterglow on the mountains reflects the rays of the sun long after it has set, so we can at least trace in the Pompeian paintings a distant reflection of Greek art in its last great days and in its glorious decline. The compositions often repeat themselves with slight variations and can occasionally be traced to some great original, of which we know the existence through Pliny, Pausanias, or other

writers—as, for example, Medea meditating the murder of her children. We know that Medea was painted by Timomachus from Byzantium, the last great painter of the period of the Diadochi, and that this picture and another by him, representing Ajax, were afterwards sold to Cæsar and placed in the Temple of Venus in Rome. Timomachus died before Medea was finished, but the picture was valued all the more for being the last work of a great master. The same subject had been treated by Aristolaus, an earlier painter, who was known for the severity of his style; but the Medea of Timomachus was the most celebrated and most likely to be reproduced, according to that principle in ancient art by which all that was best was constantly copied; and it is generally believed to have inspired the representations from Pompeii and Herculaneum. Two of these have been much discussed. In the Pompeian one, Medea is represented standing with a sword in her left hand and grasping the hilt with her right; the unconscious children are playing at knucklebones, while the old pedagogue looks in through a doorway. In the representation from Herculaneum she is seen alone, holding the hilt of the upturned sword between her folded hands. This attitude is more in harmony with the expression of irresolution on her face, and has therefore been thought to come nearest the original of Timomachus; and she is also represented in this way on a gem. In other respects the two figures are very much alike. The fierce struggle of her passions is rendered with great force, and with all the sense of measure and dignity which characterised Greek art. The painter Donner, who made a study of the technical part of the Campanian pictures, found traces of joints, showing that this Medea formed part of a larger composition, so that, in all probability, the children were included.

In later excavations at Pompeii another Medea has been found which deviates in many ways from the former type. She is seated in sombre meditation, leaning her head on one hand and holding with the other a sheathed sword that rests on the ground. The children are playing at knucklebones, and one of them runs up to her. The pedagogue looks in through a window, stern and watchful. Dramatic as the composition is, it does not compare with the former ones, and Presuhn's suggestion that it may be a reminiscence of the Medea of Timomachus is therefore less probable.

The frescoes representing Perseus and Andromeda, Achilles at Scyros, Achilles giving up Briseis, the abandoned Ariadne,

the death of Laocoon, Pero and Cimon, are no doubt more or less reproductions of famous masterpieces as well as the celebrated dancers. This explains the fact that the composition is generally superior to the execution. The sacrifice of Iphigenia is one of the few pictures which preserve a tradition of an earlier period than the Alexandrine, in the veiled Agamemnon of Timanthes. The composition could not, however, be a copy of that great master; for, if we may believe Pliny's description, Timanthes represented Iphigenia standing near the altar, a noble and ready victim, like the Iphigenia of Euripides, while in the Pompeian painting she is carried, the artist following in this the tradition of Æschylus in the Agamemnon. The figures in the paintings are small, with a few exceptions, such as Diana and Actæon, Hercules and Omphale, Venus and Adonis, which are the natural size, or somewhat above it.

C. O. Müller has suggested that the majority of the Pompeian paintings, which have been chiefly found in the private houses, correspond to the various phases of human life, and belong to the cycle of Dionysus with his following of centaurs, satyrs, bacchantes; that of Aphrodite and the Erotes, and that of Apollo and the Muses, representing the idealised pleasures of the senses, of the heart, of the intellect. But as in life these are all interwoven, so we find Bacchus and Eros, Eros and Apollo, frequently together. Thus in the immortal 'Dithyramb.'

'Nimmer, das glaubt mir, erscheinen die Götter
Nimmer allein.

Kaum dass ich Bacchus, den Lustigen, habe,
Kommt auch schon Amor, der lächelnde Knabe
Phöbus, der Herrliche, findet sich ein.'

The Bacchic representations occur most frequently, and both German and Italian investigators have remarked that there is scarcely a house in Pompeii where there is not some representation which refers to the worship of that divinity. This corroborates what we know from other sources of the ascendancy of the religion of Bacchus in Southern Italy. Introduced at an early time by the Greek colonists with the culture of the vine, it was at a later period adopted simultaneously by the Etruscans and Romans, but it always flourished most in Southern Italy owing to its volcanic soil being peculiarly suitable to the growth of the tree of Bacchus. Already Sophocles speaks of the sway Bacchus held over Italy, and we read in Plato's *Laws* that the whole town of Tarentum—a Dorian colony—was intoxicated during

the Dionysiac festivals. Various myths point in the same direction. Bacchus and Ceres were disputing the possession of Campania. Dionysus, after conquering the Tyrrhenian pirates, had left his old satyrs on the Italic shores to cultivate the vine there. The vases in the tombs abound in Bacchiæ subjects, and Böttiger's theory that they were given as tokens to the initiated, and buried with them as precious possessions which had a significance for their future life, is not an improbable one. The worship in Southern Italy had a strong mystic side, and its festivals were celebrated with great pomp.

Among the Etruscans first, and afterwards among the Romans, the Bacchiæ festivals degenerated into scenes of immorality and licentiousness, and in 186 B.C. they were abolished throughout Italy by the Roman Senate. About the same period the Egyptian cults were introduced from Alexandria into Italy, and found an eager reception. The cult of Isis did not penetrate to Rome till Sulla's time, about 80 B.C., but the original temple of Isis at Pompeii, of which but little remains, existed as early as the second century. It was restored after the earthquake in the latest style, and it is a significant fact that it was the only temple which had been entirely, or almost entirely, restored when the eruption took place. From the mysteries of Bacchus to the mysteries of Isis there was but a step. The ceremonies of initiation must have had many points in common. Osiris had been identified with Bacchus, and it is not surprising to find a statue of Bacchus in the temple of Isis.

Of the original earnestness of the religion of Dionysus but little survives at Pompeii, except here and there the noble type of the face. The meaning of the old religion was gone—art had turned it to its own purposes. Bacchus is chiefly represented as the god of the vine, and his type is that of the young and beardless god which was adopted in Greek art in the fourth century B.C., when Praxiteles gave it its ideal form. In the old Greek colonies we find the earlier type of the venerable bearded Bacchus, which continued to subsist more or less by the side of the later and more prevalent one. The coins of Naxos in Sicily show the two types, and on those dating from the end of the fifth century the earliest known representation of the youthful Bacchus may be seen. A remarkable picture of the young god on an ivory throne, with one hand stretched out, the other holding the thyrsus, was found in the house of Apollo at Pompeii. This preserves in its majestic appear-

ance the best traditions of Hellenistic art, and it is interesting from having the nimbus, which was also found round the heads of the figures on each side Apollo and Venus.

The nimbus was first introduced into Greek art in Alexander's time, and was placed round the heads of divinities, heroes, magicians, personified constellations, and, at a later period, of kings and emperors. Stephani shows that, though the idea of the supernatural light or glory surrounding the divinity undoubtedly existed previously, it was first expressed in art by the Greeks, and that all the Oriental representations of it—Brahman, Buddhist, Egyptian—are of Greco-Roman origin. In sculpture the nimbus occurs but seldom, as it was not suitable for plastic treatment, and the coins are the chief guide for its origin and chronology. The fact of its first appearing in Greek art in Alexander's time, when so many Oriental ideas were imported into Greece, might easily lead one astray regarding its origin. The Christians adopted the nimbus, but there are few, if any, examples earlier than Constantine. The nimbus recurs several times at Pompeii, and has been found round the heads of Jupiter, Apollo, Ceres, Venus, Selene, Ariadne, Hypnos, Leda, Circe, Phrixus, and Scopia the personification of the mountain, as well as round the head of Bacchus. The colour is sometimes blue, sometimes yellow or white, but this is determined by purely artistic considerations. A curious instance of the blue nimbus may be seen in an old Roman mosaic pavement in the triclinium of a Roman villa at Bignor, in Sussex, where a female head—probably an Ariadne—was found surrounded with it. A Bacchus head with the nimbus was found in a similar pavement at Avenches in Switzerland. These are believed to be of the same period—Vespasian or Titus—and to have been executed by the same hand.

Ariadne, who was so closely connected with the worship of Bacchus, is also frequently found on the Pompeian walls. According to the myth her birthplace was Crete, where she was originally worshipped as a nature goddess. It was there that Dædalus, the earliest Greek artist, constructed the 'dancing place for Ariadne of the lovely tresses,' and likewise the labyrinth into which Theseus went to fight the Minotaur. Ariadne giving Theseus the clue which, according to Virgil, Dædalus himself had procured for her, is rarely found in ancient art, and only three times at Pompeii, but the abandoned Ariadne on the shores of Naxos occurs very often. Sometimes she

may be seen with a weeping cupid by her side, and a female figure—believed to be Nemesis—pointing to the ship which carries off Theseus. Or she is represented asleep with her right arm round her head like the well-known Ariadne in the Vatican, while Bacchus approaches, followed by Silenus, Pan, satyrs, and bacchantes. That graceful figure of the sleeping Ariadne so frequently reproduced in sculpture as well as in painting, is traced back to an original painting in the temple of Dionysus at Athens, described by Pausanias, and probably a work of the fourth century B.C. It became a favourite subject on the Roman sarcophagi, not only because it belonged to the Bacchic representations, which symbolised the happiness that awaited the initiated, but more especially because the sleeping Ariadne, wakened by the god, was in itself one of those beautiful images under which the Romans liked to symbolise death.

The crown which Bacchus gave her was put among the constellations; hence she is frequently surrounded with the nimbus. No less remarkable than these representations of Bacchus and Ariadne are those of Perseus and Andromeda. One of these, Perseus leading Andromeda gently down from the rock, while the sea-monster lies expiring in the water at their feet, has been traced by various critics and more especially by Helbig to an original of the painter Nicias who lived in Alexander the Great's time. Pliny mentions among his paintings an Andromeda and an Io. Both these subjects have been found at Pompeii. Argus watching Io was in all probability the counterpart of Perseus and Andromeda—the one heroine just delivered, the other waiting for deliverance—and in the representation of Argus as a delicate youth, instead of the traditional giant, we find those characteristics which Pausanias noticed in one of the works of that painter at Amyclae. Nicias began his career when that of Praxiteles was drawing to a close, and according to Pliny, Praxiteles was assisted by him in painting his statues, and attached special value to his colouring (*circumlitio*.) At such a school Nicias himself no doubt developed those qualities for which he became celebrated, bringing his forms into strong relief by a careful treatment of light and shade. He possessed that subtle delicacy of perception which made him a great painter of women, and he also excelled in painting dogs. So intense was his absorption in his art that he had frequently to ascertain from his servants whether he had had his bath and his meals. We have no means of

knowing how Nicias represented his Andromeda. Raoul-Rochette took her to be one of those single figures like the Helen of Zeuxis, the Aphrodite of Apelles, 'on which the great painters of Greece liked to spend all their science of drawing, all their power of expression, all their charm of execution,' but tradition says that Nicias attached great importance to the selection of compositions which combined many dramatic elements, and it is therefore most probable that his Andromeda was the centre figure of a great composition. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the Pompeian painting must be traced back to some great original. This is borne out by the fact that the subject frequently recurs in bas-relief, on coins and gems as well as in painting. The representations of Andromeda and Perseus looking at the reflection of the Gorgon's head in the water, have the idyllic character which is preponderant in the Pompeian paintings, and which reflects the spirit of art and poetry in the Hellenistic age.

Cupids are prominent figures on the Pompeian frescoes. They animate the scene and give it a greater significance. They play with the club of Hercules, with the armour of Mars. They weep over the wounded Adonis, and over the infidelity of Theseus. One cupid fights with Pan; another is loaded with fetters by Venus. They are put in a cage and held up by the wings for sale. It was one of these charming pictures, the sale of the Cupids, found at Stabiae and at Pompeii, which inspired Goethe's little poem 'Wer kauft Liebesgötter,' and Thorwaldsen's beautiful bas-relief, 'The Ages of Love.' In a fine mosaic pavement they chain up the lion and taunt him with his defeat. The Erotes, or Loves, as small winged boys, were a development of the Hellenistic period, following on the noble type of Eros as a youth, which had been perfected in the fourth century. Scenes from daily life in which the Erotes were the actors were favourite representations, and are often found at Pompeii. Thus we see these charming winged boys leave their bows and arrows and give mankind a respite, to work as shoemakers and carpenters, like the boys of a modern industrial school. Where Eros is, Psyche is not far distant, and they frequently appear together either as aerial figures or in idealised scenes of daily life, such as weaving wreaths or playing on musical instruments.

The subjects of the frescoes usually bear some relation to the uses of the rooms. This was in accordance with that sense of harmony which the Greeks carried into all the

details of life. The Alabandines in Caria were criticised, says Vitruvius, the Roman architect, for placing in their gymnasium statues 'in the attitude of pleading causes, while 'those in the forum are holding the discus or running or 'playing with balls.' Fruit, vegetables, and Bacchic subjects are frequently found in the triclinia, gardens and landscapes in the peristylia, representations of various myths in the atria and exedræ, and Zahn suggested ingeniously that it was probably a bedroom in which were found those two beautiful aerial figures on a black ground, one of which seems to rise buoyantly upwards and to typify wakening, while the other gently descends as if to sink to rest; but truth obliges us reluctantly to give up this poetical interpretation, for Fiorelli has, no doubt, good reason for calling the room a triclinium, and the two figures have been named bacchantes. Between them was the picture which the Academicians have called the 'Wedding of Zephyrus and 'Flora,' but which other good authorities, including Zahn, have believed to be the 'Wedding of Pasithea and the God 'of Sleep.' According to the received version, Flora lies asleep leaning on a draped figure with large black wings and a bluish radiated nimbus, holding a branch of red flowers and representing Hypnos, the god of sleep. It is so doubtful whether this figure is male or female that some have believed her to be Pasithea; but the latter, though mentioned as the bride of the god of sleep, is never called the goddess of sleep herself. Zephyrus comes down supported by two cupids, and a figure on a rock draws a drapery over the whole scene. If Pasithea is substituted for Flora, the winged figure on which she leans would represent Selene, the goddess of the moon. This picture has been much discussed, and various other interpretations of the subject have been given. Raoul-Rochette believed it to be Mars appearing in a dream to the vestal virgin, Rhea Silvia, but this is not probable, as Roman subjects are very rare at Pompeii. Whatever may have been in the mind of the painter, it is one of the finest of the Pompeian pictures. Neither Correggio nor Albano, says the account in the journals of the excavation, have produced anything that excels the grace and beauty of the 'puttini.' Owing to a rainfall in the night before the excavation on November 6, 1826, the colours of the whole wall appeared in all their pristine freshness to the admiring eyes of those who were present.

The aerial figures form a large part of the Pompeian decorations. The lightness and buoyancy with which they

are poised in the air are incomparably beautiful. Some of them have large wings to support them. 'Creations of the artist's fantasy,' says Helbig, 'they are free from all the fetters of reality, and belong to those remains of ancient art which are most imbued with the Greek spirit.' There is no doubt that they go back to the best period of Greek art, and that they must have been faithfully transmitted through generations. The artists had mastered them so completely that here we find them at their best. Among these figures are the dancing-girls or bacchantes, and the centaurs, who are represented carrying young men and women, holding musical instruments and the thyrsus, the attribute of Bacchus. The centaur, a product of pure Greek art, is a remarkable instance of the evolution of the art type. Originally a wild race of hunters in Thessaly, they probably became in the Greek imagination assimilated with their horses; but the early attempts to represent their dual nature were exceedingly clumsy, as may be seen on a bas-relief found at Olympia, where Heracles is seen pursuing a limping monster composed of a human body combined with the hinder part of a horse. Pausanias was struck with this early type of centaur on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia. On the frieze of a temple at Assos, believed to be of the sixth century, the later centaur type, with the four hoofs and only the bust of a man, has been found side by side with the archaic one, but it was probably not till the age of Phidias that the type was perfected into a homogeneous whole, such as we see it in the Parthenon marbles and on the Pompeian walls.

The great artists of Greece liked to exercise their ingenuity on so subtle a problem. Zenxis brought it to perfection in a famous painting lost in a shipwreck when brought over to Italy by Sulla, but immortalised in a description of Lucian, who saw the copy at Athens. It represented a family of centaurs, and in the female suckling her young, the most beautiful type of womanhood and that of the finest Thessalian mare were blended together so artfully and imperceptibly that it was impossible to see where the one ended and the other began. At Pompeii we see in turn a furious bacchante kneeling on a centaur, with his arms tied behind him, and lashing him on—the picture of unbridled passion—and a lovely girl quietly seated on a female centaur—the image of purity and innocence. The centaur teaching a young man to play the lyre is Chiron teaching Achilles. This subject has been found on a larger scale at Herculaneum, and is

probably a reminiscence of the famous marble group which in Pliny's time was in the septa in Rome. The same subject appears most appropriately on the shield in the fresco representing Achilles in female attire at Scyros, among the daughters of King Lycomedes, when he betrays himself by seizing the arms offered for sale among female trinkets by Ulysses. There is an extraordinary vividness about this picture, and the conception, with all its mastery of detail, has led to the supposition that it might be a copy of an old Greek master, possibly Athenion, who, as we know from Pliny, painted this subject, and who, though he died young, attained great skill in his art. The excitement of Achilles stirred at the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of the beautiful Deidameia, the eagerness with which Ulysses, and probably Diomed, grasp Achilles by the arm, are rendered with great power and truth. Agyrtes blowing the trumpet was so damaged that this part of the picture, which Zahn, who was present at the excavation, still saw, was removed.

Among several curious pictures relating to the worship of Isis, there is one, found in the temple of Isis, representing the arrival of Io in Egypt, and illustrating the links which the Greeks found between the Egyptian cults and their own. Io, the heroine of Argos, symbolised the moon. She wandered over the world under the shape of a cow; and, though Isis was not originally a lunar goddess with the Egyptians, she was also represented with cow's horns, which led the Greeks to believe that she personified the moon. Herodotus, on visiting Egypt, first notices the likeness in form between Io and Isis. He remarks that he saw Isis with the cow's horns the same as the Greek Io. The Greeks, who tried to recognise their own gods in those of other nations, began to identify them. But it was not till long afterwards, under the Ptolemys, when Egyptian religion so deeply influenced Greek thought, and the myths themselves were changed to fit into the new order of ideas, that the notion crept in that Io, on arriving in Egypt after her wanderings, was worshipped there as the goddess Isis. On the picture she is represented as a beautiful woman with cow's horns, borne on the river Nile, and welcomed by Isis. The scene has all the Egyptian elements. We find the sphinx crowned with the lotus, the crocodile, the serpent; a priestess of Isis holding the sistrum—the musical instrument used in the worship of Isis—the situla, a little receptacle with a handle for the holy Nile water; and the

caduceus; Harpocrates—the child Horus—with his forefinger on his mouth, as we see the infant Christ on the old Italian pictures pointing to himself as the Word. A similar picture was found at Herculaneum, with slight variations in the details.

Among the importations from Egypt are also the pigmies, which are chiefly represented to caricature humanity. A representation of a scene like Solomon's Judgement, where the pigmies are actors, has much exercised the minds of the critics. It is thought more probable that it represents some Egyptian occurrence than that it should have been taken from the Old Testament. Occasionally we find the pigmies in their own element the Nile, climbing up a palm-tree to escape from the inundation, or riding on a crocodile.

Landscapes, still life, or animals sometimes take the place of the figure-paintings. Among the still life there is a dish of figs with a glass water-bottle the transparency of which is admirable. The Greek painter Pausias, who studied Nature in all her aspects, may be pointed to as the model for this kind of composition. In Pausanias' time there was still at Epidaurus a picture by him of Methe (Drunkenness) drinking out of a glass bowl, through which her face could be seen. The animals are true to nature, and painted with much humour and delicacy in situations that are very probably taken out of fables. The landscapes either cover the whole wall—and this is generally a garden wall—or, like the figure-paintings, they form imitations of panel pictures. No less than 750 to 800 landscapes have been found at Pompeii, about fifty of which are on the walls of gardens or peristylia. They represent mythological subjects, sacred trees, sea-coasts with towns or villas, gardens, sea views with naval battles, and sometimes Egyptian scenery.

The sacred trees are a very curious feature. They hold as conspicuous a place in the landscape-painting as in the worship of the ancients. Long before the temples made with hands, trees were the abodes of the divinities, and they remained inseparably associated with their worship. Those whom the gods loved and protected were often themselves changed into trees. There are many examples of these metamorphoses, but there is none that gives a better illustration than the charming story of Philemon and Baucis. Ovid tells how this poor but pious couple were the only inhabitants of Tyana in Phrygia, who received the disguised gods Zeus and Hermes after they had been turned away from every door. They offered them the best of what they had, and were

rewarded for their hospitality by seeing their small hut transformed into a lofty temple, while the town disappeared in a marsh. They were, at their desire, made the guardians of this temple, and begged, as a boon from the gods, that, having lived in the most perfect unity, they might die together. When their appointed time came, they were transformed into trees near the altar—Philemon into an oak and Baucis into a lime-tree. Ovid saw the trees, surrounded by a wall and hung with garlands and votive offerings such as those we now see in the Pompeian pictures.

‘E’en yet an ancient Tyanean shows
 A spreading oak, that near a linden grows;
 The neighbourhood confirm the prodigy—
 Grave men, not vain of tongue or like to lie.
 I saw myself the garlands on their boughs
 And tablets hung for gifts of granted vows;
 And off’ring fresher up, with pious pray’r,
 The good, said I, are God’s peculiar care,
 And such as honour heav’n, shall heavenly honour share.’ *

The wall which enclosed the trees was the so-called ‘Sacellum,’ the earliest form of temple, open at the top to let in air and light. Sometimes there was an altar near them, with lamps burning and the image of the serpent, the guardian god of the place (*genius loci*), which is so often seen in the Pompeian houses and streets. Among the objects hung from the trees are the sacred vittæ, or sashes, and the oscilla, little votive images to Bacchus, connected with the introduction of his worship into Attica. Icarus—so runs the myth—had first cultivated the vine there, and the people having become drunk, thought he had poisoned them, and killed him. His daughter Erigone hanged herself in despair over his grave. Dionysus, to punish them, sent a drought over the land, and an irresistible desire among the women to hang themselves as an expiation. This ceased when the murderers of Icarus were punished; but the symbol of swinging in the air as an expiation survived in the festival of the Aiora, and in the suspended images.† The oscilla may be seen in the museum at Naples in the form of medallion and crescent-shaped marble slabs, with bas-reliefs sculptured on both sides. These were at one time believed to be disks, but the fact that they are

* *Metamorphoses*, viii., Dryden’s translation.

† The three forms of expiation—by air, by water, and by fire—are mentioned in Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 741.

intended to be hung up, and also that similar objects have been found represented hanging on trees and buildings, has shown that they are oscilla. Originally intended for sacred purposes, they may have been also used at Pompeii as ornaments, having been found principally in peristylia and viridaria. Tree-worship was one of the last heathen superstitions that survived. Fathers of the Church and councils inveighed against it, and urged those who had sacred trees on their land to lay the axe to them; and as late as the eighth century an edict of the Lombard king Luitprand punished anyone who had honoured a so-called sacred tree with the confiscation of half his property.

The greater number of the landscapes represent coast scenery, and there are many representations of the villas which the Romans erected on the Bay of Naples in the latter days of the Republic, and in the early days of the Empire, and which Pliny the Younger describes in his letters. Some of them were built out on substructions in the sea, and their ruins may be seen even now, deep below the clear blue water on the Sorrento or Baiæ coast. Others, like the villas of Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar at Baiæ, were built on the rocks, towering high above the dangerous allurements for which that lovely spot, the favourite resort of the gay Roman world, was notorious. These were more like fortresses than villas, says Seneca, who thought it a reproach to have a villa at Baiæ, and who fled from its dangers the day after his arrival. The ancients had a great love for the sea, but in their sea pieces they never painted a stormy sea. They were most familiar with its softer aspects, and the wild beauties of nature, which exercise such a spell over the modern mind, inspired them only with awe and terror. It is more difficult to trace the origin of the landscapes than that of the other compositions, as they have a much more mixed character, partly Greek, partly Roman. Landscape-painting had probably its origin in scenic decoration, and it developed in Greece during the period of the Diadochi, when the feeling for nature assumed a more definite form. This tendency is reflected in the poetry of the time, and was probably due to the conquests of Alexander, by which the Greeks acquired a wider knowledge of the world and of nature. The landscapes, with dramatic mythological scenes, the idyllic ones which correspond with descriptions in Greek poetry, the Egyptian landscapes and the naval battles, have no doubt all a Hellenistic origin. On the other hand, the sea-coasts with villas, and the

representations of gardens, bear the Roman character, and are of a later date. Pliny mentions that the painter Ludius, in the time of Augustus, introduced new motives into landscape-painting, and he describes the very subjects we see represented in those pictures. In landscape-painting the painter had more free play than in figure-painting. The landscapes, with one or two exceptions, do not repeat themselves. The decorator worked without model, according to certain given precepts, and sometimes a more or less incongruous motive is put in simply to fill up the space. In the mythological landscapes which can be traced to Hellenistic models, we find the scenery of the background in complete harmony with the action represented. Much injustice has been done to the Pompeian landscapes by comparing their perspective to that of the Chinese. It is true that of the two kinds of perspective, the linear and the aerial, the Pompeian artists best understood the latter, which is more a question of artistic feeling than of geometrical rule. They must, however, have had a sense of the linear perspective, since they carried it out within certain limits in their architectural drawings. In the front views it is usually correct, while it fails in the more complicated side views.

The question how far the Greeks understood the rules of perspective has been much debated. Materials are wanting to enable us to arrive at a positive conclusion. Though the perspective of some of the paintings that have come down to us is admirable as a whole, yet it has been maintained on good authority that not one of them, either at Pompeii or in other Roman ruins, could bear the test of the ruler and the compass. As, however, no masterpieces of Greek painting have come down to us, and the paintings that now remain represent decorative art alone, it is clear that we have not sufficient data to form a correct judgement.

Nor do the ancient writings supply the deficiency. Attempts to produce in stage scenery the illusion of reality had, according to Vitruvius, been first made in the days of Æschylus by the painter Agatharchus, who left a treatise on the subject. According to Aristotle it was Sophocles who first introduced scene-painting, but these two statements have been reconciled by Müller and Brunn. Since Dr. Dörpfeld's demonstrations have revolutionised the old ideas about the Greek stage, and have shown that the action took place in the round orchestra or dancing-place, some critics have disputed the statement of Vitruvius, or at least doubted

whether it refers to scene-painting; but it is not so easy to refute Aristotle, who uses the word 'scenography,' and, moreover, the round orchestra did not exclude scenery, a background from which the actors could emerge; 'a king's palace, a temple, or the like,' as Miss Harrison explains. These were temporary structures, which were probably partly contrived by painting. The studies of Agatharchus were continued, says Vitruvius, by Democritus and Anaxagoras, who wrote 'to explain how the points of sight and distance ought to guide the lines, as in nature, to a centre; so that by means of pictorial deception the real appearances of buildings appear on the scene, which, painted on a flat vertical surface, seem nevertheless to advance and recede.' The panel-painters adapted the studies of the scenograph to the backgrounds of their paintings, and though scenography was an inferior kind of art which ministered chiefly to the taste of the multitude, it had no doubt an important influence on the development of painting, and Agatharchus prepared the way for Apollodorus, who first painted chiaroscuro. Pliny states that the painters of Sicyon made mathematical and geometrical studies essential conditions of good painting. Pamphilus—influenced no doubt by the canon of Polycletus, a native of Sicyon, like himself—first laid down rules for painting as Polycletus had done for sculpture, and the painter Pausias, his disciple, put these rules into practice and excelled in foreshortening.

It is highly probable that the Greeks, who formulated the rules of geometry and who made drawing an essential part of the education of their free-born children, studied carefully the laws of appearances and applied the rules of geometry to the representation of objects on a flat surface. But beyond allusions to the most elementary rules, such as those mentioned by Vitruvius, there is nothing in the ancient writings to show what their theory was. Goethe, in his criticisms on the Pompeian paintings reproduced by Zahn, says that gifted as the artists were and endowed with exquisite senses, especially that of the eye, they saw right in the main. 'What a sharp and true observation could give they possessed. The abstract rule upon which we pride ourselves, and which does not always agree with our taste, was, like so many others that were afterwards discovered, wholly unknown.' Phidias knew better than his critics that the statue of Athene would fulfil all its conditions when placed on a high column, and the horses of the Parthenon are correct in all their motions, though the

zoopraxiscope had not been invented. Whatever knowledge the Greeks had of the rules of perspective has been lost to us, and, like much else, had to be laboriously reconquered when Europe emerged out of the darkness of the Middle Ages.* Helbig points out that the great difference between ancient and modern landscape-painting lies in the treatment of atmospheric effects. Cloud scenery and mists, which give so great a charm to the French, Dutch, and English schools, are almost wholly absent from the Campanian landscapes. One reason, no doubt, is that Southern nature does not produce the same variety of effects as the sombre, damp climates of the North; but when due allowance is made for this difference in the aspect of nature herself, there still remain the different ways of looking at her. The Greek genius was eminently plastic, and though this retarded the progress of painting, which did not reach its zenith till long after sculpture, it did not prove detrimental to the final developement of figure-painting, as it was combined with an exquisite sense of colouring. Their strong love of form rather prevented the artists from crowding their pictures; but it was less favourable to landscape-painting, where colour is more important than form. The landscape-painters never lost sight of the outlines which in nature so often seem to melt away in the distant atmosphere. They uniformly selected a high horizon to give more prominence to the topography of the scenery. And the monochrome landscapes, painted either in green or yellow on some of the Pompeian walls, show the same tendency to attach greater importance to form than colour.

The anthropomorphic conception of nature, which was a stimulant to the developement of sculpture, was also unfavourable to landscape-painting. While the Greeks peopled nature with gods and goddesses—dryads, oreads, naiads, nymphs that inhabited the woods, the mountains, the streams—the landscape itself was but a background; and though in Hellenistic times a stronger feeling for its beauties developed, it did not destroy this anthropomorphism, but grew up side by side with it, for the number of personifications of nature rather increased than diminished. We do not find among the Greeks a less deep and tender love of nature, or a less keen appreciation of her softer beauties than in modern times, but it was of a different kind. She

* Pietro del Borgo, in the fifteenth century, was the first who elaborated the theory of modern perspective.

was in some ways more to them than she is to us. In personifying her, they attributed to her a moral sense. That serene indifference of nature to human suffering, which extorts from the modern poet the bitter cry—

‘ O schöne Welt, du bist abscheulich ’—

did not affect the Greeks. To them she was full of sympathy with man's fate. In Bion, one of the poets of the Hellenistic age, the mountains, the trees, the rivers bewail the fate of Adonis. In Moschus' ‘ Lament for Bion ’ the trees cast down their fruit, the flowers fade for sorrow over the death of Bion. In the picture of the death of Hippolytus, described by Philostratus, the mountain nymphs tear their cheeks, the water nymphs their hair, the flowers fade in the meadows, in sympathy with the fate of Hippolytus. In many of the Pompeian paintings a figure on a mountain-top, personifying the mountain, looks down with interest on the scene below. But where man held such an all-important place in nature, nature could not be dissociated from man. She was ever the theatre, the witness of his actions, and the artists only represented her in relation to him. It follows, from these various reasons, that in spite of the incontestable idyllic beauty and poetry of the Campanian landscapes, they are restricted to a narrow scope, and it is doubtful whether landscape-painting ever was more than a subordinate branch of art in Greece.

There is no evidence of any great Greek painter having practised landscape-painting. The only Greek landscape-painters whose names have come down to us are Demetrius and Serapion, who were both from Alexandria and worked in Rome. Demetrius was the friend of king Ptolemy Philometer, who took up his abode with him when he came to Rome as an exile. Nothing is known of his paintings, and the name *topographos*, which Diodorus gives him, has led to much discussion as to the nature of his work. Serapion lived at a later date, and all we hear of him is that he painted scenery. The Roman Ludius, to whom Pliny gives a prominent place, seems to have applied landscape-painting only to decorative purposes. There are good reasons for believing that some of his work has come down to us in the paintings of a garden in Livia's villa at Prima Porta. They were painted in his time, in the style introduced by him. They are superior to any other garden representations, and they were found in an imperial villa, where the best artists were no doubt employed.

The time when the Pompeian wall-decorations were
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executed cannot be stated with precision, but their chronology probably ranges over the two centuries preceding the destruction. We find in them an almost complete illustration of the description in Vitruvius of the successive stages of wall-painting. Though examples of these various styles have been found in other Roman ruins, nowhere can we follow them up chronologically as well as at Pompeii. Mau and Overbeck distinguish between four styles. The earliest, in which there is no figure-painting, is characterised by imitations in painted stucco of coloured marble panels, and its duration corresponds with the period of peace between the Hannibal and Social wars, when Oscan culture, under Hellenic influences, reached its highest developement, and the finest buildings in the town arose. This is generally known as the tuff period—a name which Nissen has given it, because the houses were mainly built of volcanic tuff instead of the limestone from the Sarnus, which had previously been used. Examples of the first style of decoration may be seen in the Basilica, the House of Sallust, and the House of the Faun; and traces in various other houses show that it must have once been very general. The colours are few and decided—violet, yellow, bluish-green, and sometimes brick red, besides white and black. In the House of the Faun it was combined with magnificent mosaic floors, executed at the same date. The chasteness of the walls and the richness of the pavement form so tasteful an *ensemble* that their combination may well have belonged to the style, which probably originated in Alexandria, for marble panelling itself was not introduced into Italy till a later period.

The second style is no longer entirely ornamental. It consists of architectural designs which, by means of perspective, and light, and shades, are almost always intended to produce the delusion of an extension of space. Marble is still imitated, but in painting instead of panelled stucco. Painted masks and various other objects are introduced as ornaments, and finally, the architectural designs, by dividing the wall into compartments, become the framework of centre pictures. The lights and shades give more variety of colouring, and vermilion is used for the first time. This style probably dates from Sulla's colonisation.

The third style differs from the second in being purely decorative. It uses the same means, but modifies them, and solely aims at ornamenting the wall. Imitations of marble are given up. The candelabrum, which already appears in the second style, becomes a favourite and elegant motive.

The mythological landscapes, of which the finest examples that exist are the scenes from the 'Odyssey' found on the Esquiline in Rome, belong to this style, as well as to the former one. Single figures, frequently of an Egyptian character, occur, however, more often than imitations of panel paintings, which only became general in the later style of decoration. The colours are chaste, and little use is made of minium. 'Beauty in simplicity, the true stamp of a refined and highly developed taste, is the special characteristic of this style,' says Mau. It probably extended over the early half of the first century. The style that superseded it differed from it chiefly in being more highly ornamental, more vivid in colouring, more varied in design, and altogether more dazzling to the eye. The two favourite colours are yellow and sky-blue, especially the former. Less use is made of minium, and cheaper reds are used instead. The relative merits of the pictures in the third and fourth style of decoration are difficult to determine, as, through the earthquake, many of the earlier ones were destroyed; and when the town was restored, probably only the best were preserved. A few also have been inserted into the wall. The pictures that are of Campanian origin belong exclusively to the latest style, while those of the third style all go back to Hellenistic models. The tendency of the earlier period is, on the whole, more idealistic; that of the later one more realistic. The heroic and pathetic prevail in the third style, the sensuous in the fourth. The former excels in its draperies, the lines are carefully drawn; while in the latter the figures are more often nude and the colouring is more brilliant. Greater expression is given to the faces as the painter is brought into closer contact with reality. Some of the finest Pompeian paintings, such as the Homeric ones from the house of the tragic poet—Zeus and Hera, and the carrying off of Briseis—Achilles and Chiron, Achilles at Scyros, Zephyrus and Flora, Io and Isis, have been found in decorations of the latest style, as well as the majority of the aerial figures; and the exquisite Herculaneum painting, Telephus suckled by the hind, also belongs to this group.

The painted architectural constructions, which were originally true imitations and seemingly capable of giving real support to a building, had by degrees become purely fanciful. Every kind of fantastic ornament was introduced into them, and Vitruvius complains that nature had been altogether lost sight of. 'The objects,' he says, 'which the

‘ ancients took for their models from reality are despised by
‘ the corrupted fashion of the present day. We nowadays
‘ see upon our walls not so much copies of actual things as
‘ fantastic monstrosities. Thus reeds take the place of columns
‘ in a design, ribboned and streamered ornaments with curling
‘ leaves and spiral tendrils take the place of pediments,
‘ diminutive temples are supported upon candelabra, vegetable
‘ shapes spring from the tops of pediments, and send forth
‘ multitudes of delicate stems with twining tendrils and
‘ figures seated meaninglessly among them. Nay, from the
‘ very flowers which the stalks sustain, are made to issue
‘ demi-figures having the heads sometimes of human beings
‘ and sometimes of brutes.’

This description applies almost entirely to the latest style in which Pompeii was restored after the earthquake. There are traces that it had been introduced somewhat earlier, and we find it the most common not only at Pompeii but in other Roman ruins of the same period. It has been called the *grotesche*, from the grottoes or subterranean places in Rome where it was first discovered. Severe art-critics, like Vitruvius, who apply the test of strict rules, may find fault with these exuberances of fancy; but their very charm lies in their emancipation from rule, kept as they are within the bounds of perfect taste. These decorations, which were frequently combined with beautiful stuccowork, have excited the admiration of the modern world generation after generation ever since they were first excavated. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine reproduced them in the Loggie of the Vatican, Giulio Romano in his master-work, the Palazzo del Te at Mantua, and they are still the ideal of artistic wall-decoration. It was one of the most fortunate events in the history of art that in Raphael's time some of the finest of these wall-decorations were brought to light by the excavations in the baths of Titus on Mount Esquiline. There he and his disciples saw those light and graceful draperies, those inimitable aerial figures, many of which time has now destroyed, but of which our generation may see the replicas on the Pompeian and Herculaneum walls. We are told how Raphael, when he first saw them, marvelled at their beauty and their freshness. In those exquisite remains of ancient art the great painters of the Renaissance found a new inspiration. They studied the figures, the arabesques, the very nature of the stucco. With the true insight of genius they were satisfied to copy where it was vain to attempt to rival. The figures called the “Hours,” painted by Giovanni

da Udine and Perino del Vaga in the Vatican, are identical with two figures found at Herculaneum. In those days Herculaneum was not excavated, but the same subjects are frequently repeated in ancient art for the sake of their beauty, and these very figures must have been seen by them in the excavations of Rome.

Without speaking of the paintings which were ruthlessly destroyed in the early part of the excavations, it is melancholy to think that the greater part of those that have been excavated in the course of a century have already faded through atmospheric influences, and that no means of preserving them permanently have been found. In some cases the very precautions taken for their preservation have been detrimental to them. The picture of Achilles giving up Briseis—one of the finest that have come down to us—was not taken to Naples till more than two years after its excavation, owing to the great difficulty of detaching it from the wall. All that time it remained exposed to the air, and its beautiful colouring suffered much in consequence. The picture of Adonis dying in the arms of Aphrodite was seen in all its freshness by Raoul-Rochette in 1833, three years after its excavation; but when he saw it again, six years later, he found it much faded. The charming little pictures of Cupids and Psyche in the house of Marcus Lucretius, excavated in the presence of Mr. E. Falkener in 1846, and then tolerably clear, were nearly effaced two years after by the action of the salt in the stucco. Mr. Falkener took hurried sketches of them at the time of the excavation, during a momentary absence of the custode, for it was not allowed then to make drawings of unedited paintings till after three years had expired, when they were often spoilt and almost obliterated. Helbig also found that, after a few years, some of the pictures which had been left on the spot were either wholly destroyed or much damaged; and that even those in the Museum had suffered from various causes. In many cases the original colours of the pictures have changed—sometimes even before the excavation. The heat of the volcanic mass has often made the yellow ochre turn red, especially at Herculaneum; and the cinnabar or vermilion—called by the Romans *minium*—becomes black after a time, from contact with the air. Zahn saw this process go on under his eyes. He noticed that, while the black grounds faded, the red ones became of an intenser black; and he remarked that investigators who had not actually witnessed this process on the spot, on seeing traces of red in these black grounds, erroneously believed

that the artists had laid a red ground first, and painted it over black afterwards. Sometimes the minium has been painted over a ground of yellow ochre, in which case it comes off by degrees, leaving the yellow ground exposed. In places where it has been laid on very thin it turns violet. The Pompeians, however, as we have seen, used the minium but seldom in the later decorations. It was a very expensive colour, and it faded when exposed to the sun unless it went through a process (called by the Greeks *kausis*) of covering it, when the wall was dry, with hot Punic wax mixed with oil, and burning it in afterwards by approaching an iron pan with hot coals. This seems to have been rarely practised at Pompeii, and other reds—such as red ochres or sinopis—were used in preference. Some pictures after their excavation are as short-lived as the ephemerae, and we owe a debt of gratitude to men like Zahn, Ternite, Raoul-Rochette, Presuhn, Niccolini, and many others, who have preserved us the coloured drawings not only of those pictures which are still extant, and which we do not see in all their freshness as they did, but also of those which unfortunately have perished. Zahn was for three years at Pompeii—in 1825, 1826, and 1827, and again in 1830, during some of the most important excavations—and he made at once drawings on the spot of the principal objects. It was with him at Pompeii that Goethe's son stayed when the famous house—called at first Casa di Goethe, but better known as the Casa del Fauno—was first excavated. Presuhn, who unfortunately died while the second edition of his valuable book was going through the press, lived eight years in Italy, and contributed, with the assistance of Signor Discanno and Miss Amy Butts, in keeping exact copies of many a painting which has now entirely, or almost entirely, disappeared.

Notwithstanding that so much has been destroyed, there remain at Pompeii a large number of pictures which exhibit a marvellous amount of freshness. The preservation of the pictures depends upon various causes, such as the more or less careful preparation of the stucco, and (if we admit, with Donner, that the pictures are frescoes) on the amount of care taken to finish them while the wall was still wet. The directions given by Vitruvius about the thickness and composition of the stucco, in order to ensure its solidity, have not always been followed by the Pompeians, owing probably to the haste with which the town was restored after the earthquake. But the quality of the stucco is always far superior to our modern fresco-grounds. The frequent use

of sea sand in the preparation of the stucco has, however, had fatal consequences in developing saltpetre, which destroys its firmness.

The technical part of the Pompeian paintings has been a matter of dispute for more than a century. The painter Donner, in an interesting treatise, has gone very fully into the arguments, of which we can only give an outline here. The question was, whether they were done in fresco, in tempera, or after the old method of the Greeks in encaustic. It was suggested from the first that they were frescoes, but Carcani, with all the authority of a member of the Accademia Ercolanese, contradicted this view in the first volume of the '*Pitture Antiche d' Ercolani*,' and maintained that, with few exceptions, they were done in tempera. Winckelmann seems to have agreed with him at first, though he became doubtful on the subject afterwards. Raphael Mengs—than whom there could be no more competent judge, as he distinguished himself in fresco and tempera, as well as oil-painting—gave distinctly as his opinion that the pictures were frescoes. His views, however, do not seem to have had the weight they deserved. The Abbate Requin had tried to prove that the grounds were frescoes and that the figures and ornaments were done in encaustic, and he carried with him Carlo Fea, Raphael Mengs's friend. This view prevailed for a long time. Early in the century, the French chemist, Chaptal, and afterwards Sir Humphry Davy, analysed the pigments found in jars at Pompeii and in other Roman ruins, as well as fragments of the paintings, and proved that, with one exception, a pink colour in a jar, probably the *purpurissum* of which Pliny speaks, they were minerals such as are used in fresco-painting, and that wax, the necessary ingredient for encaustic, was totally absent. But though this was convincing as far as the general character of the pictures went, the cherished idea still lingered in some minds that a few at least might be encaustics. Subsequent analyses made by Professor Geiger, from Heidelberg, in 1826, and in later times by the French chemist Chevreul, had different results. Geiger found wax, glue, and other organic substances in the stucco, but Donner attributes this fact to accident, and believes that the painted fragments taken out of the ruins, on which the experiments were made, had probably received a coating of varnish, as was usually done at the time of the excavation to preserve the pictures. This supposition is borne out by the testimony of Mazois, who witnessed the excavations early in the century, and who, after describing

the process by which some of the paintings in the house of Sallust were varnished for their preservation, says :—

‘ Cette expérience n’a pas eu le succès qu’on en attendait. Le dissolvant qui avait servi à étendre la cire et à lui procurer la transparence, s’étant volatilisé avec le temps, la cire a reparu dans son état naturel et a formé un tartre blanc qui a fait croire à quelques personnes que le procédé d’après lequel les parois avaient été peintes, était bien vraiment l’encaustique des anciens, tandis que ces peintures sont à fresque comme toutes celles de Pompéi.’

The presence of the other organic substances may be due to the frequent use of sea sand—which contains many such—in the preparation of the walls. Chevreul, though he found no wax, resin, or gum, also discovered traces of organic substances in the painted wall fragments, but he found neither animal nor vegetable matter in the pigments.

In the controversy between the archæologists Letronne and Raoul-Rochette as to whether the Greeks painted the walls of their temples or decorated them with wood panel paintings, the vexed question of the methods employed by the ancients for their mural paintings also found a place. Letronne maintained that the Greeks did not paint in fresco, but used the fresco process merely for colouring their walls in the first instance, and painted in tempera or encaustic over it, and that this method had been followed at Pompeii. Raoul-Rochette was of opinion that the Greeks sometimes practised fresco-painting, but that it held a very subordinate place in Greek art, and that in the great days of Greece the temples had been hung with wood panel paintings. As for the Pompeian paintings, he believed them to have been done in tempera. Hirt in 1833, and Müller in 1835, wrote that the grounds alone were done in fresco, and the figures and ornaments in tempera, and this view was adopted by Overbeck in his second edition of ‘Pompeji.’ The architect Wiegmann, Welcker, and Kügler, however, all followed in Mengs’s footsteps, and believed the Pompeian paintings to be frescoes, and there is no doubt that Mazois held the same view. Otto Donner, with a thorough knowledge of the subject, and with the admirable Teutonic industry, accuracy, and minuteness, has studied on the spot the methods employed for painting the Pompeian walls, and he has come to the conclusion that the pictures are chiefly frescoes, that the tempera painting only plays a subordinate and supplementary part, and that there is no encaustic wall-painting. This view has been adopted by Overbeck in his last edition of ‘Pompeji,’ and the arguments as well as

the evidence seem entirely in its favour. Pliny says that wax colours are not suited to stucco walls, and no encaustic paintings have been found on the walls of any of the Roman ruins or of the Catacombs. It is essential not to confuse encaustic painting with the process called the *kausis*, already described, where the wax was merely laid on as a preserving varnish.

Pliny's description of encaustic painting had, from its conciseness, led to various interpretations. He says:—

‘In ancient times there were but two methods of encaustic painting, in wax and on ivory, with the *cestrum* or pointed graver. When, however, this art came to be applied to the painting of ships of war, a third method was adopted, that of melting the wax colours and laying them on with a brush while hot. Painting of this nature applied to vessels will never spoil from the action of the sun, winds, or salt water.’

The ship-painting is sufficiently clear, but it has been an open question whether the *cestrum* applied to both the first methods or only to painting on ivory. According to Donner's interpretation it was used for both, and from the fact of Pliny's frequent mention of painting with the brush as distinct from encaustic panel-painting, this interpretation seems the most probable. Donner believes that in painting on wood panels and ivory, the powdered colours, mixed with Punic wax reduced by means of a solvent to about the thickness of modelling wax, were laid on with the *cestrum* or spatula and burnt in afterwards with the *rhabdion*, an iron rod, which was heated. The *cestrum* was an instrument pointed at one end and flat at the other; and Donner thinks that it was toothed at the flat end like the leaf of the *Betonica*, the plant called in Greek *Cestros*, from which he derives its name. The painter, no doubt, had a variety of these instruments. Some of the portraits found by Mr. F. Petrie on the Egyptian mummies at Rubajjât are the only specimens of ancient encaustic painting that we know to be genuine; and though they are but poor specimens of a period of decadence, they are invaluable on account of the light they throw on this branch of ancient art. Both Donner and Cros and Henry clearly see the traces of the *cestrum* in these paintings, but they also see those of the brush. Donner, however, will not admit that in the great works of encaustic art the brush was used at all, while Cros and Henry believe it was used ‘*du moins comme instrument préparatoire* ;’ but they add: ‘*Pourtant nous avons reconnu pratiquement qu'on pouvait se contenter du cestrum.*’ One specimen of painting on ivory was found at

Pompeii in the shape of thin ivory tablets, painted with Egyptian figures and ornaments, and probably forming a casket, and these were given away on the spot by the Prince of Capua to an English lady, and, according to Raoul-Rochette, have never been traced since. There exists, however, at the British Museum an Egyptian casket, which is said to come from Herculaneum, and which corresponds with the description of the object found at Pompeii, and probably the two were very similar.* These caskets appear to have been in use at that time. A casket almost identical with the one in the Museum was found in the cemetery of Hawara, in Egypt. Drawings of it may be seen in Mr. F. Petrie's book.

Encaustic, with the Greeks, was the nearest equivalent to modern oil-painting, and there can be no doubt that the Greek genius brought it to great perfection, for the ancient writers evidently thought as much of their painting as their sculpture. Painting, in fact, was not only an independent art, but it was the complement of sculpture. We know what value Praxiteles attached to the *circumlitio* of Nicias. The tradition of encaustic, however, is so completely lost that the best authorities arrive at the most opposite appreciations. Donner, while recognising its merits in greater brilliancy and depth of colouring, believes it to have been a limited process; and he concludes, from the fact that the great Greek painters constantly used other methods side by side with it, and also from its having been early abandoned, that it was unsuited to the broad treatment of large compositions. It is doubtful whether the greatest of Greek painters, Apelles, painted in encaustic at all. Wiegmann and Brunn arrive at much the same conclusion, and believe that oil-painting has many advantages over encaustic. Cros and Henry, on the contrary, give the preference to encaustic, arguing that wax, unlike oil, allies with all colours, that it does not flake off, that neither sun, heat, damp, nor dust can hurt it, that time has no effect on it, and that it can be retouched without inconvenience, and this view is supported by Mr. Cecil Smith.

* Attempts to identify the two caskets have been fruitless. It was supposed that the English lady might have been Mrs. R. Auldjo, to whom the Prince of Capua gave part of the glass vase found in 1834 in the House of the Faun, which she gave to the British Museum, and which, united to its other half, is known as the Auldjo vase; but there is no record of how the casket found its way into the Museum, and it is in too good condition to be identified with the object described by Raoul-Rochette in 'Peintures Antiques Inédites,' p. 379.

A picture of a painter's studio was found at Pompeii, and reproduced by Mazois, but it was destroyed by the rain soon after the excavation. It represented one of the favourite caricatures of the Pompeian artists—namely, pigmies performing the avocations of men. One is the artist seated before his easel, with his brush in hand, painting another pigmy dressed up as a distinguished personage. Near him stands his palette, in the shape of a four-legged table, on which the colours are spread and a jar for washing the brushes. Another pigmy mixes colours over a brazier. This evidently represents two methods, showing that while the painter is painting in tempera, he practised encaustic also.

In 1851, in a shop in the Strada di Stabiae, various materials for painting were found—pieces of pumice-stone, pitch, resin, several pigments, a pestle, and jar for pounding the colours—in which Donner recognises the materials required for the coarser method of encaustic painting employed for ships. Some crushed pieces of resin had been mixed with yellow ochre, from which it would seem as if resin as well as wax might be used in this process. No wax was found in the shop, and indeed very little in Pompeii.

The reasons Donner gives for concluding that the pictures are frescoes are: that the colours on the walls are real fresco colours; that the careful preparation of the stucco rendered any mixture with the colours unnecessary; that in many cases he has found the joints, though carefully concealed under the ornaments, where a fresh ground had to be made; that fresco being the most lasting process it was also the most likely to be used for wall-painting. From the directions Vitruvius gives about wall-decoration, it is clear that fresco was the only suitable method, and he points to the ancient Greek walls as models. In fact, Donner believes that tempera paintings would long ago have perished. It is true that the Egyptians painted in tempera thousands of years before the Pompeians painted their walls, and that their colours have shown greater durability than those of the Pompeians; but this is mainly owing to the extreme dryness of their climate, while at Pompeii the pictures almost always come to light in a very damp condition, and take several weeks to dry, before the preserving varnish can be put over them. The process of *fresco secco* (that is, wetting the wall, covering it with a layer of lime, and painting upon it; or painting straight on the wet wall with colours mixed with lime) has also been traced at

Pompeii, while tempera has been used principally for touching up. Donner refutes an error of Carcani, adopted by Overbeck in his second edition, that the fresco colours combine chemically with the stucco, and become inseparable from it. This is not the case. The water alone penetrates into the stucco, while the particles of colour adhere firmly to the surface. Through the absorption of the water, part of the hydrate of lime in the stucco is dissolved. It rises to the surface, and is converted into carbonate of lime, giving the paint a coating which not only protects it, but imparts a greater lustre to the colours. It is evident that the thicker the stucco is, the more water it absorbs and the more time it allows for the composition before drying, while a larger proportion of the solution of hydrate of lime is developed.

Uninteresting as the subject of the technique may seem, it is most important for the right appreciation of the Pompeian paintings. The defects in the details, such as occasional inaccuracy of drawing, want of finish, and the absence of the more delicate shades of expression, are more easily accounted for; and our admiration will increase if we consider the hasty process by which such a marvellous combination of artistic work was produced. We see them, moreover, exposed to a much stronger light than they were intended for, since the rooms in a Roman house received all their light from the atrium and peristylum. We would fain ask who were these wonderful decorators whose work, after nearly 2,000 years, fills us with admiration? It is probable that the houses were decorated by associations of painters which were formed in those days to satisfy the enormous demand for works of art that existed in the Roman empire. Since the second Punic War and the taking of Corinth, when the first Greek works of art had been brought over, the taste for Greek art had gone on increasing. For two centuries the Greek towns had been systematically pillaged of their treasures, which had been carried to Rome. But the originals could not suffice to satisfy the taste which pervaded all classes of society, and a great many copies had to be made. Art degenerated into a handicraft, and this is one of the reasons why—while in Greece it had been exclusively cultivated by people of free condition—it became in the Roman empire mainly the work of Greek slaves or freedmen. Pliny complains a great deal of the degeneration of art in his time, and of its being no longer in honourable hands. ‘Quand la Grèce vaincue,’ says Wallon, ‘laissa ‘tomber dans l’esclavage tant de maîtres plus habiles que

‘ les maîtres de Rome, ce travail déchet aussi dans la considération publique. On laissa l’art, on prit l’artiste.’ The slaves are frequently mentioned by Roman writers as painters; they were often educated by their masters in the art for which they had a natural aptitude, having been born and bred among the highest and noblest traditions. It was sometimes made a condition of their liberation that they should continue to exercise for their masters’ benefit the art in which they had been trained by them. Pliny mentions that a freedman of Nero decorated with paintings a portico at Antium (Porto d’Anzio), Nero’s birthplace; and it is very probable that Pompeii was painted by Greek slaves. Thus, paradoxical as it may seem, the profession of art had fallen somewhat into discredit as the taste for works of art increased. Art, however, never held more than a subordinate place in the life of the Romans, while among the Greeks it was part of the national life itself.

ART. IX.—*Principles of Economics.* By ALFRED MARSHALL, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge; Fellow of St. John’s College, Cambridge; sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Vol. I. London: 1890.

MORE than sixty years ago Archbishop Whately hazarded the prediction that ‘before long political economists ‘of some sort or other must govern the world;’ while, a generation later, Mr. Cobden is known to have anticipated the almost universal adoption of the principles of free trade. Time has proved the worth of either prophecy. Most of the great countries of the world are busily increasing their protective tariffs; and in England, which almost alone remains true to the doctrines of free trade, political economy has been lately relegated to the planet Saturn.

It can hardly be out of place to consider the causes of this remarkable change of opinion. Is it true that political economy is a study which need no longer occupy the statesman or the author? May the student leave his ‘Wealth of Nations’ to repose on his bookshelves, or should he consult it only to illustrate a phase of thought that has already passed? Are the followers of Adam Smith teachers whose ideas are already superseded, and who are no longer to have practical influence on an age which has evolved new modes of thought and new rules of conduct? Or, on the other hand, is it time

to vindicate the writings of these men ; and, while admitting that political economy, like any other science, may require revision with the advance of knowledge and the lapse of time, to winnow the chaff and retain the grain embedded in the works of these economists ?

In answering such questions as these, the inquirer will obtain considerable assistance from the labours of so careful a thinker as Professor Marshall. Before the publication of this book, Professor Marshall was already known as one of the greatest authorities alive on economical subjects. The appearance of this work has increased his reputation ; the part which he took in the discussions of the British Association introduced him to thousands of persons, who perhaps would have hesitated to address themselves to a study of the ' *Principles of Economics* ;' and he has now the satisfaction of knowing that he has raised himself to the first rank among living economists.

The position which Professor Marshall has thus secured is not undeserved. Numerous as are the writers who, of recent years, have grappled with some portions of economical science, no author, since the time of Mill, has covered so large a ground, or occupied it with so much completeness. No other author, moreover, has shown a greater capacity to grapple with the more difficult problems involved in the task, or has taken more pains to be precise in his language and judicial in his judgements. No other author, therefore, deserves to secure a larger or more confiding audience, or is calculated to exert a greater influence on contemporary thought.

It is, indeed, right to add that Professor Marshall labours under two disadvantages. In the first place, this imposing volume of more than seven hundred closely printed pages is only an instalment of his work. All books published in instalments necessarily suffer to some extent. But books on political economy, which are so published, suffer perhaps more than others. The earliest portions of an economical treatise are precisely those which present the most difficulty and the least interest to the ordinary reader. However necessary it may be to prepare the way for the author's conclusions, the task of smoothing it involves an argument, which is occasionally hard to read and still more hard to understand. Professor Marshall, indeed, thinks it necessary to warn his reader on one occasion that the discussion contained in two of his chapters is technical and difficult ; and on another occasion he even advises those of them ' who

'desire to avoid theoretical subtleties to pass lightly over 'the next four chapters;' and we are constrained to admit that even technical readers, with some acquaintance with the subject, will find many passages in the 'Principles of Economics' both difficult and dry. The perusal of the book, moreover, is not made easier by Professor Marshall's system. He has wisely relegated to the Appendix those mathematical demonstrations of some of his propositions which have proved useful to himself in prosecuting his labours, but which, we agree with him, are laborious to anyone but the writer. But he has illustrated his conclusions with diagrams, which no doubt may give precision to his remarks; but which, we fear, few readers who fail to appreciate the text will master, or at any rate remember. Like that traditional boy, who was set to do a problem in Euclid, they will complain that they cannot recollect the picture.

We venture also, in the second place, with great respect to think that, in his efforts to be precise, Professor Marshall has contrived occasionally to be obscure. Are we alone in believing that such a sentence as the following will make no impression on nine readers out of ten?

'The demand schedule for any factor of production of a commodity can be derived from that for the commodity by subtracting from the demand price of each separate amount of the commodity the sum of the supply prices for corresponding amounts of the other factors.'

Or, take another example :

'It may, perhaps, not be superfluous to repeat that the "marginal" dose, by the return to which we estimate the amount required to remunerate the farmer, is not necessarily applied to land on the margin of cultivation, it is on the margin of profitable expenditure on land of any quality.'

We are aware that there is a large and important class of persons who think that the style of a serious book should be hard and dry, and that the author who desires to instruct should not be too careful to please his readers. But, for our own part, we are satisfied that, where the writer will not take the trouble to be plain, the reader will not take the trouble to understand; and, when we read such passages as these, extracted almost at random from Professor Marshall's pages, we would gladly exchange our author's precision for Ricardo's less accurate but more intelligible language; while we long for the lucid style and familiar illustrations which make the 'Wealth of Nations' so pleasant to read and so easy to remember.

These defects, however—if defects they be—are compensated by the many merits of Professor Marshall's comprehensive work: its publication will afford every one an opportunity of considering the criticisms which have of late years been applied to the labours of the economists; and we propose ourselves, with the Professor's assistance, instead of formally reviewing his book, to point out how some of the conclusions of the older economists have been superseded by the progress of society; how new problems, to which the older economists did not address themselves, have risen for solution; and, finally, to indicate the manner in which some of those problems should be solved.

In taking Adam Smith as the starting-point for our inquiry, we do not, of course, ignore the labours of earlier economists, both in this country and in other nations. Adam Smith was not the first person who investigated the causes of the wealth of nations, but he was the first person who swept away the fallacies by which previous inquirers had been misled, and who placed the science of political economy on firm foundations. Without absolutely subscribing to Buckle's conclusions, that the '*Wealth of Nations*,' in 'its ultimate results, is probably the most important book that ever was written,' and that it has 'contributed more to the happiness of man than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account,' we are satisfied that it has had a greater influence for good than any other book published in England in the eighteenth century. Yet Adam Smith's warmest admirer would not be prepared to contend that the '*Wealth of Nations*,' important as it is, is free from error. On the contrary, nearly every authority of the present day would admit that its famous defence of the Navigation Laws is founded on a misconception; we think there is no doubt that its author failed to appreciate the true theory of rent; he classed certain kinds of labour as unproductive which later economists have shown to be productive; his ideas on productive and unproductive expenditure were equally erroneous; and his views on the inherent defects of Joint-Stock Enterprise have been falsified by later experience. These, and other errors, may no doubt be detected in the '*Wealth of Nations*;' but they do not sensibly detract from the value of the work. The great man is he who initiates, not he who perfects, a system. Many improvements have been made in the steam-engine and the locomotive since their first invention; yet

posterity still rightly attributes them to Stephenson and Watt. Few competent critics would deny that many fallacies may be detected in Buckle's account of the origin of civilisation, yet no competent critic would doubt that his historical labours have profoundly influenced all later historians.

Before Adam Smith wrote, economical science was based on error. In France, thinkers of repute had persuaded themselves that the produce of the land was either the sole or the principal source of wealth; in this country the political arithmeticians—as the earlier economists were called—thought that they had proved that the wealth of a nation depended on the favourable balance of trade; and, in consequence, induced Parliament to build up the complicated mercantile system which so greatly influenced the legislation of the whole of the eighteenth and the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. Hence arose the elaborate machinery of protection by which statesmen endeavoured to foster the manufactures of this country, to destroy the manufactures of rival nations, and to decide the channels in which trade should flow. It was this system which Adam Smith undertook to criticise. In the 'Wealth of Nations'—to use Buckle's language again—'the old theory of protection, as applied to commerce, was destroyed in nearly all its parts; the doctrine of the balance of trade was not only attacked, but its falsehood was demonstrated; innumerable absurdities, which had been accumulating for ages, were swept away;' and such was its author's success, that eighty years after [its] publication there is not to be found any one of tolerable education who is not ashamed of holding opinions which, before the time of Adam Smith, were universally received.'

The acceptance which Adam Smith's tenets in these respects have secured is far more general than he himself anticipated. He declared in his fourth book that 'to expect that the freedom of trade should ever be entirely restored in Great Britain is as absurd as to expect that an Oceana or Utopia should ever be established in it. Not only the prejudices of the public, but, what is much more unconquerable, the private interests of many individuals, irresistibly oppose it.' Yet the prejudices of the public and the private interests of individuals have alike given way before his arguments. Trade, which he found in chains, has been wholly set free from the shackles which fettered it; and the achievement—the greatest, perhaps, which has ever been accomplished by a single writer—almost justifies

Buckle's panegyric, and entitles us to regard Adam Smith as one of the chief benefactors of modern England.

It is, of course, true that Adam Smith, like all great men, owed something to the labours of his predecessors and the circumstances of his age. Watt might have never invented the steam-engine if it had not been for Newcomen; and Adam Smith might not have written the 'Wealth of Nations' if it had not been for Quesnay. The foundations of all work are laid beforehand for the worker. But, if Adam Smith owed something to his predecessors, the main features of his work are his own. It was his breadth of view, his skill in exposing error, his perspicacity in analysing causes and explaining effects, that make the 'Wealth of Nations' a work of the highest order, and give it the influence which it has never lost.

It is interesting, however, to observe that, if Adam Smith owed something to the time in which he lived, the circumstances of his age partly account for the discredit into which some of his conclusions have fallen. The author of the 'Wealth of Nations' was writing on the eve of the greatest political convulsion which the world has ever seen. Only thirteen years after the publication of the work, the States General assembled in France, and a whole system was drowned in bloodshed. But, great as were the political events of the immediate future, Adam Smith unconsciously stood on the threshold of a greater revolution than that which was destined to desolate France. Only seven years before the publication of the earliest edition of the 'Wealth of Nations' Watt took out his first patent for a steam-engine. While the doctrines of Adam Smith were slowly penetrating the thought of the nation, the power of steam was rapidly forcing itself into public notice. Applied to the mill, the steamboat, and the railway, it altered the position of population, of industry, and of locomotion. It created conditions which could not have been foreseen; it led to problems which had never previously presented themselves for solution. 'Economic conditions'—so Professor Marshall writes—'are constantly changing, and each generation looks at its own problems in its own way.' But economic conditions had never been so rapidly altered as they were in the two generations which succeeded Adam Smith; and the problems which economical writers have to deal with had never been so profoundly affected as they were affected by the consequences which resulted from the invention of the steam-engine.

Let us illustrate our meaning by a few prominent examples. It was the opinion of Adam Smith that, at the time at which he was writing, the inhabitants of Great Britain were not doubling their numbers 'in less than five hundred years;' and, as a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether the population of either England and Wales alone, or of these islands as a whole, had doubled in the five hundred years preceding 1776.* But the population of England and Wales was doubled in the sixty years, and more than trebled in the hundred years succeeding 1780. The publication of the 'Wealth of Nations,' in other words, was followed by a rapid increase of population, which Adam Smith not only did not foresee, but which he would probably have regarded as impossible. If the population had everywhere displayed the same tendency to increase, the additions to it would have produced new problems. These problems became much more difficult because the people showed an increasing tendency to concentrate in the coal-fields. Even in Adam Smith's time this movement was already visible in the case of those manufactures—like glass, iron, or other metals—in which coal was 'a necessary instrument of trade.' But the textile industries, which have always afforded the chief source of employment to the manufacturing poor, were still scattered throughout the country. The yarn was still spun by hand, it was woven into cloth by hand, and machinery had nothing to do with the making of it. Perhaps the present generation hardly realises the advantage of independence which these conditions conferred on the labouring poor. In many cases the cottager was a manufacturer, his cottage was his factory, his wife and daughter had ample employment in spinning the yarn which he wove with his own loom into cloth. The cottager, too, though he was mainly dependent on the loom, had other resources. The increase of population had not led to the rapid enclosure of commons which commenced in the closing years of the eighteenth century. The cottage, therefore, usually adjoined a common on which the cottager had the right to turn a cow; and land was so valueless that, in most cases, he had been suffered to enclose—or, at any rate, had not been prevented from enclosing—a small plot of ground

* The population of England and Wales is supposed to have amounted to about 4,000,000 in 1348 (i.e. in the period immediately preceding the Black Death). It is estimated at 7,953,000 in 1780. It exceeded 15,900,000 in 1841, and reached 26,061,000 in 1881.

round his own dwelling. Whatever other advantages the labouring classes of this country may since have secured, the idyllic existence which they then passed is gone for ever. In the half-century which succeeded Adam Smith's labours the increase of population led to the rapid enclosure of the waste lands of rural England. The cottager was no longer able to eke out his own earnings by keeping a cow; his wife's spinning-wheel was hopelessly beaten by the 'jenny' and the 'mule'; his own loom had to compete with machinery turned by steam and water. Almost forced to seek his fortune in the great towns which were growing out of the villages of northern England, he was obliged to labour for twelve or fourteen hours in the bad atmosphere of an ill-regulated factory; and, when he escaped from his toil, to seek repose in an ill-constructed, ill-drained, and overcrowded dwelling. Such a revolution modified the conditions under which Adam Smith wrote, and affected his conclusions. Professor Marshall tells us that

'the Englishman Mill bursts into unwonted enthusiasm when speaking of the pleasures of wandering alone in beautiful scenery: American economists . . . no less characteristically use their highest eloquence in splendid descriptions of the growing richness of human life as . . . the backwoods settlement develops into a village, the village into a town, and the town into a vast city.'

It was natural for a writer, in the time of Adam Smith, to feel some of the enthusiasm for town life which has influenced the modern American economist; it was impossible for him to foresee the evils which the accumulation of population would produce, and which stimulated Stuart Mill to exaggerate the pleasures of solitude.

But the aggregation of population, and the consequent substitution of urban for rural life, were not the only changes which resulted from the industrial revolution of the last hundred years. The conditions of industrial life were concurrently altered. The spinster with her spinning-wheel, the weaver with his hand-loom, were not merely defeated by the machinery of the factory: the factory itself continually tended to become larger and larger. And these conditions placed the labouring classes under two fresh disadvantages. (1) Adam Smith had already noticed that, in all trade combinations, the employers—in addition to the disability imposed by law upon the men—had an advantage over the employed. Being fewer in number, they could combine more easily; being less dependent on immediate profits, they could hold out much longer. Whatever the advantage

may have been in the days of Adam Smith, no competent writer would doubt that it was increased with the increasing size of each factory. (2) But the factory brought a still graver evil with it. When the heavier part of the work was done by machinery, it was found that, for many purposes, the labour of women and children was as efficient as that of men. Little children were accordingly sent into the factories by their parents; they were apprenticed to manufacturers by the local authorities; they were forced, in many cases, to work for twelve—and even fifteen—hours a day; and they grew up stunted in frame and destitute of the most common elementary knowledge.

Hence arose the necessity for factory legislation, which was initiated by the first Sir Robert Peel, which was promoted by Sadler, and carried by Lord Shaftesbury's efforts. But this legislation seemed entirely opposed to the conclusions of the 'Wealth of Nations.' Adam Smith had laid down the necessity for liberty; he had asserted the right of the man of toil to manage his own affairs, and to dispose of his own labour, in his own way; and Parliament was now laying down the ages at which children should be allowed to work, and the hours in which women and young persons should be employed. Factory legislation accordingly found its chief supporters among the men on whom Adam Smith's writings had made the least impression; it was usually opposed by the statesmen who were concurrently promoting the free trade which Adam Smith had advocated. Its opponents failed to notice that the conditions with which factory laws were intended to deal had grown up since the period in which Adam Smith had written, that liberty of contract implies liberty to contract, and that the right to dispose of their own labour could not be exercised by women and children who were not free agents. Thus the Factory Acts, which some people supposed were in contravention of Adam Smith's principles, were in reality outside the sphere to which his teachings applied. New conditions had arisen which Adam Smith had not foreseen, which he had not discussed, and to which his conclusions did not apply.

The increase of population and the aggregation of industry were not the only new conditions which were affecting economical policy. The application of steam to locomotion was at the same time modifying another series of conclusions. Throughout the 'Wealth of Nations' Adam Smith constantly dwells on the disadvantage which mere distance imposes on the trader. The home trade is

preferable to the Continental trade, and the Continental trade to the American trade, because the returns in each case are quicker.

‘Between the parts of France and Great Britain most remote from one another, the returns might be expected at least once in the year, and even this trade . . . would be, at least, three times more advantageous than the boasted trade with our North American colonies, in which the returns were seldom made in less than three years, frequently not in less than four or five years.’

But this argument, which recurs throughout the work from time to time, is evidently superseded. Steam has almost annihilated distance. Liverpool and New York are practically as near one another as Paris and London were a century ago; and transactions, which are conducted by electricity, can even be adjusted without the delay of a day. The growth of joint-stock enterprise and the introduction of limited liability, moreover, have also affected the preference which Adam Smith thought that every merchant must feel for the home trade. The shareholder in a company cannot have the inducement, by which Adam Smith imagined that the merchant was actuated, of keeping his capital, as far as possible, ‘under his own immediate view and command.’

In the eighteenth century, too, distance afforded a protection to the home producer which steam has undoubtedly removed. Adam Smith regarded it as absolutely impossible to import fat cattle even from Ireland in any numbers; he argued that corn was too bulky a commodity ever to be brought in large quantities into Great Britain. ‘The small quantity of corn imported even in times of the greatest scarcity,’ so he wrote, ‘may satisfy our farmers that they have nothing to fear from the freest importation.’ It is evident, therefore, that he failed to foresee a period when two-thirds of the wheat consumed in this country would be imported from abroad; and that his arguments for free trade require to be modified in this particular. Probably, indeed, had he lived a century later, he would have found in this very circumstance a fresh argument for free trade. But we are not concerned with what he would have said now; we are only anxious to emphasise the fact that, in this particular too, the conditions under which he wrote have been completely changed, and that his reasoning, sound enough at the period in which he lived, is no longer applicable.

There is one other subject, which no modern economist can ignore, on which Adam Smith hardly speaks at all, and

on which his guidance is valueless. We are not now alluding to his opinion on Irish affairs, but to his knowledge, or want of knowledge, of the social condition of Ireland. Considering the extent of his information on other subjects, it is remarkable that he did not realise more fully some of the evils to which Ireland was a victim. He actually regarded the potato as a better food for men than the oat. A Scotch judge, almost at the time at which he was writing, said of Johnson's definition of oats—'a grain which in England is 'generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the 'people'—'and where do you find such horses and such men?' But this view receives no support from Adam Smith. 'The 'common people in Scotland,' so he wrote, 'who are fed 'with oatmeal, are in general neither so strong nor so handsome as the same rank of people in England who are fed 'with wheaten bread. They neither work so well, nor look 'so well.' He goes on to say, 'But it seems to be otherwise 'with potatoes. The strongest men and the most beautiful 'women [in London] are said to be, the greater part of them, 'from the lowest rank of people in Ireland, who are generally 'fed with this root. No food can afford a more decisive 'proof of its nourishing quality, or of its being peculiarly 'suited to the health of the human constitution.'

This opinion is, of course, the exact opposite to that which would have been expressed by any authority during the present century. 'It is not a potato-fed race,' so Cobden said in the House of Commons, 'that will ever lead the way in arts, 'arms, or commerce.' Yet Adam Smith's conclusion was shared by the most competent observer of his own time. Arthur Young, who commenced his tour in Ireland in the year in which the 'Wealth of Nations' was published, expresses the same thing almost in the same words. He said of the Irish, 'When I see their men athletic, and their 'women beautiful, I know not how to believe them subsisting on an unwholesome food.' Perhaps, indeed, the present generation is inclined to underrate, as much as Adam Smith and Arthur Young overrated, the qualifications of the potato as the staple food of a people. It is not so much a lack of quality, as a want of quantity, that has led to the periodical famines which have desolated Ireland in the present century. But, in Adam Smith's time, there was no want of quantity in the food of the Irish. 'I will not assert,' to quote Arthur Young again, 'that potatoes are a better 'food than bread and cheese; but I have no doubt of a belly 'full of the one being much better than half a bellyfull of

‘the other.’ And, in Arthur Young’s opinion, the English labourer of his time ate his bread and cheese with a sparingness that was unknown in Ireland.

Just, however, as in England Adam Smith stood on the eve of an industrial revolution which he could not foresee, but which affected many of his conclusions, so Ireland at the same time was on the brink of change which no writer could have predicted. The Act of 1793, which enfranchised the Roman Catholic cottier, induced Irish landlords to subdivide the holdings for the sake of increasing their political influence; and the cultivation of the potato enabled the cottiers to subsist on the little enclosures into which the land was divided and subdivided. The change, in the first instance, not merely increased the political influence of the landlord, it raised his income; and it is remarkable that the latter circumstance had been foreseen by Adam Smith.

‘Should this root,’ so he wrote, ‘ever become in any part of Europe, like rice in some rice countries, the common and favourite vegetable food of the people, so as to occupy the same proportion of the lands in tillage which wheat and other sorts of grain for human food do at present, the same quantity of cultivated land would maintain a much greater number of people; and the labourers being generally fed with potatoes, a greater surplus would remain after replacing all the stock and maintaining all the labour employed in cultivation. A greater share of this surplus, too, would belong to the landlord. Population would increase, and rents would rise much beyond what they are at present.’

The consequences which Adam Smith thus foresaw actually occurred. Population was trebled, and the rental of Ireland largely increased. But Adam Smith failed to foresee that the increase of the population and the subdivision of the soil would create in their turn other evils. The single advantage which the Irish possessed—that their food, if deficient in quality, was sufficient in quantity—was lost. The cottier, on the small area to which subdivision had reduced his holding, was unable to raise more potatoes in a good year than were enough for the support of his family. In a year of scarcity his crop proved inadequate. Yet the cottier, thus brought to the brink of famine, had no resource but his miserable little holding. The population, encouraged to increase by the policy which had been pursued for fifty years, went on increasing; and the competition for land became continually more keen. Landlords, or more frequently the middle-men to whom land was let, raised their rents; and the strange spectacle was witnessed of rents increasing among a people who became more and more unable to pay them. Hence

arose the demand, which has been finally settled in our own time, for a judicial authority to fix the rent of land. We are not entering now on the propriety or impropriety of the legislation which was then passed. In this article we are anxious to avoid the discussion of political problems. But we desire to point out that, wise or unwise, it was opposed to that liberty of contract which it was one of the main objects of the 'Wealth of Nations' to enforce. A state of things had in fact arisen which Adam Smith had not foreseen. Liberty of contract, to repeat our former language, implies liberty to contract; and an impoverished peasantry, with no resource but the land, was practically at the mercy of the landlords, just as the factory child was at the mercy of his employer and guardian.

Thus the rapid increase of population, the aggregation of the textile industries in large factories, the consequent concentration of the people in the coal-fields, the application of steam to locomotion, the rapid and improved communications which were the result, the extended cultivation of the potato, the division and subdivision of the soil of Ireland into small holdings, and the trebling of its people without any addition to its industries—these and other causes were raising new problems for the economist to discuss and the statesman to deal with, which had not, and could not have, suggested themselves to the author of the 'Wealth of Nations.' Hence a necessity had plainly arisen for re-considering the whole subject, and for examining how far the altered conditions of industry and society required a modification of the conclusions at which Adam Smith and his successors had arrived. With Professor Marshall's assistance, we propose now to point out the change which the altered conditions of the world have introduced into economical science.

The chief point which attracts our notice is the increasing importance of man himself in economical discussions. The human element is becoming every year a more important factor in every problem. Ricardo, rather than Adam Smith, is responsible for the creation of what has been called economic man. But even Adam Smith had asserted that selfishness is the main motor of mankind. 'All for ourselves, and 'nothing for other people, seems in every age of the world to 'have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind.' The doctrine of selfishness, on which the 'Wealth of Nations' was based, was partly corrected by the 'Theory of Moral Sentiments,' which Buckle insisted should be read in connexion

with its sister work. But the doctrine of selfishness, on which the earliest economists founded their teaching, assumed a much more definite shape among Adam Smith's successors. Man was regarded as 'a constant quantity' in every problem. It was assumed that selfish motives would always regulate his conduct, and, in any given circumstances, would always induce him to act in the same way. We are not even now sure that economical science suffered in its infancy from this assumption. The course of the heavenly bodies round the sun is influenced by the attraction of the other planets. But the student of astronomy had perhaps better master the main laws which govern their movements before he attempts to analyse the subsidiary causes by which those movements may be disturbed; and, in the same way, as the mass of mankind is probably influenced by the purely selfish motives on which Adam Smith laid stress, it was convenient, in the infancy of the science, to assume that selfishness was not only the predominant, but the prevailing, motive, and to ignore—for the purposes of a scientific treatise—philanthropic and charitable action.

Even in the infancy of the science, however, inconvenience resulted from this assumption. It exposed economists to the reproof that they ignored the better qualities of human nature, and that their work was directed to the increase of wealth and not to the improvement of man. 'Is then wealth everything, and man nothing?' asked Sismondi. The younger and greater Mill showed how much he was influenced by the views which prompted Sismondi's question, by styling his best known book, 'Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy;' and, to quote Professor Marshall's language, 'he made in it no attempt to mark off by a rigid line those reasonings which assume that man's sole motive is the pursuit of wealth from those which do not.' The increasing importance of man in economic study, however, has never been emphasised so clearly as in Professor Marshall's pages. It is hardly too much to say that the moral of his book seems to be that the economist should labour to promote, not the common wealth, but the common weal. 'All wealth,' so Professor Marshall writes, 'consists of desirable things, or, as we may call them, commodities or goods.' Goods, again, are external and internal, personal and material. Material goods, consisting of useful material things, or the right to derive benefits from material things

like water, air, and climate, are all external. Personal goods, on the contrary, are both external and internal: external personal goods including the services of others; internal personal goods consisting of a man's own qualities and faculties.

Thus, at the very outset of the treatise, we are introduced to the conclusion that a man's ability is part of his wealth, and that the greater his capacity the greater his wealth. It follows, from reasoning of this kind, that it is the interest of the State to promote the capacity or the education of the workman; and that political economy, in addition to inquiring into the causes which lead to the aggregation of capital, should investigate the circumstances which increase the efficiency of man.

'General ability'—a term which in Professor Marshall's pages denotes 'those faculties and that general knowledge and intelligence which are in varying degrees the common property of all the higher grades of industry—. . . depends largely on the surroundings of childhood and youth.' Thus home and home influence become important factors in economics, and the education of the people is regarded not only as a national duty, but a national investment. The wages which the mother can earn when she goes out to work 'are of far less importance for the health and happiness of her family than the mere material services she could have rendered if she had stayed at home.' 'The most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings; and of that capital the most precious part is the result of the care and influence of the mother, so long as she retains her tender and unselfish instincts, and has not been hardened by the strain and stress of un-feminine work.' And again, the wages of labour fall below their 'necessary' level when they fail to secure 'sufficient freedom for the labourer's wife to enable her to perform properly her maternal and her household duties.' But home influence must be supplemented by educational opportunities. The advocates of education have indeed injured their cause 'by exaggerating the direct and immediate benefits which the ordinary workman would derive from it.' Professor Marshall frankly admits that there are many kinds of work which can be done as efficiently by an uneducated as by an educated workman. But then he goes on to claim that the indirect benefits of a good education are greater than most people imagine. 'It stimulates [the workman's] mental activity; it fosters in him a habit of

‘ wise inquisitiveness ; it makes him more intelligent, more ready, more trustworthy, in his ordinary work ; it raises the tone of his life in working hours, and out of working hours.’ Thus

‘ the wisdom of expending public and private funds on education is not to be measured by its direct fruits alone. It will be profitable as a mere investment to give the masses of the people much greater opportunities than they can generally avail themselves of. For by this many who would have died unknown get the start that is required for bringing out their latent abilities. And the economic value of one great industrial genius is sufficient to cover the expenses of the education of a whole town. One new idea, such as Bessemer’s chief invention, adds as much to England’s productive power as the labour of a hundred thousand men. . . . All that is spent during many years in opening the means of higher education to the masses would be well paid for if it called out one more Newton or Darwin, Shakespeare or Beethoven.’ *

Holding such opinions, it is no wonder that Professor Marshall argues :

‘ There is no extravagance more prejudicial to the growth of national wealth than that wasteful negligence which allows genius that happens to be born of lowly parentage to expend it-elf in lowly work. No change would conduce so much to a rapid increase of material wealth as an improvement in our schools, and especially those of the middle grades, combined with an extensive system of scholarships, which should enable the clever son of a working man to rise gradually from school to school till he had the best theoretical and practical education which the age can give.’

Home influence and good educational opportunities are only two of the causes which make for wealth. That country is the most prosperous whose people increase the most rapidly and display the greatest vigour ; and vigour, which biology teaches us is inherited, is promoted by good air, good food, good water, and good dwellings. The aggregation of people in towns, however, is not favourable

* This passage has an additional interest, because it emphasises the difference between Professor Marshall and Adam Smith by the association of Beethoven with Newton, Darwin, and Shakespeare. In Adam Smith, it may be recollected, music is one of the amusements of barbarous nations ; its cultivation among the Greeks ‘ had no great effect in mending their morals ; ’ and the exorbitant rewards of opera singers are founded not only upon the vanity and beauty of their talents, but upon ‘ the discredit of employing them in this manner.’ We quote these extracts ; but of course the term ‘ music ’ in the education of the Greeks bore a much wider meaning than that which Adam Smith attaches to it.

to the production of vigorous children. 'Mr. Galton has calculated that the adult children of artisan townsfolk are little more than half as numerous as those of labouring children who live in country districts.' Professor Marshall writes :

'The large towns, and especially London, absorb the very best blood from all the rest of England ; the most enterprising, the most highly gifted, those with the highest physique and the strongest characters go there to find scope for their abilities. But by the time their children and children's children have grown up without healthy play, and without fresh air, there is little trace left of their original vigour. This is seen even in trades that require but little muscular strength : only a very small proportion of those artisans to whom London owes its pre-eminence as a centre of highly skilled work come from parents who were born there ; and there are scarcely any whose grandparents were born there.'

Professor Marshall, indeed, is so profoundly convinced of the evils inseparable from town life, that he goes on to say that 'money spent on reducing the cost of living in large towns by building workmen's houses at a loss or in other ways, is likely to do almost as much harm as good, and sometimes even more.' While, on the other hand, he argues :

'There is perhaps no better use of public and private money than in providing public parks and playgrounds in large cities, in contracting with railways to increase the number of the workmen's trains run by them, and in helping those of the working classes who are willing to leave the large towns to do so, and to take their industries with them. . . . If the numbers of working classes in the large towns are reduced to those whose work must be carried on there, the scarcity of their labour will enable them to command high wages ; and therefore, if sanitary laws and rules against overcrowding are rigidly enforced, and space enough is secured to provide opportunities of healthy play for their children, those who live in large towns will have a better chance of leaving a healthy progeny behind them ; and meanwhile some check will be given to the migration from the country to the town.'

Thus Professor Marshall feels so strongly the evils of town life that he advocates the expenditure of public money to enable artisans to escape from the town to the country, and the enactment of sanitary laws and regulations with the express object of reducing the congested populations of great cities, and of preventing any further immigration into them. And these laws he regards as specially desirable because they will tend to raise the rate of wages. For good wages are as important as good air and sanitary regulations. The liberal reward of labour is no new end for an

economist to promote. In Adam Smith's striking language — 'as it is the effect of increasing wealth, so it is the cause of increasing population. To complain of it is to lament over the necessary effect and cause of the greatest public prosperity.' But we have never seen such stress laid on the necessity of good wages as in Professor Marshall's pages. He writes: 'The income of any class in the ranks of industry is below its necessary level when any increase in their income would in the course of time produce a more than proportionate increase in their efficiency.' And he goes on to define the necessities for the efficiency of an ordinary agricultural labourer to consist of

'a well-drained dwelling with several rooms, warm clothing, with some changes of underclothing,* pure water, a plentiful supply of cereal food, with a moderate allowance of meat and milk, and a little tea, &c., some education and some recreation, and, lastly, sufficient freedom for his wife from other work to enable her to perform properly her maternal and her household duties.'

For the sake of giving definiteness to his ideas, he adds in a note that the strict necessities of an agricultural labourer may be covered by 15s. or 18s. a week, and the conventional necessities by about 5s. more. Professor Marshall, therefore, assumes that the remuneration of the cheapest kind of labour known in this country ought to amount to 20s. or 23s. a week, or at least one-third more than the sum which the agricultural labourer in southern England is capable of earning at the present time. And so impressed is he with this necessity, that he regards higher wages as a greater object for the labouring poor than greater leisure. To use his own words, 'on the whole it seems more urgent to increase the material means of a noble and refined life for all classes, and especially the poorest, than to diminish much the hours of work of those who are not at present overworked.'

Various circumstances induce Professor Marshall to believe that, in these respects, the working classes as a whole are steadily improving their position. He looks

* It is a singular proof of a change of customs that, in Adam Smith's time, 'a creditable day labourer would be ashamed to appear in public without a linen shirt, the want of which would be supposed to denote that disgraceful degree of poverty which, it is presumed, nobody can well fall into without extreme bad conduct.' We may safely assume that the labourer is much better dressed now than he was in the days of Adam Smith. Yet many creditable day labourers appear in public without linen shirts, so largely have wool and cotton superseded flax.

forward to the future with hope, and writes occasionally with the enthusiasm of an optimist. He brushes away the case of 'those unfortunate people whose sufferings have lately excited so much sympathy, as outside the limits of his inquiry.' He declines to consider, in connexion with the future of labour, the case of 'the residuum, many of whom (sic) are in so unwholesome a condition that they could not in a long day do the equivalent of two hours' energetic work;' or of those 'whose want of skill and resource has brought about the evils of which the sweating system is a product and to a small extent a cause.' But for the genuine working man he has little but hope; and the grounds of his confidence are so clearly expressed that some of them deserve restatement.

In the first place, then, Professor Marshall is of opinion that the character of man himself is improving. The richer classes are rising to a higher sense of their duties and responsibilities to society and the State. 'They are glad to tax themselves to enable their government or their town council to carry out various plans for promoting the physical or moral wellbeing of the nation;' and the conditions of modern society are favourable to their efforts. 'The growing earnestness of the age, the growing intelligence of the mass of the people, and the growing power of the telegraph, the press, and other means of communication are ever widening the scope of collective action for the public good.' But, in the next place, the poorer as well as the richer classes are displaying what Professor Marshall calls a greater 'tele-scopic' faculty. They are, in other words, thinking more of the future and less of the present. They are making greater sacrifices for their own old age and for the prosperity of their posterity. They are more conscious of the necessity of thrift.*

* If Professor Marshall had been an etymologist as well as an economist, he might, perhaps, have pointed out that there are few words in the English language which carry on their face a more interesting history, or convey a deeper moral, than 'thrift.' 'Thrift' and 'thrive' are derived from a common Icelandic origin; and 'thrift,' therefore, in addition to its modern sense of frugality, has the earlier and better sense of thriving—prosperity. But the Icelandic 'thrift' is connected with the Norse 'triva,' to seize (see Professor Skeat's Dictionary), and hence we may infer that, while in the early ages, when might was right, prosperity was associated with plunder, in our own time, when right is, we trust, becoming might, prosperity is identified with saving.

This consciousness is, no doubt, promoted by the increasing security which all governments worth their name are giving to the savings of the people. In the rude ages, when property was exposed to rapine, none but the wealthy were strong enough to hold what they saved. The French peasants of the eighteenth, and the Irish cottiers of the nineteenth, century lost all inducement to accumulate from fear of the plunder of the tax-gatherer and the claims of the landlord. And, though we are still suffering from the effects of the old poor law, which distributed relief 'in inverse proportion' to the industry and forethought of the poor, more enlightened views of administration are encouraging the belief, which increasing security had already inculcated, that the industrious and thrifty are better cared for than the idle and thoughtless. The consequent benefits to the individual are too plain to require explanation. But the advantage to the nation may, perhaps, require emphasising. 'The struggle for existence,' to quote Professor Marshall, 'causes in the long run those races of men to survive, in which the individual is most willing to sacrifice himself for the benefit of his environment, and which are consequently the best adapted collectively to make use of their environment.'

Thus a higher sense of duty among the rich, and the more thrifty habits of the poor, are tending to improve the condition of the wage-earning classes which embrace three-fourths of the whole population of England. But, in addition, the introduction of machinery has modified the whole conditions of labour. Steam, in one sense, is supplanting man; and every improvement in machinery is increasing the proportion of labour performed by the machines and decreasing that which is discharged by the workmen. Professor Marshall calculates that in the textile trades, which employ nearly 500,000 males and more than 500,000 females in England alone, there is 200% of capital engaged for every man, woman, and child employed; and this capital, by supplying adequate machinery, is relieving the operative of the hardest portion of his toil. 'The strain that is taken off human muscles in dealing even with those soft materials is shown by the fact that for every one of these million operatives there is used about one horse power of steam, that is, about ten times as much as they would themselves exert if they were all strong men.' What this relief is may perhaps be inferred from the injury which certain industries inflicted on the workman before

machinery was introduced. Adam Smith declared that, in his time, 'almost every class of artificers [was] subject to 'some particular infirmity, occasioned by excessive application to their peculiar species of work;' while the carpenter in London, when stimulated to excessive exertion by being paid by the piece, was 'not supposed to last in his utmost 'vigour above eight years.'* Yet now, in every country town and almost every village, there are found steam mills for sawing, planing, and moulding; the carpenters are relieved of the toil which not long ago 'used to' make them 'prematurely old;' and are able to 'give themselves chiefly 'to those parts of the task which are most pleasant and most 'interesting.'

The alleviation from the harder portions of toil is not the only advantage which machinery is bringing to the working man. It is, we believe, a universal law, that the labour of supervising a machine always commands higher pay than labour in the same industry unassisted by machinery; and we have ourselves heard a large manufacturer say that every improvement in his machinery had enabled him to increase the wages of his workmen. As Professor Marshall puts it:

'When expensive machinery is used which has to be proportioned to the number of workers, the employer would often find the total cost of his goods lowered if he could get twenty men to turn out for a wages bill of 50% as much work as he had previously got done by thirty men for a wages bill of 40%. In all matters of this kind the leadership of the world lies with America, and it is not an uncommon saying there that he is the best business man who contrives to pay the highest wages.'

Thus it is evident that machinery is conferring a double advantage on the poor, by relieving them of the harder portions of their toil and by increasing the rate of their wages. But this brings us to the further consideration whether these advantages are likely to be maintained, or whether they will disappear with the increase of population. The view of the older economists, that the law of population tended continually to depress wages to the lowest point at which life could be sustained, requires, in the light of experience, some modification; and perhaps Professor Marshall is not altogether wrong in contending that 'the normal wage in any trade is 'that which is sufficient to enable a labourer, who has

* *Wealth of Nations*, book i. ch. viii. Professor Marshall quotes the statement, p. 323, note; but he has accidentally given a reference to the wrong chapter.

‘normal regularity of employment, to support himself and a family of normal size according to the standard of comfort that is normal in the grade to which his trade belongs.’ If this view be sound, high wages have a tendency to perpetuate themselves, or, by accustoming the wage-earning class to greater comforts, to become higher.

‘Any change that awards to the workers of one generation better earnings, together with better opportunities of developing their best qualities, will increase the material and moral advantages which they have the power to offer to their children; while, by increasing their own intelligence, wisdom, and forethought, it will also to some extent increase their willingness to sacrifice their own pleasures for the well being of their children.’

Thus, while Professor Marshall is able to chronicle a substantial progress in the condition of the working classes in the past, he is able to offer grounds for hoping for improvement in the future. We trust and, on the whole, we believe, that his confidence is well founded. Yet there are circumstances; which hardly fall within the limits of Professor Marshall’s treatise, and which he had no opportunity of considering, pointing to an opposite conclusion. In the first place, the improvement in the state of the labouring classes, which the present reign has witnessed, has been coincident with the construction of the railway system. But the railway system in this country is becoming comparatively complete. We are not likely to witness the employment of large quantities of capital on the making of new lines, and the immense demand for labour which the construction of railways created may not in future be repeated on the same scale. In the next place, there are symptoms that the stream of emigration, which concurrently relieved the labour market of surplus workmen, may be gradually arrested. We are not going to repeat the predictions, which have lately been hazarded, that we are within a measurable distance of the period when the population of the world will reach the limits which its soil can support. Such prophecies have always been falsified by the results. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that those portions of the globe, on which the Anglo-Saxon race can work and live, are being gradually filled up. The time is apparently approaching when they may no longer attract so many immigrants as they have hitherto received; and the resource which they at present afford for surplus labour may, in consequence, be gradually lost.

Moreover, while these two reasons may possibly in a not

remote future reduce the demand for surplus labour, other causes may interfere with the prosperity of the working classes. Admitting to the full extent the force of Professor Marshall's argument that man is becoming more provident, we must not entirely forget that the world is chiefly peopled by the children of the improvident. Those who display least forethought are those who contract the earliest marriages, and presumably bring up the largest families. This evil was counteracted till lately, and to some extent is still, by the greater mortality which took place among their children. But every advance in civilisation, and every improvement in sanitary science, is affecting this result. Society does not, and cannot, permit little children to die because their parents have been thriftless; and thus it is annually becoming more true that the increasing providence of society, as a whole, is injuriously affected by the decreasing mortality among the children of the improvident.

Though, too, Professor Marshall is willing to ignore the 'residuum' which has not strength to do a fair day's work, and the unfortunate victims of the sweating system, it is impossible to neglect the fact that the existence of these classes is injuriously affecting the industrious labourer. Standing on the very verge of starvation, ready to accept, work for the smallest sums on which they can support life, their presence tends to degrade the rate of wages, and to check the improvement which is notwithstanding going on. While, if we console ourselves with the reflection that the statistics of the poor law seem to show that these wretched individuals are gradually decreasing in number, we cannot entirely forget the existence of a whole nation able to live on sums which would not support life in a sweater's den. It was Baron Hübner, we think, who made the profound reflection that Lord Palmerston, instead of opening China to his fellow-countrymen, had let out the Chinese. The movement of these people during the last thirty years is one of the most remarkable facts which the present generation has witnessed; and no one, who has even a superficial acquaintance with the problems which their presence in Australia and the western States of America has created, can doubt that their migration, should it continue or extend, may profoundly influence the future of the labour market throughout the civilised world. *

While, then, we are disposed to agree with the tone of optimism which runs through Professor Marshall's pages,

we do not like wholly to ignore the influences which may operate for evil. But we must now pass on to another portion of our subject, and consider whether the working classes by themselves, or the State on their behalf, can do anything either to improve the condition of the poor or to prevent the progress already made from being arrested. The first of these questions brings us to a consideration of trades unions, the second to the expediency of State interference with industry.

Up to the reign of George IV. combinations among workmen to raise the rate of wages were punishable by statute. The injustice of this law was severely condemned by Adam Smith. An Act which imposed no penalties on the combination of masters, and severe penalties on the combination of workmen, was evidently unfair. If, indeed, liberty to combine be required in either case, the want is the greater among the employed than among the employers. For capital, from its very nature, is already organised, and organisation must be met by organisation. The advisers of the working men may contend with some justice that, if each labourer were compelled to act alone, he might be broken like a single stick in the fagot. It is union which gives the fagot and the working man strength.

Nor should it be forgotten that, though capital is dependent on labour, and labour on capital, occasions must arise when their interests conflict. It was no whim which made Disraeli add 'the Two Nations' as a second title to 'Sybil,' the novel in which he has dealt with the position and claims of labour. He intended to express the truth that labour and capital, dependent on each other in one sense, are opposed to each other in another sense, and that their interests are occasionally different, as the interests of two nations may occasionally conflict.

It is, perhaps, inevitable that organisations of this character should lead to locks out and strikes. When two nations differ on some great subject they are occasionally unable to settle their difference by arbitration, and resort to war; and it is, perhaps, folly to expect that, when Disraeli's two nations are similarly at variance, working men should not adopt the extreme measure of a strike. Injurious as its consequences are, they are not more wasteful than those of war; and, if great national interests may justify a people in encountering the waste and misfortune of war, great social interests may justify the working classes in encountering the waste and misfor-

tunes of a strike. But a strike, like a war, is after all the most extravagant method of settling a dispute. And just as the progress of civilisation and the labour of diplomatists are gradually making civilised nations hesitate more and more to embark in war, so we may hope that the progress of knowledge, and the growth of better feeling, may tend to produce greater hesitation in resorting to a strike. Some of the warmest advocates of the claims of the working classes are already perceiving that strikes are evils which ought ultimately to be avoided; and, though it may be as impracticable to substitute arbitration in every case for strikes as it has proved impossible to substitute arbitration in every case for war, we may look forward with hope to a time when arbitration may be the customary method for settling these disputes, and strikes, like war, may be more rarely resorted to.

While, however, we are prepared to admit the right either of employers or of employed to combine, and even in some circumstances the necessity for such combination, we are bound to point out that the right of working men to combine implies the right of other working men to refuse to combine; and that those who refuse union, as well as those who embrace union, are equally entitled to the protection which every proper government must afford to all classes of its citizens. It is the duty of the sovereign, wrote Adam Smith, to protect 'as far as possible every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it.' And this duty is not carried out unless the State secures both to the unionist and to the non-unionist liberty to dispose of his labour on his own terms and in his own way.

There is one feature in the struggle between capital and labour on which capitalist and labourer may both learn something from Professor Marshall. The rate of wages in any country is, in the long run, determined not by the success or failure of this or that lock out or strike, but by deeper and less visible causes.

'No lowering of wages will be permanently in the interest of employers, which is unnecessary and drives many skilled workers to other markets, or even to other industries, . . . and wages must be high enough in an average year to attract young people to the trade. Alliances and counter-alliances among employers and employed . . . present a succession of picturesque incidents and romantic transformations, which arrest public attention, and seem to indicate a coming change in our social arrangements, now in one direction and

now in another; and their importance is certainly great, and grows rapidly. But it is apt to be exaggerated. Many of them are little more than eddies, such as have always fluttered over the surface of progress. And, though they are on a larger and more imposing scale in this modern age than before, yet now, as ever, the main body of movement depends on the deep, silent, strong stream of the tendencies of normal distribution and exchange which "are not seen," but which control the course of those episodes which "are seen."

Whatever temporary effect, then, trade combinations may have had in either reducing or increasing the rate of wages, it is probable that the more permanent rise or fall in the remuneration of labour depends upon conditions which even trade combinations are powerless to alter. 'It is quite 'impossible,' wrote the late Professor Jevons, 'for trades 'unions in general to effect any permanent increase of 'wages.' Association may succeed in forcing on a change which might otherwise have come more slowly. But employers cannot permanently refuse, and employed cannot permanently exact, an increase in the rate of wages unless the circumstances of the trade justify the refusal in the one case or the exaction in the other. Thus the power of the working men to improve their own position by their organisation is probably exaggerated.

Before concluding this article we must consider whether the State either can or ought to take steps in the same direction in the interests of the employed. Most Englishmen are now agreed that the State ought not to attempt to further their interests by any system of protection. The circumstances of the country, its vast population, its dependence on other nations for the greater part of its food, are all tending to remove protective duties in this country out of the range of practical politics. But, while freedom is thus confirmed to trade, the State is being daily urged to interfere in another way in the interests of labour. Socialism is a term which, no doubt, covers many demands. It is, unfortunately, in some parts of the Continent, identified with movements opposed to the order and security which are the foundations of progress. But it is among more reasonable men associated with more legitimate aims; and we have neither the right nor the wish to decline considering them because extreme men are demanding changes which we are not even prepared to discuss.

Whatever opinion, too, reasonable men may form about Socialism, no reasonable man can deny the progress which it has made in the present century. The government

of the municipality and the State are expected to discharge duties which a hundred years ago would not have been thought of. Adam Smith was of opinion that, according to the system of natural liberty, the sovereign (i.e. the State) has only three duties to attend to . . . first, the duty of protecting the society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies; secondly, the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice; and thirdly, the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions. But in recent years the functions of government have been enlarged, and the additions which have been made to them have had, in many instances, a socialistic tendency. When municipalities are expected to provide baths, washhouses, and libraries for the people; when the State is not only conveying letters and despatching telegrams, but carrying parcels for the people; and when the State and the local authority are not merely providing schools, but on the eve of enacting, under the auspices of a Conservative Ministry, that the education provided in them shall be gratuitous, it is too late to consider whether Socialism is or is not desirable. Socialism is already a fact to be reckoned with, not a theory to be discussed. Nor is it easy to see where the movement, which has thus begun, can logically be arrested. Many politicians, on both sides of the House of Commons, for example, are constantly contending that the profits of the Post Office should be devoted to the development of the service instead of being paid into the revenue of the country. When the State has once become a carrier of small parcels, there seems to be no principle which should prevent it from carrying large parcels. Professor Marshall is no Socialist, yet he thinks that the State might apply public money to increasing the number of workmen's trains—in other words, we presume, to encourage the railway companies to carry workmen at fares which would not pay. Mr. Sidney Webb has already noticed, as a most significant development, that 'the last important work completed by the Metropolitan Board of Works was the establishment of 'a free steam-ferry on the Thames, charged upon the rates.' And thus, both in the carriage of goods and the carriage of men, we seem on the edge of a slope which may hurry us on to committing the whole carrying trade of the country to the control of the Government.

So far, then, as that form of Socialism is concerned which advocates the conduct by society as a whole of enterprises or institutions undertaken or formed for the good of the community, the advance which has been already made is great, and promises to become greater. The advocates of that other form of Socialism, which aims at the nationalisation of land and the vesting of all capital in the State, have not hitherto made, and we may hope are not likely to make, similar progress. They may, indeed, claim that the imposition by the present Government of an additional succession duty on fortunes of a certain size is a concession to their principles which is capable of extension by future administrations. But, after all, there is a vast difference between saying—as, indeed, Adam Smith said a hundred years before Mr. Goschen—that ‘it is not very unreasonable that the rich ‘should contribute to the public expense, not only in proportion to their revenue, but something more than in that ‘proportion,’ and imposing taxation for the express purpose of breaking up large estates. Modern legislation may probably encourage the dispersion of property just as the laws of our ancestors favoured its accumulation. But the wider the area over which property is spread, the larger will be the garrison interested in defending it.

We are, moreover, unable to believe that society as a whole can ever supersede the exertion of capitalists. It is the accumulation of capital which has effected in the past the surprising improvement in the condition of the working classes; and the increase of capital has been due to what the older economists would have called the selfish efforts of individuals to improve their own position and that of their families. If the Socialists should ever succeed in making it more difficult to save, they will concurrently destroy the incentive to exertion which has hitherto been the chief factor in the progress of the human family. Some few men may still be content to labour for the public good; but the great majority of mankind will cease to work hard when the direct rewards of hard work are done away with.

The working classes would, moreover, do well to remember that they have themselves derived greater advantage from the rapid accumulation of capital than the capitalists themselves. For every addition to the capital of the country has increased the fund out of which wages have been payable, while it has tended to reduce the profits of the capitalist. It is the growth of capital, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining a profitable investment for it, which has enabled

successive Finance Ministers to reduce the interest on the National Debt from 5 to 2½ per cent.; and the interest which the fundholder derives from his stock is an indication of the interest which is concurrently raised by industrial capital. The profits of industry are reduced, not to the same extent, but in the same proportion. While, then, thrift and forethought are improving the position of the working classes, the same causes are concurrently reducing the earnings of capital. A larger proportionate amount of the earnings of each business is distributed as wages, a smaller proportionate amount as profit on capital.

While, then, wise men will shrink from imposing fresh duties on the State, or from enlarging the functions to which the older economists would have confined the sovereign, they will abstain from interfering with that accumulation of capital which has hitherto been the source of progress. In the same way, we trust that the State will not interfere in those questions—like the duration of an adult labourer's work—which are now exciting so much attention. We are not, indeed, among those who think that the State should decline on principle to touch any matter which concerns the labour of adult male persons. Those politicians, who rest their objections to the Eight Hours Bill on such a principle, seem to us to expose themselves to the retort that the State has already interfered in this matter. The Truck Act, the Mines Act, the Merchant Shipping Acts, may all be quoted as examples in point; while the laws which require dangerous machinery to be fenced, and the regulations which require the workmen in an explosives factory to change his clothes on entering the works, may be quoted as precedents for direct interference with the liberty of adult labour. In many instances, too, the introduction of an eight hours day could probably be effected by legislation without any reference to adult labour. Experience has shown that the limitation of child and female labour to ten hours and ten hours and a half has concurrently led to the limitation of adult male labour; and it seems, therefore, probable that if child and female labour were further limited (in textile factories, for instance) to eight hours, the manufacturers would reduce the hours of adult male labour to the same extent. But while we see nothing in principle to prevent the interference of the State, and while we admit that precedents may be quoted to justify its interference, we hold that interference would be highly inexpedient, and ought consequently to be resisted.

And on this point working men will do well to weigh some of Professor Marshall's observations. The Professor does not undervalue the importance of shortening the hours of work. 'There are few trades,' he writes, 'in which a person can, with advantage to himself and the community, be actually working hard for more than eight hours a day;' and he goes on to point out that in those trades where expensive machinery is used employers and employed might equally gain by such a readjustment of the hours of work as would enable two sets of men to labour for eight hours each, instead of one set of men for ten hours. But, though Professor Marshall is thus, on the whole, convinced that an eight hours day is both expedient and practicable, he thinks there is 'grave danger that progress may be retarded in consequence of a common belief that a reduction of the hours of labour will raise wages generally by making labour scarce;' and he inclines to the conclusion that the increase of wages ought to be a higher object among workmen than the diminution of the hours of work.

Thus the economist, whose whole treatise teems with suggestions for improving the condition of the working classes, deliberately concludes that the reduction of the hours of work should not be the first object at which labour should aim. Can there, in such circumstances, be any justification for effecting the reduction, not by agreement, but by law? The attempt to fix by law a statutory limit to the time during which a free man shall work is surely as objectionable as the attempt to fix by law the wages which he should receive. The one mistake was made last century by Parliament* in the interest of the employers. And, before the Legislature commits the other mistake in the interest of the employed, it may do well to reflect on the comment which Adam Smith made on the regulation of wages by statute. He wrote:

'The 8th of George III. prohibits, under heavy penalties, all master taylor in London, and five miles round it, from giving, and the workmen from accepting, more than two shillings and sevenpence halfpenny a day. . . . The complaint of the workmen, that it puts the ablest and most industrious upon the same footing as an ordinary workman, seems perfectly well founded.'

In precisely the same manner, the regulation by law of the

* It ought to be added that Parliament in a previous century had made the mistake of fixing a minimum of at least twelve hours for a legal day's work. Professor Jevons said of this 'monstrous' statute that 'from beginning to end it aimed at industrial slavery.'

hours during which a man may work must have the effect of placing the able and the industrious on the same footing as the idle and the weak: it would favour the men whom the law ought to discourage, it would discourage those whom it ought to favour.

The intervention of the State should, in fact, be reserved for those cases where, in the words of the late Professor Jevons, 'it could be clearly shown that the existing customs 'are injurious to health, and that there is no other possible 'remedy.' Tried by this test the legal eight hours day at once falls. No one has hitherto shown that the present hours of work are injurious to health; and no one can doubt that the trades unions are strong enough to secure their limitation, if they unanimously desire it, without the interference of the Legislature. Thus there is neither ground nor necessity for introducing an eight hours day; and, when ground and necessity are both absent, there can be no reason for interfering with the liberty of the workman. For we are too often apt to forget in discussions of this character that liberty is the chief blessing which the working man has secured in the present century, and that it is through liberty that he has attained to his present position. Liberty to sell his own labour to any trade, at any place, on any terms he may choose; liberty to combine with his fellow workmen, or to abstain from combination; liberty to remain in the parish of his birth, or to move to other centres of industry either at home or abroad—these are the benefits which the legislation of the last two generations has secured for the working man, and which the working man, if he be wise, will not lightly surrender.

ART. X.—1. *An Act to reduce the Revenue and equalise Duties on Imports, and for other purposes.* Approved: October 1, 1890. Pp. 65. (Pub. Doc. No. 330, U.S. Congress: 1890.)

2. *Die Finanzen und die Finanzen-Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.* Von Dr. CARL FREIHERRN VON HOCK. Stuttgart: 1867.

3. *Practical Economics: a Collection of Essays concerning certain Economic Experiences of the United States.* By DAVID A. WELLS. New York and London: 1888.

WE need make no excuse for considering in the pages of this Journal the origin, the direct effect upon international commerce, and some, at least, of the probable ulterior consequences to the American people themselves, of the extraordinary fiscal system which has been established in the United States by the enactment into statute law of what is now known throughout the world as the 'McKinley Tariff.' The true scope and intent of this fiscal system seem to us to be but inadequately apprehended in this country, nor is it quite clear that they are as yet fully appreciated in the United States.

The 'McKinley Tariff Bill' was reported to the Federal House of Representatives at Washington from the House Committee on Ways and Means, under the title of 'An Act to reduce the revenue and equalise duties on imports, and for other purposes,' on April 16, 1890. On May 21 it passed the House by a small but sufficient majority, and was sent up to the Senate two days afterwards. On June 18 the Finance Committee of the Senate reported the bill to that body, with certain amendments. Under the operation of the American Constitution, the Upper House, which does not rest, like the Lower House, directly upon popular suffrage, has gradually become the more powerful of the two branches which, taken together, form the Congress of the United States; and the true conflict over the fiscal system sought to be established by the McKinley Bill was waged in the Senate. The bill, which had gone through the Lower House in a month, was debated in the Senate from June 18 to September 10, when it was adopted, with many amendments. Under the parliamentary practice of the United States, it then was referred to a Conference Committee, consisting of seven members of the Senate and seven of the House, charged to bring about an understanding between

the two branches of the Legislature, and get the measure into a shape in which it might be finally adopted by both of them, and so be sent up to the President to be made, by his approval and signature, the law of the land. This Conference Committee had to deal with nearly, or quite, four hundred and fifty disagreements between the two Houses, both of them controlled by majorities favourable to the measure. Government by party majorities is an undisguised reality in the United States. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is elected as a party man, and rules the House in the interest of his party. He gives a majority on all the important committees to his own party, and selects from his own party the chairmen of such committees. The President of the Senate also is a party man. Naturally, therefore, of the fourteen members of the Conference Committee to which the McKinley Tariff Bill, as adopted by the Senate in September, was referred, eight members were friendly to the measure; and by these eight members the numerous disagreements to which we have alluded were considered and adjusted quite independently of their colleagues opposed to the measure. They met, like a Venetian Council of Ten, apart from those colleagues, held their deliberations in secret, got the measure into a shape satisfactory to themselves and their friends, and on September 26 reported it to the House. There the Republican Speaker of the House (Mr. Reed, of Maine, who served protection effectually in the Tariff Act of 1883 by an adroit manœuvre in the House of Representatives, and of whom observers of American politics are likely to hear a good deal before the next presidential election occurs in 1892) and the Republican majority commanded by him drove the measure through without explanation or discussion. No time indeed was to be lost. The Congressional session had been inordinately protracted by the contest over this measure in the Senate. On November 4 a new House of Representatives, to serve from March 4, 1891, to March 4, 1893, must be elected, and little more than a month, therefore, was left to the politicians of the Great Republic in which to organise the political campaign and canvass the 330 Congressional constituencies of the United States. As great advantages were expected to accrue from the operation of the new tariff to certain of the great 'protected' industries of the United States, it was an open secret that the party which had enacted the tariff would receive important financial contributions towards the expenses of the November elec-

tion from the capitalists interested in these industries, and therefore that these capitalists would be consulted as to the date at which the new tariff should be put into force. If the politicians could have had their way, it is believed, and with apparent reason, that the date would have been fixed for the beginning of the new year 1891. Had this been done, it is probable that no marked immediate effect upon prices throughout the country would have been produced by the enactment of the new tariff. But the capitalists who were to profit by the diminution or destruction of importations from abroad were not unnaturally impatient of delay; and as the politicians had immediate need of the services of the capitalists, the capitalists carried their point. The new tariff went into operation in the beginning of October, almost before the ink was dry on the signature of the President which gave it the force of law.

The importers of foreign goods throughout the United States were thrown into a state of feverish excitement. The steamers from Europe during the last week which preceded the going into effect of the new tariff came in loaded down with goods of all the various kinds most severely to be affected by the changes in the rates of import. A suddenly developed demand for money to pay the Customs dues enhanced the financial 'stringency' usually felt in the American money market when the autumn brings with it the movement of the crops of the great West to the seaboard. The amount received for duties at the New York Custom House on the day which preceded the going into effect of the new tariff was the largest on record. Several Atlantic 'liners' which arrived during that day were welcomed by applauding crowds on the wharves as if they had been storeships successfully 'running a blockade' into a beleaguered city. In deference to the excited sentiment of the commercial community, the Collector of the Port ordered the Custom House to be kept open till midnight to await the expected arrival of one of these gigantic vessels, a 'Cunarder;' and as the commander of the 'Etruria,' brisk and breathless, made his way through a dense mob of merchants and citizens into the rotunda of the 'receipt of customs' precisely two minutes before the fateful hour, he was received, the local newspapers tell us, 'with a salvo of ringing 'and repeated cheers'!

The most patriotic of Americans, we think, must admit that these incidents of a great fiscal and legislative event do not shed an entirely attractive lustre upon the methods and

the machinery of American politics. This, however, is not our reason for reciting them. The recital is necessary to prepare our readers to understand that the enactment of the McKinley Tariff means a good deal more than a mere modification of the rates of duty imposed by the American Government upon foreign goods.

When the general character and scope of the measure were first made known on this side of the Atlantic, it was stigmatised by some British journals as an electioneering device, and by other British journals as a blow levelled at the interests of Great Britain. The measure was no more and no less of an electioneering device than most measures passed by an elective parliament on the eve of a parliamentary election may be said to be, nor was it levelled more particularly at the interests of Great Britain than at those of any other country, the exports of which to the United States it was calculated to affect. So far as it directly affected the Congressional elections held in November 1890, a month after it went into operation, it affected them in a sense disastrous to the authors of the measure. Mr. McKinley himself, a representative for Ohio, lost his seat at that time. But it is by no means clear that his defeat should be attributed to a revolt of his constituents against the measure by which his name is likely to be perpetuated in the political history of the United States. In the interval of two years between Mr. McKinley's election in 1888 and his defeat in 1890 the control of the legislature of Ohio had been transferred from the Republicans, who supported, to the Democrats, who opposed Mr. McKinley.

The representatives in the Federal Congress are elected by districts, one representative being apportioned to a certain number of inhabitants; and as this number varies from decade to decade with the changes shown by the decennial census of the country to have occurred in the population, each State exercises for itself the right to group its inhabitants into a number of districts equal to the number of representatives which it finds itself entitled to send to the Federal Congress, and to define the territorial limits of each district. The object of this decennial reapportionment of the Federal representatives, which began with the first American census in 1790, is to prevent an inordinate increase in the number of the representatives in Congress, and this object has certainly been attained. The population of the United States, which but a century ago was less than a third of that of Great Britain, now considerably exceeds that

of the whole British Empire, exclusive of India; but while the Lower House of the Imperial Parliament consists of 670 members, the sixty-odd millions of the American Republic are represented at Washington by no more than 330 members of the Lower House. Under the first census taken in 1790 the basis of representation was fixed at 33,000 inhabitants. In fifty years it had expanded, under the sixth census of 1840, to 70,680, and it has since gone on expanding by 'leaps and bounds.' The Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce) used to say, 'the larger the constituency the smaller the representative.' If this be true of England, where the constituencies are free to take their candidates wherever they can find them, it should be still more true of America, where candidates must be resident in the districts which they aspire to represent. Without absolutely adopting this *dictum*, however, we may perhaps be permitted to observe that there may be some connexion between the progressive enlargement of the American constituencies and that deterioration in the calibre of their public men of which educated Americans so frequently and so loudly complain.

But to return to Mr. McKinley. His political opponents, the Democrats, finding themselves in power in the State of Ohio when the time came for redistricting the State under the census of 1890, went about that duty with equal zeal and skill. They dovetailed together counties and sections of counties with a single eye to the political complexion of the localities so dealt with. Thanks to this process—known in the United States by the picturesque title of 'gerrymandering,' a title derived from the name of Elbridge Gerry, a once famous American politician, who first applied it with distinguished success to the districts of the commonwealth of Massachusetts—Mr. McKinley, when he appeared as a candidate for re-election in November 1890, found himself confronted by new contingents of Democratic voters, and deprived of the support of hundreds of his staunchest Republican electors. In spite of this, he made a gallant fight, and was beaten by a very small majority. Obviously, therefore, it would be rash to infer from his defeat anything very positive as to the effect of his tariff measure upon public opinion in his own region. He would pretty certainly have lost his seat had the measure never been introduced by him at all into Congress; and it is even probable that he gained rather than lost in the particular contest he had to wage, from the passage of the measure. For the friends of the Tariff Bill in other parts of the Union undoubtedly made

great and unusual efforts to overcome in his behalf the ingenious 'gerrymander' of his antagonists. They came up to his help as 'gallant little Wales' and other centres of the Gladstonian faith, we may assume, would come up to the help of their leader if peradventure Midlothian could be 'gerrymandered' into Conservatism.

As we shall hereafter more fully show, it would be rash to infer either from the particular defeat of Mr. McKinley in Ohio, or from the general and crushing defeat of Mr. McKinley's party throughout the country at the Congressional and State elections of November 1890, that the public opinion of the United States was controlled at those elections by any deliberate conviction of the unwisdom of the policy embodied in the McKinley Tariff. We should be glad to believe this, but evidence to justify us in believing it is not forthcoming. On the contrary, the inconsiderate eagerness with which a portion of the press in this country seized upon the overthrow of the Republicans in November 1890 as a protest of the American people against the policy established by the McKinley Bill has already and visibly checked the current of opposition to that policy in the United States. In his annual message, sent in to Congress on December 4 last, President Harrison craftily and cleverly advises the American people to consider whether the obvious anxiety of European manufacturers and exporters to see the policy of the McKinley Bill abandoned is likely to be inspired by a purely disinterested regard for the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

In the matter of political economy, the masses of the American people are not much farther advanced than the masses of the English people were half a century ago, when the Duke of Wellington did not hesitate to agree with Mr. Raikes that 'free trade without reciprocity is not 'only a delusion, but ruin to the country which persists 'in it.' Mr. Chamberlain, who was in America when the McKinley Tariff went into operation, told the Americans, in an 'interview,' the truth. He told them that, whatever immediate loss and inconvenience might be inflicted upon British industry by the McKinley Tariff, the inevitable result of the policy embodied in that tariff, should the United States persist in it, must be a great eventual increase of British at the expense of American enterprise and commerce. But the good which might be done by such plain speaking as this can only be neutralised by elaborate efforts on the part of the English press and of

English public men to persuade the Americans into giving England either free trade with the United States or reciprocity. The Americans naturally and inevitably look upon England as their greatest rival in commerce and in manufactures. In private life the American manufacturer or tradesman does not, we suppose, consult his competitors as to the best means of developing his business. When, therefore, the Cobden Club bombards the American electorate with arguments against the tariff policy of one party in the United States, or in favour of the tariff policy of the other party, the natural effect of the bombardment must be to harden the hearts of the American electorate against the policy commended by the Cobden Club, and to incline their hearts towards the policy denounced by it.

The Congressional elections of November 1890 were hardly over when ex-President Cleveland, who was defeated as a Democratic candidate for re-election in 1888, rushed into speeches and interviews, in which he attributed the defeat of the Republicans and the election of an immense anti-Republican majority in the new Congress to the effect produced by what many English journals still indiscreetly, as well as inaccurately, persist in calling a 'free-trade' message sent in by himself to the Democratic Congress in 1887. As a matter of fact, the real effect of that most ill-advised message was to prevent the re-election of President Cleveland himself in 1888; to secure the election in that year of the present President, Mr. Harrison; to turn out the Democratic Congressional majority chosen in 1886; and to send to Washington in 1888 the Republican majority by which the McKinley Tariff was prepared and passed! To these results the impulsive commendations bestowed upon President Cleveland's unlucky utterance by the British press contributed so materially, that just before the Presidential election took place in the autumn of 1888, President Cleveland thought it judicious and becoming to clear himself of the reproach of being a 'British' candidate by treating the then British Minister to the United States in a manner which, we are very sure, commanded the approval of no right-minded and reasonable person on either side of the Atlantic. It is a mistake, we believe, to attribute the harsh and discourteous measure meted out to Lord Sackville in 1888 by President Cleveland and his Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, entirely to their wish to propitiate the Irish electors of the Eastern States and of New York. Doubtless this had something to do with the matter. But the persistent cry raised through-

out the country, that President Cleveland's message urging a general reduction of the tariff was an advocacy of 'British 'free trade,' had much more to do with it. When Republican leaders as eminent as Senator Sherman of Ohio condescend to introduce such appeals to international jealousy and suspicion into the discussion of great economical questions, we can hardly be surprised to find their opponents trying to counteract the effect of demagogical words by demagogical acts.

The Americans are not the only people accessible to such influences. Have we not more recently seen the French Government, and the Rothschilds, and the Bank of France violently assailed by a portion of the Parisian press for coming to the relief of the whole commercial community—not of England alone, but of Paris and of Europe—by consenting to advance three millions in gold to the Bank of England? In the '*Nouvelle Revue*,' M^{me}. Juliette Adam, the Egeria of the powers that be in France, actually tries to vindicate the performance of this act of commercial common sense by calling it an act of 'pure and 'lofty generosity.' We must take the world as we find it, and nations for what they are, not for what they ought to be. Mr. Gladstone should have remembered this when he allowed himself to be drawn, during the long debate of last summer over the McKinley Bill, into taking a hand in the discussion. His papers contributed to the '*North American Review*' were, in the main, sound and interesting expositions of the policy of free trade; but the only effect produced by them in America was to strengthen the impression which the promoters of the bill desired to create—that its opponents were working in the interest of British capital and British labour, and against the interest of American capital and American labour. One of Mr. Gladstone's most Radical Scottish allies, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, reputed to be the most successful of American steel and iron manufacturers, actually went the length, in a reply to Mr. Gladstone which he called a summing up of the tariff question, of asserting this, and of reminding the member for Midlothian, not in the most civil terms, that he had long before intermeddled in an American contention to bolster up the cause of Southern secession as against the cause of the American Union. From the days of Miss Harriet Martineau and Mr. George Thompson to our own times, the efforts made by sympathetic English advocates of one or another social or fiscal reform to promote it in America

have done, we fear, more harm than good. The cry of 'British Abolitionism' checked for twenty years the development of the anti-slavery feeling in America, just as the cry of 'British Free Trade' has checked, and checks, the development there of revenue reform.

But for the tactical blunder already mentioned into which the American Republicans seem to have been coerced by their financial allies, of putting the McKinley Tariff into effect at the beginning of October, before the Congressional elections, instead of adjourning its impact until January of the present year, it is exceedingly doubtful whether any appreciable damage would have resulted to their party from the passage of the bill. Thanks to this tactical blunder, the traders throughout the North and West particularly were enabled to seize upon the new tariff as a pretext for a sudden and apparently concerted increase in the price of a number of articles of daily use among the people. And the irritation caused by this undoubtedly swelled the tide of reaction, which in America, as well as in some other countries, is always apt to set in against a victorious party almost as soon as its victory is achieved. Mr. Reed, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to whose active share in the policy of his party we have already alluded, admits this indeed in an amusing speech not long ago reported in the American papers. In this speech he says, with perfect apparent accuracy, that the rise in prices provoked by the going into effect of the new tariff must be taken to be an essentially ephemeral rise, likely to be more than neutralised at an early day by the rapid development of competition among American manufacturers; and that the mischief done by it to the Republicans at the elections in November was chiefly due to the indignant activity of 'the women,' who do the household shopping for the vast majority of American families, and who, with the prompt instinct of their sex, everywhere held President Harrison and the Republican party responsible for every extra sixpence extracted from their pockets by the unscrupulous shopkeepers of the North and the West. If the expectations of the Republican leader are fulfilled, and under the sharp domestic competition engendered by the exclusion of foreign products prices fall again before the next general elections come off in 1892, who can feel sure that such currents of popular feeling will not set again in the direction of the McKinley Tariff?

Much, very much, will depend upon the conduct during the year 1892 of the Democratic majority which has just

been elected to dominate the Lower House of the Federal Congress. Under the provisions of the American Constitution—provisions most ingeniously designed to protect the executive government against gusts and flaws of popular passion and caprice—the Federal Congress chosen on November 4, 1890, comes into existence as a political entity only after March 4, 1891. From December 1, 1890, to March 4, 1891, the Republicans who passed the McKinley Bill remain in possession of the Lower House. All that the Democratic minority can do during this period will be to ‘obstruct’ the Republican majority in any attempts they may make to correct errors and to strengthen weak points in the tariff law as it now exists. When the mandate of the existing House expires in March, 1891, the control of public affairs will remain entirely in the hands of the Senate—which is still, and will for several years to come continue to be, Republican—and of the Republican President. The House of Representatives just elected in November can do nothing whatever until it meets, under the Constitution, in the beginning of December 1891, unless the Republican President should think fit to convene it before, a thing which he is not at all likely to do. When at last, in December 1891, the new House meets, it will show a Democratic majority of about 150 members in a House of 330! All modern experience on both sides of the Atlantic teaches us that such a majority as this is full of dangers. In this instance the dangers will be increased by the conditions under which the unwieldy majority has been elected and must go to work. It was not elected on a clear issue of tariff or anti-tariff, protection or free trade. It was elected on a variety of issues and under a variety of influences. That ordinary popular reaction against a party in power, of which we have already spoken, had much to do with the result. Personal and sectional dissensions over the distribution of the Federal ‘spoils’ among the members of the party in power; irritation produced by the monstrous extravagance of the Administration, which, with the help of Congress, seems to have squandered in jobs and ‘pensions’ the whole of the huge surplus which the Republicans found pouring into the Federal Treasury when they took it over in 1889; * discontent at the South with the social conditions produced by the political

* The Federal Pension List for 1889 nearly equals in amount the whole Civil Service expenditure of Great Britain, and far exceeds the whole expenditure for all purposes of the Federal Government in 1860!

enfranchisement of the emancipated negroes; a widespread revolt among the agriculturists of the North-west against what they regard as the financial tyranny of the capitalists and 'railway kings' of the East; a clamorous demand of the same classes in the West and South for the unlimited coinage of silver and for 'cheap money:' these must all be included in the forces which overwhelmed in November 1890 the organised array of the Administration party. And all of these forces will be represented, no man can now say in what relative proportions, on the floor of the Lower House when it meets in December 1891.

The organisation of a party majority in the American House of Representatives is always a delicate and difficult operation. Whether it shall be successful or unsuccessful may almost be said to depend upon the personal qualities of the party leader, who is put in command as Speaker of the majority; and though the post of Speaker of the American House of Representatives indeed means all, and more than all, that is meant in England by the post of Leader of the House of Commons, he combines more than the executive authority of the Leader of the House with the judicial power of the English Speaker; and the judicial power is usually subordinated by a successful American Speaker to the executive authority of his post. The Democrats, who have controlled the House of Representatives, though not the Government, for a number of years since the close of the war, had until very recently two leading men as well fitted by their qualities and their experience as any Americans of the time to fill this great post in such a House as is to meet in December 1891. But of these two men, the stronger and more skilful, Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania, not long ago died. The other, Mr. Carlisle of Kentucky, has been removed to the Senate, where he distinguished himself during the long debate over the McKinley Bill. It remains to be seen whether the candidate now most prominently put forward by the Democrats for this all-important position, Mr. Mills of Texas, will be equal to the task. It is not of any very good omen that the attempt of Mr. Mills, backed by the whole weight of the executive power, under the Administration of President Cleveland, to carry a measure of revenue reform through a Democratic House of Representatives was defeated on a preliminary question, on June 17, 1886, by a majority of seventeen votes, through the opposition of more than a fourth.

of the Democrats present and voting, led by ex-Speaker Randall.

On the other hand, the Republican minority in the House which is to meet in December 1891 will be compact, will be led by an experienced and successful ex-Speaker, Mr. Reed, and will enjoy the great advantage of acting in touch with the Senate and with the President. Obviously, therefore, the Democrats in the next House, even if they should be united in a common attack on the McKinley Tariff, cannot hope to shake that enactment before the expiration of their own mandate, which ends with the presidential term of the Republican President, Mr. Harrison, on March 4, 1893. Should the Republicans, in November 1892, succeed in electing a Republican successor to President Harrison, and in retaining their control of the Senate, it would seem that nothing but the appearance among the Republican leaders of an American Sir Robert Peel can offer the people of the United States any reasonable prospect of a change in the fiscal system established by the McKinley Bill for many years to come.

This being the present position and outlook of the tariff question in the United States, it is in order now to consider the subject from its original point of departure in American political history. To this end we need not revert, though it would be both interesting and instructive to revert, to the important influence of the tariff issue upon the contentions between the British North American colonies and the Parliament of Great Britain which eventually, in the last century, led to the war of the American Revolution and to the independence of the United States. The colonies which in the seventeenth century had defended their local rights against the Crown, were not likely in the eighteenth century to surrender those rights to the Parliament of the mother country. Great Britain, which in our own times has constituted the Dominion of Canada upon lines substantially identical with those which were scornfully rejected when Franklin, in 1754, proposed to form upon them a general union of the American colonies, would not content herself with the unchallenged authority of an Imperial Parliament to raise revenue by taxes upon commerce. This authority was admitted by James Otis of Massachusetts, in the magnificent scheme which, ten years before the tea chests of the East India Company were flung overboard into Boston Harbour, he proposed for combining 'Home Rule' in every kingdom and province of a world-wide British

Empire with an efficient system of imperial administration through a central Parliament. The colonies never denied the right of the British Parliament to levy duties upon imports into America under its constitutional power to regulate foreign commerce. What they denied was the right of the British Parliament to impose, without their consent, such internal taxes upon their people as the attack of Grenville and Dowdeswell upon his budget drove Charles Townshend into attempting to levy in America.

Under the American Constitution the power to regulate foreign commerce which the colonies conceded to the British Parliament before the revolution is conceded to the Federal Congress by the Sovereign States of the Union. But one of the fundamental points of difference between the Democratic and the Republican parties in the United States is the persistent tendency of the Democrats to oppose, and of the Republicans to favour, an enlargement of the Federal power to levy internal taxes. When the secession of the Southern States, in 1861, left the Republicans in complete control of the Federal Government at Washington, this tendency to augment the Federal power of internal taxation was rapidly developed under the stress of the expenditure required (or excused) by the Civil War.

By the Internal Revenue Act of July 1, 1862, the Republicans imposed an excise system upon the people which included a general income tax, taxes on the gross receipts of transportation companies of all kinds, an *ad valorem* tax on manufactures in general, and specific taxes on manufactures of iron, steel, coal, oil, leather, and paper. A fortnight afterwards, on July 14, 1862, two Republican leaders—Mr. Stevens and Mr. Morrill—introduced a bill to increase the duties on imports levied under the tariff which their party had carried through in 1861; and they did this on the ground stated by Mr. Morrill, that proper ‘reparation’ was due to manufacturers disturbed by internal taxation. ‘If we bleed the manufacturers,’ said Mr. Morrill, ‘we must see that the proper tonic is administered at the same time.’ ‘The manufacturers,’ said Mr. Stevens, ‘are entitled to compensation against foreign importers.’ Where, excepting from the pockets of the American consumers, this ‘compensation’ was to come from was a question which seems never to have troubled these financial operators of the school of Dr. Sangrado. In 1864 they went still further. On June 30 in that year a fiscal measure was adopted by the United States consisting of three ‘Revenue Acts,’ to which no parallel is

to be found even in the recent financial history of Republican France.

One of these Acts enormously extended the system of internal taxation. Sydney Smith's famous picture of the Englishman taxed from his cradle to his coffin gives a quite inadequate notion of the burdens heaped by this enactment upon the citizens of the Great Republic whose ancestors had faced England in arms rather than submit to the Stamp Act. And these burdens, be it remembered, were imposed upon the citizens of the Great Republic by the representatives of a minority party. Nothing could more conclusively show the folly of the great Southern secession (we do not enter, of course, here into the question of the Southern right to secede) than the fact that the electors who made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States in 1860 received only 1,866,352 popular votes out of a total cast of 4,676,853. In other words, the American people in 1860 having protested against the choice of a Republican President by the enormous majority of 2,810,501 votes, a Republican President was nevertheless elected. This is one of the mysteries of the American system, and doubtless an admirable mystery. President Lincoln, who owed to this mystery his place in modern history, subsequently recorded his belief that, but for its operation in this instance, the 'government of the people by the people for the people might have perished from off the face of the earth.'

By way of obviating this catastrophe, the Republican Congress of the United States, in conjunction with President Lincoln, in their Internal Revenue Act of 1864, taxed every commodity produced or used by the people of that country, and taxed it tremendously.

'Every ton of pig iron produced,' says the American historian of the American tariff, 'was charged two dollars; every ton of railroad iron three dollars; sugar paid two cents a pound; salt paid six cents a hundredweight. The general tax on all manufactures produced was 5 per cent. But this tax was repeated on almost every article in different stages of production. Raw cotton, for instance, was taxed two cents a pound; as cloth it again paid 5 per cent. Mr. Wells estimates that the Government, in fact, collected between 8 and 15 per cent. on every finished product. Taxes on the gross receipts of railroad, steamboat, telegraph, express, and insurance companies were levied, or were increased where already in existence. The licence-tax system was extended to almost every conceivable branch of trade. The income tax was raised to 5 per cent. on moderate incomes, and to 10 per cent. on incomes of more than 10,000 dollars.'

This latter was the rate of income tax imposed by the Grenville Coalition Ministry upon the people of Great Britain in 1806, after the battle of Austerlitz and the death of William Pitt.

No sooner was the Internal Revenue Act of 1864 fairly under way than, as in 1862, a Tariff Act was introduced by the Republican chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Morrill, 'in order to put domestic producers 'into the same situation, so far as foreign competition was 'concerned, as if the internal taxes had been increased!' The effect of this Tariff Act of 1864 was to increase the average rate of duty upon dutiable articles imported from 37.16 per cent. (approximately estimated) to 43.75 per cent. Under the tariff of 1857, before the war, it had stood at 19 per cent. But the total value of goods imported into the United States, which had risen from \$252,919,920 in 1863 to \$329,562,895 in 1864, fell off in the succeeding year, 1865, to \$248,555,652; and the Customs revenue decreased from \$102,316,153 in 1864 to \$84,928,260 in 1865. The internal revenue, on the contrary, rose from \$109,700,000 in 1864 to the enormous sum of \$209,500,000 in 1865. In the year next following, 1866, the Customs revenue rose again (the war had ended in 1865) to \$179,000,000; but the inland revenue overran it still further, rising to \$309,200,000. The significance of these figures in their relation to the theme of this paper can only be fully appreciated if it is borne in mind that, before the Inland Revenue Act of 1862 was passed, the Federal Government raised not one penny of revenue by an internal tax! The amount raised under the first attempt of the Republicans to impose upon the people of the sovereign American States by a Federal authority taxes to which the people of the British colonies in America had refused to submit when levied upon them by the Parliament of the mother country, had been, in 1863, \$37,600,000; and the Customs revenues in the same year yielded \$69,059,642. Three years, therefore, had sufficed to reconcile the American people to an increase of nearly 1,000 per cent. in the amount of the internal taxes levied upon them, against an increase of less than 300 per cent. in the Customs dues exacted of them.

It is not surprising that the heads of the American financiers of that time should have been turned. The Fiscal Committees at Washington seemed to have found the purse of Fortunatus. In the picturesque language of the day, they 'siphoned' the dollars of the Americans into the Federal Treasury. And as

they found the process both exhilarating and in many ways doubtless remunerative, they took measures to ensure a protracted enjoyment of its pleasures and its profits. Concurrently with the development of taxation the development of the national indebtedness went on. The Congress, which, in 1864, raised the rates of internal taxation and of the tariff, authorised also a loan of \$400,000,000. The war might come to an end, and, with the war, the excuse for levying war taxes. But it came to be an article of the creed with the financial supporters of the Government, that 'a national debt is a national blessing.' The debt must long outlast the war, and the extinction of the debt would serve as a pretext for maintaining a high rate of taxation long after the battle flags were furled. Out of this 'seed thought' was evolved the fiscal policy pursued by the Republican Government of the United States after the close of the war. The admiration of the world has been challenged by the Americans for this policy, under which, for long consecutive years, Federal revenues far in excess of the administrative necessities of the Republic continued to be raised by Federal taxation, in order to pay off at high rates the Federal debt in anticipation of its maturity. No country possessed of revenues less enormous and elastic than those of the United States could have resisted the pressure of such a policy as this; and though we cannot here and now enter into this very important question at length, it is in order for us to express our very positive conviction that the United States have lost, and can be shown to have lost, far more than they have gained by what may be not improperly called their hotbed system, adopted formally under the first Administration of President Grant, for paying off the national debt. Under that system, ingeniously worked by a succession of Protectionist financiers, the reduction of the American national debt has been made to serve, as its accumulation was made to serve, the interests of 'the classes' at the expense of the interests of 'the masses.' We do not like these phrases; but they express our meaning, and they will be understood. But it is only in connexion with an extended consideration of the ulterior consequences to the American people themselves of the McKinley Tariff system that the full force and scope of these phrases can be properly set forth. We are dealing now with the origin of that system, and to this we must now revert.

We have already said that the Republican party of the United States may be broadly described as the party of

Federalism, or Imperialism; the Democratic party as the party of State Rights, or 'Home Rule.' Direct internal taxation is the natural fiscal resort of the Federalist party, for such taxation tends directly to strengthen the grasp of the Federal Government upon the citizen. Indirect taxation in the form of duties on imports, imposed under the clause of the Constitution which gives the Federal Congress power to regulate foreign commerce, is the natural fiscal resort of the State Rights party, for by such taxation the Federal Government is brought only indirectly into contact with the citizen, out of whose pockets the duty eventually comes when he buys as a consumer the goods imported and taxed. So long as tariff taxes were imposed for revenue purposes only, it would not be easy to use them to strengthen the Federal Government in its relations either with the sovereign States or with the citizens of the Union. But if the incident of Protection in any form, extended to any domestic interest, is allowed to enter into the enactment of a tariff for revenue, it is obvious that it must bring with it the germs of an alliance between the interest so protected and the government or the party which affords the protection.

When the first tariff of the United States was framed under the First Administration of President Washington in 1789, this insidious idea of 'incidental protection' distinctly found its way into the tabulation of the rates; and in his remarkable 'Report on the Subject of Manufactures,' presented under the Constitution to the Congress of the United States in December 1791, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, declares that 'the expediency of encouraging manufactures in the United States, which was not long since deemed very questionable, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted.' Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish American champion of modern American Protection, gravely assured Mr. Gladstone in the course of their curious controversy over the McKinley Bill that manufactures had been forbidden by law under the English dominion in the colonies of North America. Where he picked up this fantastic notion does not appear, and it is probable that he was thinking when he made the assertion, not of the American colonies at all, but of Ireland. As a matter of fact, the 'infant industries' of the North American colonies had become quite strong enough by 1789 to make themselves heard in the United States, even before Alexander Hamilton, in the Report just referred to, comforted them with the expression of his conviction that, to enable them to contend

with success against the older industries of Europe, 'the interference and aid of their own Government were indispensable.'

In a well known, though now rather rare, tract on the 'Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce of the United States,' addressed in the form of a letter to 'A Member of Congress,' and published at New York in 1789, we find the nature of this 'encouragement and aid' set forth in language which may be almost called prophetic of the policy intended to be established in the United States now, at the close of a hundred years, by the McKinley Tariff Bill:

'This country,' says the author of this tract, 'has all the means within itself of furnishing every necessary convenience and luxury of life, and of carrying on an extensive foreign and domestic commerce; consequently it hath everything which nature can bestow to render it opulent and powerful, and the people easy and happy in their circumstances. All that is wanting to produce these effects is to improve the advantages of the country in the best manner and to the most valuable purposes, to encourage industry and the useful arts, and by a judicious system of commerce, &c., so to encourage, protect, and regulate the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests in their various branches and departments, as to render them materially subservient to the general weal.'

To which end, in respect to manufactures, the author proposes

'totally to prohibit the importation of many articles of produce and manufacture, because certain of the States do, *or might*, furnish them sufficiently for their own use, and because they do produce and manufacture many articles in sufficient quantities for the use of all the States.

'In the regulations of trade, therefore, respecting importations,' he continues, 'I conceive many articles of produce and manufacture should be prohibited from foreign nations throughout the States, and others prohibited in the Northern States which may be found necessary to be admitted in the Southern States for perhaps a limited time, but, at the same time, subject to such a duty as would give support and encouragement to American manufactures throughout all the States.'

Here we have, not only in the germ, but almost in full flower, not only the 'American system' of Mr. Clay, opposed by New England while New England continued to be predominantly concerned with commerce, but adopted by New England and championed by Mr. Daniel Webster after New England capital began to turn itself over profitably in competition with the manufactures of Great Britain—but the more modern 'home market' theory of the Republican party, which has at

last found its consummate expression in the McKinley Tariff—a tariff not for revenue, nor for revenue with incidental protection, nor even for protection, but for the complete extrusion and exclusion of the produce and manufactures of foreign countries from the vast and growing markets of the Great Republic.

We are not left to infer or divine the true nature and object of the new American tariff from a study of the duties imposed by it upon various classes and categories of goods hitherto imported from foreign countries into America, and from a systematic enquiry into the actual or possible production and manufacture of such articles within the now enormous continental area of the United States. They are plainly stated and proclaimed by the authors and advocates of the measure. The outcry excited, not in England alone, but in France, in Germany, in Austria, in Italy, throughout Europe indeed, by the passage and promulgation of the bill was not, we think, exaggerated as to the intent of the measure, though it was, we think, mistaken as to the spirit in which the measure was conceived. The intent undoubtedly was, and is, to exclude Europe as a producer and vendor from the American markets. The bill, in effect, says to the nations of Europe: ‘You may buy from us, but you shall not sell to us. We doubtless have productions to sell with which you cannot dispense: these you may come and take and pay for. But your soils yield nothing which cannot be grown somewhere within this vast American continental empire, and your artisans make nothing that cannot be made as well, or better, by the artisans of America.’ Such a bill as this is not a Tariff Bill in the ordinary acceptance of the term. It is a Non-Intercourse Bill. For whatever may be the value and importance to Europe of American corn and American cattle and American cotton, it is quite certain that corn, that cattle, and that cotton can be, are, and will be produced in other parts of the world, and that no commerce in these or in other articles can be long carried on from which the element of the exchange of commodities is deliberately struck out. An able speech was made by a Democratic opponent of this ‘American system,’ in the course of which he pointed this out very clearly, and added that he really could not see why the friends of such a system should vote the public money for the maintenance of lighthouses. The American Republicans have the courage of their system, and Mr. Hiscock, now a senator for the great commercial State of New York, calmly replied that, were it not for the

coasting trade of the United States, he would willingly see every light extinguished along the American shores.

A curious outcome this, is it not, of a century of 'Liberty and Progress'? Not the less curious when we remember that during the negotiations at Versailles, in 1783, which ended in the recognition of the independence of the thirteen British colonies in North America, the American commissioners offered an arrangement securing absolute free trade for ever between the new United States and all parts of the British dominions, excepting only the chartered territories of the Hudson's Bay and the East India Companies. One of the British commissioners—David Hartley, a man of sense, if not a very great philosopher—saw the immense significance of this proposal, and urged its acceptance upon the Government, but in vain.

What might have come of this proposal, had it been accepted, it were idle now to enquire. What may come of the very different policy now, after a century, established in its place on the other side of the Atlantic it is by no means idle to enquire. Possibly, as we observed at the outset of this article, the Americans themselves may not be fully aware of all that lies implied or involved for them within this policy. Certainly its hitherto most conspicuous opponent, Mr. Cleveland, the Democratic ex-President—who was defeated as a candidate for re-election by the Republicans in 1888, and whose defeat, bringing with it the loss by his party of their majority in the House of Representatives, made the establishment of this Republican 'home market' policy possible—does not seem in any of his public utterances to have grasped the true intents, or measured at all adequately the possibilities, of this far-reaching and uncompromising measure.

Unfortunately for himself and his party, if not for his country, Mr. Cleveland came to the Presidency with no previous experience whatever of Federal politics. It was even stated at the time of his inauguration (by which high Roman phrase the Americans describe the installation of their chief magistrate) that he had never spent more than twenty-four hours in the Federal capital in all his life before he went there to assume the duties of the highest office that can be filled by an American citizen. He had the ordinary academic education of an obscure American country lawyer, established himself in the practice of his profession in the provincial, though important, city of Buffalo, and, after filling certain subordinate offices in the municipal govern-

ment, first attracted attention beyond the limits of that city by the courage and integrity with which, as mayor of Buffalo, he opposed all manner of schemes—or, as the Americans call them, ‘jobs’ and ‘deals’—for depleting the city treasury. In 1882, when the dissensions in the Republican party which preceded and followed the assassination of President Garfield gave the Democrats of New York a golden opportunity for capturing the government of that great State, Mr. Cleveland, it is understood, was recommended to the State Convention for nomination as governor by Mr. Tilden, at that time the leading spirit of the Democratic party in the United States, and probably the most astute manager and ‘manipulator’ of political men who has appeared in the recent history of the United States.

In 1876, it will be recollected, Mr. Tilden was believed (and is now believed) by a majority of the American people to have been lawfully elected to the Presidency. It is certain that the electors pledged to choose him received a majority of 156,989 in the popular vote—a circumstance worth noting in connexion with the subject of this article, as at the Presidential election of 1876, for the first time after the Presidential election of 1860, all the States of the Union took part, with more or less freedom of selection, in the choice of an American President. The Democratic party, which, as we have already mentioned, had a great popular majority in the election of 1860, reappeared in 1876—more than ten years after the close of the civil war—still holding a popular majority. The Federal Government, however, then administered by General Grant, had sufficient control of the machinery of affairs to succeed in invalidating the choice of Presidential electors in several of the States, and thus brought into question the electoral majority of Mr. Tilden. The matter was finally settled by an extra-constitutional electoral commission, under a bill hastily passed by Congress with the avowed object of averting a new civil war, and Mr. Hayes of Ohio was declared to have been chosen President by 185 as against 184 votes in the Electoral College. The Democrats never admitted the justice of this decision. They maintained that the electoral votes of four States, appointing twenty-one electors, were improperly transferred by this decision from Mr. Tilden to Mr. Hayes, and that the former had been lawfully chosen to the Presidency by 205 votes against 164. Naturally the Democrats regarded their ‘defrauded’ President as a kind of political martyr, and they gave him all over the Union, and especially

in his own State of New York, great weight and authority in the party councils. Had Mr. Tilden been seated in the executive chair in 1876, he would doubtless have proceeded firmly, though cautiously, in the direction of a reform of the taxation laws favourable to the freedom of commerce. Mr. Hayes, who was seated in the executive chair, was an avowed believer in protection.

A bill reforming the tariff had been strangled in Congress in the year of his election, 1876, and another shared the same fate in 1878, two years after his administration began. The Democrats had recovered control of the Lower House through the failure of the Republican attempt to 'reconstruct' the Southern States in conformity with their own ideas; but they were still unable to recover the control of the whole Federal Government. The Internal Revenue Acts, which, as we have seen, were skilfully used by the Republicans to sustain the system of protection, were kept in force, with gradual modifications, by the policy of debt reduction, down to 1872, when those which bore most heavily on production, and had been speciously advanced to warrant exorbitant duties upon imports, were abolished. The taxes on spirits and malt liquors, however, with certain stamp duties, were retained down to the present time. In 1883 the internal revenue collections of the United States amounted to \$144,700,000—a sum considerably larger than was collected in this form in 1873, a year after the abolition of the more oppressive internal taxes.

With this vital subject of Federal taxation, Mr. Cleveland, when he assumed the Presidential office in 1885, seems to have had little or no acquaintance. His Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Manning of New York), reputed the ablest member of his Cabinet, was better equipped. He saw the grave importance of dealing with this question intelligently, and in time to educate the public opinion of the country, in a sense, favourable to a real revenue reform before the country should again be plunged into the uproar of a new Presidential election. He knew that his own party—the Democratic—though committed by its fundamental doctrines against the principle of protection, had from time to time, and in one or another section of the United States, coquetted with that principle. He knew, too, that the election of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1880—General Hancock—had been put into peril by the unqualified declaration of his supporters in favour of 'a tariff for revenue only,' and made hopeless by an extraordinary statement which

that gallant soldier had been betrayed into making, to the effect that he considered the tariff 'a local question.' He therefore drew up two successive and exceedingly able and judicious annual reports on the subject, and he earnestly urged the President to recommend to the Democratic Congress measures looking to the relief at once of the manufacturing and the importing interests of the country and to the employment of the great Treasury surplus in the redemption of the 'greenback' currency. He proposed, for example, to begin by making wool free, and reducing so much of the duty on woollen goods imported as had been levied by way of 'compensation' to American manufacturers for the duty imposed upon wool unmanufactured. His advice was not taken, and the favourable occasion which presented itself in 1885 for setting on foot a well-considered and deliberate Democratic reform of the revenue was suffered by President Cleveland to slip by unimproved. Within two years Mr. Manning's health gave way. He died, leaving the President, whose election was mainly due to his efforts as Chairman of the Democratic State Committee of New York, with no adviser near him of equal experience and good sense. In 1886 a not very well-considered project of tariff reform was introduced into the House by a Southern member (Mr. Mills of Texas), which, as we have already stated, failed mainly through the opposition of an important group of Mr. Mills's own party; and finally, on the very eve of the Presidential election of 1888, President Cleveland, suddenly awakening to the importance of the tariff issue, grappled with it in a message tardily conceived, but hastily brought forth, which had the effect, not difficult to have been foretold, of startling into combined and determined activity against the President and against his party all the 'protected' interests of the United States. The result was that in the elections of 1888 the Republicans not only recaptured the Presidency and made themselves stronger than before in the Senate, but regained, by a small majority, their control of the Lower House.

This victory—much more decisive, it will be seen, and, from the point of view of practical legislation, much more important, than the more recent reconquest of the Lower House and of a number of State Governments just achieved in November 1890 by the Democrats—enabled the Republicans to concoct, formulate, and enact into law their McKinley Tariff Bill. It brought to the front of the Republican party the Radicals, of what used to be known in American politics as the Henry C. Carey school of American

economists—a school foreshadowed by Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, in his vigorous appeals for ‘protection’ to the ‘young industries’ of America after the financial crisis of 1819. This school was grounded upon the conviction expressed in the extract we have given from an American economic tract of 1789, that the United States are, and ought to be, sufficient unto themselves, and that protection, as imposed by Federal law, ought to be incidental not at all to revenue, but to the exclusion from the American home market of all but American products. The spirit which inspired this school moves in the American tariff of 1820, and gave impulse and force to the ‘American system’ of Henry Clay. Its chief expounder and teacher, Henry C. Carey, was a man of learning and of ability. His most active and influential disciple (Horace Greeley of New York) was a man of ability, if not of learning. How far he pushed in theory the principle which has now been substantially enacted into statute law may be inferred from the fact that he took an active part some half a century ago in promoting an effort to make the United States independent of commerce with China, by establishing the culture of tea in the Carolinas! By a curious irony of fate, the Democratic party of the United States, it may be observed (though not with any relevance to our present subject), when staggering in 1872 under the effects of the civil war and of ‘reconstruction,’ actually selected Horace Greeley as their candidate for the Presidency, and Horace Greeley accepted their nomination. It need hardly be added, to the credit of the common sense of the American people, that he was thoroughly beaten at the polls. Had he been a younger man, and lived on to the present day, he would now be the natural chief and Presidential standard-bearer of the ‘home market’ Republicans of the McKinley Bill.

It appears from the very text of this bill that it was framed not only, as the title indicates, to ‘reduce the revenue,’ but to impede and prevent the importation of foreign goods without regard either to revenue or to the wish of the American consumer to procure such goods. It for the first time taxes the people of the United States to give bounties to producers. While we have already said that we do not think the bill was framed as a hostile measure against any country in Europe,* we must also say that

* That a spirit of hostility to Great Britain does exist among portions of the American people, and that this spirit is evoked during the pro-

its operation must be equivalent to a commercial war against any country which produces and desires to exchange for the products of the United States commodities which can possibly under the stimulus of legislative bounties be produced in the United States. To this end surely tends the power of 'retaliation' with which it arms the American executive against any country which may decline to take any of the surplus products of the United States on the terms of the American producers. This power, for example, may be exercised against Spain, if Spain, wishing in accordance with her fiscal traditions to keep the trade of Cuba in Spanish hands, should legislate to give the wheat and flour of Estramadura a monopoly of the Cuban market. It may be exercised against France, and the President of the United States under it may actually raise the duties prescribed by the bill to be levied on French wines, should it strike him that France is treating American pork or grain 'unequally.'

This is a power conferred upon no other executive, we

gress of important American elections to further the objects of one or another set of American politicians, cannot, unfortunately, be denied: We have seen how President Cleveland appealed to this spirit in the matter of Lord Sackville on the eve of the Presidential election of 1888, though not, as the event showed, with much success. During the elections of 1890 the same spirit was undoubtedly relied upon, especially in places where the organised Irish voters abound, to promote the interest of one or the other American party; and during the discussion of the McKinley Bill the argument was more than once used by its friends that, under the system it aimed to establish, British enterprise and trade might be expected to be damaged to the advantage of America. Perhaps the most characteristic appeal ever made to this not particularly elevated influence upon public affairs was made during the elections of November 1890, at Philadelphia. In that Republican and protectionist city the opponents of a Democratic candidate (Mr. Vaux, a man of position and respectability) placarded the walls with a huge poster, a copy of which, sent from America, now lies before us. It is to the following effect: 'His Record! Did Vaux vote for Grover Cleveland? No! Did Vaux vote for Robert F. Pattison? No! Did Vaux vote for Samuel G. King? No! Did Vaux vote for Robert S. Patterson? No! WHAT DID VAUX DO? WHY! HE DANCED WITH QUEEN VICTORIA!' Whether there be any foundation for this heinous charge against 'Vaux' we know not. Perhaps the annals of the Lord Chamberlain's Office may throw light on it! Vaux, as we are informed, submitted to it in silence. We believe he filled many years ago a diplomatic post in London. Such are the perils of politics in America!

believe, in the world. It gives the President authority to practically exclude the products of any country from consumption in the United States. But the true intent of the bill is not left to be inferred from this provision. It appears repeatedly in the text of the statute. Take, for example, the clause affecting the wines of Champagne in the interest of the wines of California and Missouri. After imposing a duty of eight dollars, or forty francs, a dozen upon the wines of Champagne, this clause claps an additional tax on each bottle of the dozen as if it were imported empty, and on the box also which contains the bottles; no allowance being made for breakage, or leakage, or damage before the arrival and entry of the packages!

Still more clearly is the true intent of this extraordinary measure revealed in the administrative portion of the enactment; and this also may be illustrated from the point of view not of the English, but of the French, commercial interests to be affected by it. It was pointed out, a century ago, by the author of the tract more than once already cited by us, that silk might be made with advantage in many parts of the United States. A *morus multicaulis* craze raged in the country for a time about fifty years ago; and since the civil war the silk industry has been seriously taken up, and is extensively and profitably carried on. The costlier descriptions of silk made in France appear in the schedule of duties imposed by the McKinley Bill not to have been subjected to any great increase in the rate of duties to be levied on them, these descriptions of silk not being yet very successfully produced in America. But the Act creates an Appraising Board, and clothes this board with power to increase the sum of duties on such silks, for instance, by raising the French valuations upon which the *ad valorem* rates are to be levied. A duty of 50 per cent. will obviously produce a larger sum when levied on fifty francs than when levied on forty francs a mètre. The American women who make Newport and New York radiant with Parisian toilettes (or perhaps we ought to say the husbands and fathers who pay the bills of these attractive dames and damsels) are confronted, in paragraph 413 of the McKinley Bill, with the menace of a time when even American extravagance may think twice before it once ventures into the mysterious *ateliers* of Worth or Doucet. On many articles of silk the intent of the new American tariff seems to have been to make it practically impossible to estimate the amount of the duties beforehand. Let some expert in such matters

try his hand at computing the probable increase, under the following clause of the McKinley law, of the duties on the articles therein enumerated :

'411. Velvets, plushes, or other pile fabrics, containing, exclusive of selvages, less than seventy-five per centum in weight of silk, one dollar and fifty cents per pound and fifteen per centum *ad valorem* ; containing, exclusive of selvages, seventy-five per centum or more in weight of silk, three dollars and fifty cents per pound, and fifteen per centum *ad valorem* ; but in no case shall any of the foregoing articles pay a less rate of duty than fifty per centum *ad valorem*.'

The French Government is organising a maximum and minimum system of international tariff rates. What would be the real maximum rate on these French products under this clause 411 of the American law ?

Another unique and ingenious device for excluding foreign goods from the American market is to be found in the following section of one of the two Acts which make up the McKinley system :

'SECTION 6. --That on and after the first day of March 1891, all articles of foreign manufacture, such as are usually or ordinarily marked, stamped, branded, or labelled, and all packages containing such or other imported articles, shall respectively be plainly marked, stamped, branded, or labelled in legible English words, so as to indicate the country of their origin ; and unless so marked, stamped, branded, or labelled, they shall not be admitted to entry.'

Under this section, it will be seen, no foreign goods whatever are to be 'admitted to entry' in an American port, unless each article, as well as each package, is so marked 'in English words' as to 'indicate the country of its origin.' Fancy the effects of such a section as this upon the development of trade between all non-English speaking countries and the United States ! A label printed in 'English as she is' spoke' upon a pot of pomatum from Grasse may thus exclude a whole shipment of French perfumery from the port of New York as effectually as the East Indian Company's teas were excluded from the port of Boston in the last century by patriots disguised as Pequod Indians !

Let it not be imagined that these are vain words. The authors of the 'Home Market Tariff' have taken care to put the administration of their system, for the first time in American history, beyond the reach of control or correction by the courts of law. Heretofore the importer, aggrieved by what he regarded as an undue and unjustifiable application of a tariff law to his goods on the part of a Customs officer, might appeal to the courts. Under the new system

an end is made of this resort, and the American practice of determining, by Treasury interpretation, the force of fixed laws has been carried to its finest logical results. What is called the McKinley Customs Administration Act makes the Board of Appraisers supreme over foreign dutiable values, classifications, rates, and the sum of the duties to be paid. The decisions of this board are to be irreformable and irreversible. This is a thing without precedent in American tariff legislation. The foreign shipper and the American importer will henceforth be alike at the mercy of executive subordinates in the American ports. This may lead, of course, in the case of the foreign shippers, to diplomatic action through the Ministers of Commerce and of Foreign Affairs, for example, in France. But the American importers must reconcile themselves, as the Baboos say, to 'playing the toad-under-the-harrow.' The McKinley Administrative Act was intended not only to give the appraisers power to increase at will the foreign dutiable values on which the duties are to be levied, but also to take away from the American law-courts the power hitherto exercised by them of interpreting on appeal the intention of the law-makers. Everything is to be subordinated to the 'home market,' and the millennium is to be assured to the millions of the United States by a paternal Government carrying out, in its relations to all the industries of the country, the principle long ago thus laid down by Mr. Horace Greeley :

'It is my interest, you say, to have cheap iron. Certainly; but I buy iron not (ultimately and really) with money, but with the product of my labour -that is, with newspapers; and I can better afford to pay seventy dollars per ton for iron made by men who can, and do, buy American newspapers, than take it for fifty dollars of those who rarely see and never buy one of my products.'

We have dealt, not adequately indeed, but as fully as our limits would permit, with the origin and scope and intents of this extraordinary developement of American economic legislation. Those of our readers whose patience has taken them thus far with us will hardly need that we should point out to them here the ulterior political tendency of a fiscal scheme which cannot be thoroughly carried out without effectually displacing the financial basis of the Federal Government of the United States. A country which ceases to import must necessarily cease to collect a revenue from duties upon imported goods. During the debates in the State Conventions which preceded the adoption of the American constitution, the advocates of a strongly centralised government

dwelt persistently upon the importance to the Federal Government of the power of levying direct taxes. 'We cannot agree,' said James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, 'that our safety should depend altogether upon a revenue arising from commerce.' On the other hand, in the Virginia Convention, we find James Monroe, afterwards twice elected by the Democrats to the Presidency of the United States, using such language as this: 'I am strongly impressed with the necessity of having a firm national government, but I am decidedly against giving it the power of direct taxation; because I think it endangers our liberties.' Monroe, though not the abler man, was the keener-sighted politician of the two. The American Internal Revenue Acts of 1862 and 1884, heretofore cited, would have astonished James Wilson, who said in the speech above referred to, 'I venture to predict that the taxes of the General Government, if any shall be laid, will be more equitable and much less expensive than those imposed by the State Governments!' Under the McKinley scheme the Customs revenue must cease to be, and the internal revenue must become, the mainspring of the Federal system. In other words, the American 'home market' can be secured only at the expense of American 'Home Rule.' To say this is to say that the enactment of the McKinley Tariff by a political party which in the same Session introduced and carried through the lower House the so-called 'Force Bill' of Mr. Lodge, giving the Federal power a practical control of Congressional elections, marks the opening of a new chapter in American history—a chapter full of immediate commercial and financial interest to the manufacturing and commercial nations of Europe; a chapter, too, pregnant with grave possibilities for the future of the Great Republic beyond the Atlantic. Under each of these heads there is much we could have wished now to say, which time and space compel us to reserve for a more convenient season.

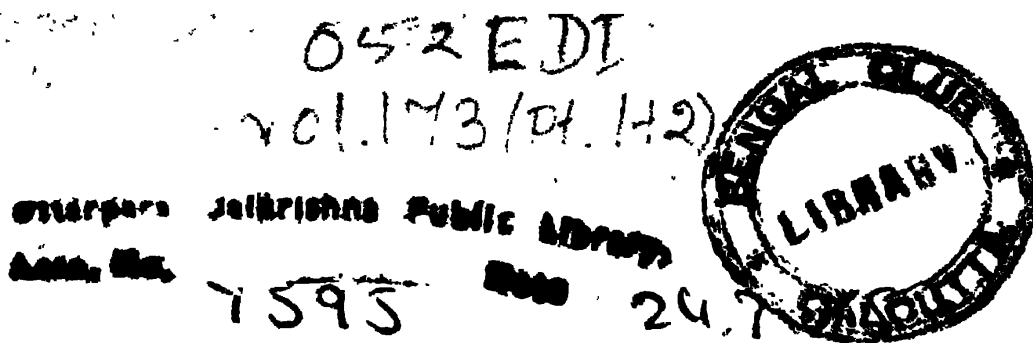
Thus far we have directed our attention almost exclusively to the causes and effects of the existing fiscal system of the United States in their bearing on the political parties and social relations of the American people, of which they alone are the authoritative judges. But, before concluding, we ought perhaps to say a word or two as to the probable effect on British interests of the Chinese policy the Americans have adopted. If the question be viewed merely as a matter of national interest, we agree with Mr. Chamberlain in his

already quoted remark that the probable result of American protectionism will be by no means unfavourable to the trade and commerce of this country. It is possible that a certain number of British manufacturers, whose products have heretofore found a market in the United States, may try to keep that market by transferring their capital to America. Symptoms of such a movement have already appeared in some quarters of manufacturing England. But prudent men will be apt to await events before committing their fortunes to an experiment equally gigantic and uncertain. Under a system of free trade and low cost of production the people of the United States would be by far the most formidable rivals of the commerce and manufacturing power of Great Britain. But if they should exclude Great Britain to some extent, or even altogether, from the market of the United States, they will only place themselves in a highly disadvantageous position with reference to the commerce of the world. They may secure to themselves a more exclusive possession of their own market, but the increased cost of production and the more restricted means of exchange must tell heavily against American trade with all foreign countries, wherever it has to compete with the produce of manufactures or of raw material raised elsewhere. Even as to raw material, the exclusive American system will operate as a powerful stimulant to the growth and export of cotton and corn from India, Egypt, Russia, and from the British colonies. Roumania cuts no great figure probably in the eyes of the Great Republic. But in the month of August 1890 Roumania sent to England 2,066,013 cwts. of Indian corn, against no more than 888,531 imported from the United States. The American contribution of this cereal to the British markets fell indeed behind that of the Argentine Republic. Great Britain may be dependent on foreign countries for cereals and food products, but she is not dependent for them on the United States. It is probable that the foreign trade which the American protectionists are so eager to renounce will be transferred largely to Holland, to Germany, and, above all, to the British Empire. The United States have already experienced the effects of the prohibitive system on their carrying trade. Thirty years ago their mercantile marine rivalled that of this country, but it was crippled by the taxation of the civil war, and has never recovered its former position. With the decay of the shipping interest the American navy has fallen off to a point

* hardly in keeping with Mr. Blaine's attempt to apply the old *mare clausum* policy of Spain to the Bering Sea.*

The question at issue, now subjected to a crucial experiment, is whether the welfare of a nation is best promoted by shutting out as far as possible the intercourse of its people with the great family of mankind, or whether the broad principles of liberty and free exchange are not infinitely more conducive to the greatness and prosperity of a State than the narrow doctrine of local interests, excluding competition by an arbitrary system of fiscal control. We certainly shall await with confidence the result of the experiment.

* The American Protectionists are never weary of alleging that the decline of their carrying trade was caused by the countenance which Great Britain gave to the Confederate cruisers during the Civil War. The exclusion of the American flag from the great southern cotton ports was a chief factor in the decline, and with that Great Britain certainly had nothing to do. But, as a matter of fact, the decline in the American carrying trade has been far greater since than during the Civil War. In 1861 the American maritime tonnage stood at 5,539,813 tons. In 1864 it had fallen to 1,986,400, a decline of 3.75 per cent. from the figures of 1863. In 1866, the year after the close of the war, it rose 2.21 per cent., to 5,087,782 tons. By 1869 it had fallen 4.76 per cent., to 4,114,611 tons. In 1879, eleven years afterwards, it stood at 4,169,801 tons.



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ART. I.—*The Correspondence of William Augustus Miles on the French Revolution.* Edited by the Rev. C. P. MILES. In Two Volumes. 8vo. London: 1890.

THOUGH a century has passed, all that throws light on that terrible explosion which still affects the world—the French Revolution—is of enduring interest. Few of our readers have heard of the late Mr. Miles, though his name is to be found in Mr. Lecky's History, and in M. Ernouf's valuable work; and yet he was an accomplished man of letters in his day, and he was a real, if only a silent, actor in the tremendous drama of events in Europe from 1790 to 1815. Having been sent on a confidential mission, he was an eyewitness of most of the revolutionary scenes in Paris in 1790–1. He took an active, though not a prominent, part in the negotiations between Pitt and his Ministry and the men at the head of the French Republic which preceded the rupture of 1793, and he lived to see the close of the great war, having been all through it in contact with leading men, who watched and, in some measure, shaped the course of events in England and France. These volumes, edited by his last surviving son, contain his correspondence during this momentous time; they chiefly consist of his own letters to friends and acquaintances of all kinds, and to eminent English and French personages; but they also comprise letters of Pitt, Lord Temple, Lafayette, Le Brun,—the Foreign Minister of France at the unhappy moment when war was declared—and of the secret envoys, in the train of Chauvelin, of whom Maret was the most conspicuous. We have studied the book with much interest, and it is a

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valuable contribution to the domain of history. Mr. Miles was a well-informed and acute observer, and though his political views were extreme, his remarks on the extraordinary events attentively scanned and judged by him always deserve notice, and are sometimes excellent. If he was rather fussy, too, when tendering advice, and stiff in opinion though in the wrong, and if, too, like most amateurs in politics, he sometimes decided without full knowledge, he often made suggestions of sterling value; and it is highly to his honour that in 1792-3, and even in the troubled years that followed, he was an able and earnest advocate of peace, although his cause was, we believe, hopeless. His observations on the state of Europe before 1788-9, on the Eastern Question in 1790-1, on the characteristics of Pitt's Ministry, on the train of events that led to the war, and on the military operations of the allies and ourselves, reveal an independent and thoughtful mind, and are often admirable in clear discernment; and his judgements on leading personages on the stage of events—we would especially refer to his estimate of Pitt—are, for the most part, correct and impartial. His account, however, of what he saw and heard in Paris in 1790-1 is, we think, the most valuable part of this work. Mr. Miles was an enthusiast for 'the principles of 1789;' and yet his experience of the Revolution, even in its earlier days, soon disenchanted a sound-minded Englishman; he turned away from it with scorn and disgust.

Mr. Miles was born in 1753, and survived until 1817. He devoted himself to letters at a very early age, and was a regular contributor to the newspaper press, then just beginning to assert its power. He soon took a decided turn in politics: became an adherent of 'Wilkes and Liberty,' thought of crossing the Atlantic to visit Washington, and supported the views of Chatham on the great question of the contest with the American colonies. He had made his mark as an accomplished writer before the fall of Lord North in 1782, and, having become acquainted with Lord Shelburne, went to Ireland, with a good word from that statesman, to seek preferment from Lord Temple, recently appointed Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Miles hoped to attain his object through the interest of Sir Edward Newenham, rather a well-known member of the Irish Parliament; but Sir Edward had promised his vote to Flood, in rabid opposition to the Castle Government, mainly owing to jealousy of his rival, Grattan, and the aspirant failed to obtain a

post. Mr. Grenville, afterwards the great Foreign Minister of Pitt, and at this moment his brother's secretary, had this curious conversation with Mr. Miles, characteristic of the doings at the Castle in those days:—

‘ Mr. Grenville added that perhaps my friend, on being written to, would see the difficulty that lay in my way and the impropriety of supporting Mr. Flood, if it was expected that the Government should support me. Astonished that such an opinion should be openly avowed, I exclaimed, with some warmth, “What, is it thus that Lord Temple and yourself intend to commence your political career? Is it that, coming into office on professed Whig principles, you would preface your reign by an endeavour to corrupt the representative integrity of the country? I am sure that you would not desire any fact so injurious to be proclaimed. But, if it is meant that I should state to Sir Edward Newenham that he is expected to support, right or wrong, every measure of the Government, I must decline; and allow me to assure you that, if my friend should pledge himself to such a condition, I would despise him and renounce his acquaintance for ever.” Mr. Grenville replied that he must refer me to his brother for an *éclaircissement*.’

Irish ‘independence’ was then in its prime, the glory of the Volunteers had not departed, and the Parliament in College Green was in the first fruition of its emancipation from the control of England. Yet, even at this juncture, that assembly was as corrupt and devoid of public spirit as when it was ruled by Boulter and Stone and held up to public scorn by Swift, in the days of its thralldom under the first Georges:—

‘ Lord Temple then entered largely into the state of Irish politics and revealed to me the true character of its senate, adding that, if any one in England had told him the condition of affairs he would not have believed it, and that he was sure that I must also have seen sufficient to surprise me and excite my indignation. The corruption of the British Parliament, he said, great as it was, seems as nothing when compared to that of Ireland. His lordship protested he had witnessed enough to puzzle the faith of the most credulous, nor had he, in his whole experience, or in the course of his reading, discovered so much infamy.’

Mr. Miles, soon after this, found a home near Liège, and continued to write for the London daily press. Though not wealthy, he had a strong sense of independence and self-respect, and his contributions began by degrees to attract attention in high places. A series of letters from his pen, signed ‘Neptune,’ and modelled upon the style of Junius, were, for a few months, the talk of the town, and were read by Thackeray, in our time, with pleasure; but, to judge

from some extracts in these volumes, they had no trace of the malignant force or of the 'cobra touch' of the hand of Junius, though they are fair specimens of vigorous English. The author was an enthusiastic eulogist of Pitt, then in the first years of his renowned Ministry, when, happily ignorant of a dark coming future, the disciple of Adam Smith was carrying out his policy of free trade and economic reform, with the general acclaim of an approving nation. Mr. Miles often recurred to this auspicious era, and to the Minister who was its master spirit, long after the war had caused him to see the conduct of Pitt in an unfavourable light:—

'The tide on which Mr. Pitt's fortunes were embarked flowed rapidly and triumphantly. It was, indeed, a most full and glorious sea; and, if he had taken the current as it served, he would have saved his ventures; but, harassed and assailed by faction at home, and little versed in foreign politics, he was compelled to follow as he was led in all matters that related to the latter, while his whole vigour, strength, and attention were necessarily engaged to defend his wise and beneficent measures of domestic policy from the attacks of his angry and disappointed opponents. But for the fatal troubles that broke out in France and shook the repose of nations, Mr. Pitt would have continued the idol of his country and the admiration of the world. . . . My opinion of Mr. Pitt will never change. I will adhere to it to the last moment of my existence. To the commencement of the war I consider him to have been the ablest and best intentioned minister that this country has witnessed since his father was in office.'

Pitt discovered the authorship of the 'Neptune' letters, and appears not to have lost sight of the writer. An opportunity ere long arrived to recompense Mr. Miles for his services. The first stirrings of the revolutionary storm were heard in the principality of Liège, chafing at the sacerdotal rule of its bishop, and the premature reforms of the Emperor Joseph caused angry irritation in the Austrian Netherlands. Mr. Miles was confidentially employed by Pitt to watch events in these debateable lands, already exposed to French influence, and long a ground for strife between England and France, and he was in frequent correspondence with Lord Carmarthen, then at the head of the Foreign Office. He conceived and proposed a bold design which he pressed on Pitt over and over again: these countries were to be formed into an independent State, under British protection, as a new barrier to resist France and to defend Holland. In December 1788 he wrote thus to Carmarthen:—

‘ If I have ventured beyond the object of Government I must offer as an excuse my certain knowledge that, if we do not attach the people to us by rescuing them from a despotism becoming intolerable, the principality of Liège and the whole of Brabant and Flanders will fall under the dominion of France. I assure you that France has her eye upon the Low Countries, and if we are not active she will certainly possess them. I am authorised to say that Liège is ready to put itself under our protection, and I believe it will not be difficult to engage the Austrian Netherlands to follow the example of the Liégeois and unite with them.’

Mr. Miles considered this scheme a masterpiece; he recurred to it in many letters; and when revolutionary France was overrunning Belgium, threatening Holland, and subduing the Rhine, he dwelt on it with special complacency. We quote one of these boastful passages :—

‘ If his grace had listened to me we would not at present have any dispute with France; the Scheldt would not have been opened; there would be no French troops to-day in Liège, or Brabant, or Austrian Flanders; Holland would not be menaced, nor would England be on the point of seeing herself despoiled of the peace that is so necessary for her welfare. The united provinces would thus have formed a barrier against France, and all cause of discord between that nation and England would probably have been dispelled. My project, you know, was to connect the principality of Liège and the Austrian Netherlands into a republic, independent of the empire.’

The project seems plausible in the events that happened; but it would have been a policy of international wrong, and special reasons existed at this very time for its peremptory rejection by the British Government. The chief object of Pitt at this period was to bring the unnatural war between the Turks and Austria, fomented by Catherine, to a close, and simultaneously to check the ambition of Prussia, which wished to detach the Netherlands from the empire; and this was absolutely incompatible with Mr. Miles’s counsels. The Minister drily refused to listen to the scheme, and its author harped continually on this as a proof of the short-sighted unwisdom of Pitt:—

‘ The boldness of my project alarmed his grace.* He said it was going great lengths. Yet if these lengths had been accomplished by our interference, and we had become guarantees for the independence of Liège and the Low Countries, the Scheldt would not have compelled us to arm or have threatened Europe with a general war.’

The Eastern question at this juncture appeared for the first time in its modern aspect. Mr. Miles strongly supported

* The Duke of Leeds, formerly Lord Carmarthen.

the policy of Pitt—it was that of Maria Theresa and Kaunitz—and made this accurate forecast of the designs of Russia :—

‘ If ever that woman should drive the Turk into Asia, adieu to every other navy and to all commerce in the Mediterranean, except to vessels permitted by the Russian Empire. You have only to open the chart and behold the wonderful power the acquisition of Constantinople will give to the Muscovite nation. The Russians will be able to embrace the whole continent, and, in possession of the Black Sea, with, of course, an open navigation, they will become formidable to all Europe. . . . The ambition of Russia is to become a maritime Power. The possession of the Black Sea can alone ensure success to her favourite object ; and, if she gets Constantinople, depend upon it she will dictate the law to Europe. You do not know, perhaps, that this was the idea of the Empress and of the late Emperor Joseph II. That wicked blockhead was flattered with the idea of sharing with Catherine the dominion of the world.’

Mr. Miles made at this time the acquaintance of Le Brun, the Foreign Minister of France in 1792–3, and, except perhaps Chauvelin, the one man most responsible for the war with this country. He was in these years an obscure writer, conducting a violent journal at Liège, and was compelled to flee on account of his articles. Mr. Miles lent him a few guineas, and has left this account of an unscrupulous fool, borne by revolution to a dizzy height of fame, where he lost his head and brought woe on all Europe :—

‘ I have preserved this original letter written by a man most miserably indigent. Le Brun, exiled from France for having wished that the land of his nativity should be as free as America, took refuge in Liège, where he became a journalist. He was driven thence at the instigation of Catherine, and established himself in the duchy of Limburg. In 1787 he came into conflict with the States of Brabant, at that time in revolt against Joseph II., and; eluding the order for his arrest, fled to Vienna to obtain protection. He succeeded, and resumed his business at Bruxelles. The Emperor, after having lowered himself to employ the journalist to defend tyranny, was mean enough to dispute with him for a few liards of pay. His majesty refused to give more than a hundred pistoles, and the scribe would not prostitute his pen to Cæsar for less than a hundred louis. Le Brun, now embroiled with Joseph, fled to Paris, and was enrolled as a member of the Jacobin Club, where I saw him. He then proposed to write in a political newspaper, but, becoming acquainted with Dumouriez, who at that time was the master of Louis XVI. and, for the moment, of France, he attached himself to the fortunes of the general ; became afterwards Minister for Foreign Affairs ; induced the Convention to declare war against England ; signed the order for the death of his sovereign ; and finished his singular career by being decapitated six months after-

wards. Such was the fate of a man whom I had twice relieved, whom I had endeavoured to serve, and whose wife has since asked for bread from the legislators of France—the accomplices of her husband—on behalf of herself and her children, without obtaining it.'

Mr. Miles was chiefly at Liège and Frankfort during the first months of the Revolution in France. He graphically describes how the highways from the Rhine were crowded by the carriages of flying *émigrés*; how the luxurious courts of the great prince bishops trembled at the approach of the devouring tempest; and how the peasantry were stirred by events in Paris:—

'Every carriage that arrives from the Limburg side of the country is supposed to contain fugitives from Paris or Versailles. It was last night reported that the Queen of France had arrived; on inquiry I found it to be the Countess de Kinsky on her road to Vienna. . . . The farmers in some parts of the Electorate of Mayence, on being commanded to repair the roads, laconically answered that *they had not time*, and accordingly *corvées* were dispensed with *until they were at leisure*. . . . A revolt near Strasbourg, in the territory belonging to Cardinal de Rohan; 200 palatines and 200 of the Mayence troops sent to restore public order; but the peasants refuse to pay, and dare the military.'

The affair of Nootka Sound threatened to lead to war between England and Spain in 1789-90, and Pitt sent Mr. Miles on a confidential mission to endeavour to persuade leading men in France to oppose the renewal of the Family Compact by the National Assembly then some months in session. Mr. Miles, who had many friends in Paris, became intimate with Lafayette and his followers, and this was the beginning of a long series of secret negotiations in this troubled time, in which Mr. Miles played a conspicuous part. The Family Compact, as is well known, had alarmed English statesmen during many years, and had been formidable in the American war; and, according to Mr. Miles, the shattered party of the court and the *émigrés* naturally desired to renew it, in order to bring on a contest with England in their supposed ambitious and selfish interests. At a subsequent period he wrote thus to Pitt:—

'It was said that the court of Versailles, aware of the discontent that prevailed, saw no refuge from tumult and insurrection but in war; that war alone could divert the public mind from the contemplation of domestic calamity; that the measure, desperate as it seemed, had its recommendation as well as its necessity, and would at least be palatable if not popular, from the circumstance of its putting an end to the Commercial Treaty, against which all France had in a manner exclaimed and revolted. . . . These opinions derived no inconsiderable support from

the impatience for a war with England as manifested at the same moment by the emigrants whose cabals have unhappily contributed to deluge Europe with blood. They avowed that war alone would restore them to their privileges and the monarch to his power, a power which he had neither the capacity to exercise nor the courage to defend.'

This may have been true, but it was not the whole truth; a majority in the Assembly, and Mirabeau, not yet turned towards the court, wished to renew the compact, and Sieyès at this juncture was for war with England:—

'I allude to the Abbé Sieyès, whom I knew at Paris, and who, even in 1790, insisted on the necessity of, and undertook to demonstrate the advantages that would result from a rupture between France and England. It was not mere commonplace declamation, but serious arguments, that he urged, and urged them with as much vehemence as a man of his dark, undermining, and phlegmatic character is capable.'

It is remarkable, indeed, and of great significance, with reference to the events that followed, how England in 1790–91 was an object of the dislike of Frenchmen; and the popular leaders were as hostile as the men round the tottering throne of Louis XVI. Mr. Miles, intimate with Lafayette and a passionate friend of the Revolution—he became a member of the Jacobin Club a few months after he reached Paris—would not recognise an unquestionable fact; and in this, as in everything else, he was unjust to the Royalists. Here and there he lets out the truth:—

'I cannot but lament that M. de Lafayette should have so little confidence in the pacific disposition of the British Government, which he imagines is hostile to Gallic freedom. With difficulty I convinced him that the armaments last year were not destined against France, and that Spain sought the quarrel with us.'

By his own account, Mr. Miles's efforts to dissolve the alliance between France and Spain were attended with extraordinary success. He wrote to Pitt on the subject in 1795:—

'Those whose credit and influence enabled them to follow your views were not averse to the dissolution of the compact. I had cautiously sounded them, and found them in general well disposed. Even Mirabeau, who received a thousand louis d'or from the Spanish ambassador for the vote of forty-five ships of the line . . . had no insurmountable objection to the annulling of the treaty. He would have preferred a union with the court of London. The Republican party, then beginning to reveal themselves, were, to a man, for the measure; and those who were for a limited monarchy, and indeed for an alliance with this country, from their partiality to its form of government, would cheerfully have broken with the other branch of the House of Bourbon.'

The negotiator, however, took too much on himself, and was puffed up in his own conceits; the Family Compact was not revived, because mutiny paralysed the French fleet at Brest. Jacobin anarchy, in fact, had invaded the crews—an omen of the Fourth of June, of the Nile, of Trafalgar.

Mr. Miles has hinted that his mission included the arrangement of an alliance between England and France. Undoubtedly he often recurred to a project of the kind; for instance, he wrote to Mr. Rose towards the end of 1790 :—

‘The business is realised. Mr. Pitt may, if he follows it up, secure its accomplishment, and thereby lay the foundation for a union between the two kingdoms, an issue which I have long had at heart, and which, emancipated as the French people are from despotism, is the wisest course the British Minister can pursue. With France in our close neighbourhood, its citizens in possession of conscious freedom, active, warlike, and enterprising, we shall have no other alternative than either to cherish amity or else, like gamecocks, live in perpetual hostility.’

Assuredly no such idea as this flitted across the sagacious mind of Pitt. His attitude towards France, until she rushed into war with England, was that of honourable, but most strict, neutrality; and it would have been folly to think of a French alliance in 1789, 1790, 1791, when France was already in the revolutionary gulf. Mr. Miles, indeed, acknowledges this in several letters: ‘I took the liberty to start the idea of an alliance, and to urge it several times in London to Mr. Rose before I came here; but he seemed to throw cold water on it.’ This, again, to Pitt, in 1795, is conclusive: ‘I am far from insinuating that it would have been policy to have proposed at that date a treaty offensive and defensive with France.’ Mr. Miles continually dwelt on this subject during the calamities of 1794–6, and made a parade of his plan as the extreme of wisdom. Yet it was the chimera of a tiro in politics who had an extravagant notion of his own capacity.

Mr. Miles during his stay in Paris had good opportunities to form an estimate of prominent actors on the stage of events. Attached as he was to Lafayette and his party, his judgements are sometimes far from just; but they are usually those of a keen observer. His view of Louis XVI. is that taken by history :—

‘The imbecility of the royal mind renders the king incapable of any wise or vigorous effort to recover what he has lost; and to the same cause may be attributed his insensibility to the affronts that are

daily offered to him with impunity. 'Those who are disposed to emancipate him from the abject state into which he has fallen are forbidden even to think on a scheme of the kind; to those who are the most attached to him he says the least, and, when he speaks, it is to desire that they will be quiet.'

The author had swallowed every evil report against the queen, and was ready to believe her a bad woman; but he was touched by the indignities lavished on her:—

'The queen, whatever her guilt may have been, has more than atoned for all the offences she could possibly have committed. Her degradation alone is a punishment beyond the measure of her vices, if she had any, and gives her a claim to the admiration, compassion, and affection of every man awake to a sense of justice or humanity. But the vulgar, insolent, and unjust triumph in her disgrace and insult her in misfortune.'

Mr. Miles has left this record of a scene at the Tuileries; a bevy of harlots of the Palais Royal, at the instance of a knot of popular deputies, had forced their way into the royal presence:—

'The queen, collected and tranquil—at least, in appearance—continued her party at cards without once discovering the least uneasiness or alarm, and without seeming to hear the tumult, conversing with those about her on the game as if the most perfect calm prevailed.'

The private life of Marie Antoinette was pure. History has refuted the charges against her fair fame; but even at this period she was known to be an implacable enemy of the Revolution, and Mr. Miles was so impressed with a sense of her danger that he offered to escort her to England himself. The incident is curious, and her reply was noble:—

'Mark my words, she will fall a victim, and perish in the midst of insult and general carnage. I requested Madame de Tarente to assure the queen that, if her majesty would condescend to trust herself to me, I would pledge myself to take her safe to England. . . . Madame de Tarente executed her mission without delay, and delivered to me, at the Duc d'Arenberg's, the following answer from the queen: "Her majesty is fully sensible of the generosity and magnanimity of your offer; but as she is resolved to share the fate of the king, and never to separate herself from him, her majesty is under the necessity of declining your offer, whilst thanking you at the same time for the interest which you take in her safety."'

This is Mr. Miles's idea of Necker. He does not appear to have met the Minister; but the reputation of Necker has declined; he was wholly unfit to confront revolution in France:—

‘ Thus ends the political career of a man whom I pronounced to be a charlatan when he succeeded the Archbishop of Sens; and whoever succeeds him must have great talents to repair the finances of the king, and still greater courage to attempt it, for he will be exposed to the caprice of an ill-judging multitude ready to assassinate the object they have deified only the moment before.’

Mr. Miles had the worst opinion of Mirabeau, and scarcely gave him credit for his great capacity :—

‘ Thus has ended the life of a man who was at once the pride and infamy of his country, and on whom her hopes of resurrection finally rested. In England his abilities would not have advanced him to a place of trust. Few men but what have virtues that atone for their vices—I speak of men in exalted situations. He had none. Scenes of low debauchery marked his career through life, and, with petty larceny among his vices, he would have been excluded from good society. Talents he unquestionably possessed, and his answer to the officer when the Assembly of the States General at Versailles was surrounded by guards and the deputies were ordered to disperse, makes me regret that his character was so degraded. That answer, which deserves to be recorded in letters of gold, will alone rescue his memory from oblivion.’

As may be supposed, Mr. Miles made much of Lafayette, an honourable but impracticable man, though certainly not the traitor of Burke’s invectives :—

‘ I have a high opinion of the sincerity of his patriotism, but there is no executive power to support him, and he does not act with sufficient vigour on his own responsibility. I wish he had talents equal to the perilous situation in which he is unhappily placed. He will fall a victim, cool and determined as he is.’

It is remarkable that even at this period Mr. Miles perceived what was in Robespierre. The following is a thoughtful and prophetic estimate :—

‘ The man held of the least account in the National Assembly by Mirabeau, by Lafayette, and even by the Lameths and all the Orleans faction, will soon be of the first consideration. He is cool, measured, and resolved. He is in his heart Republican, honestly so, not to pay court to the multitude, but from an opinion that it is the very best, if not the only, form of government which men ought to admit. Upon this principle he acts, and the public voice is decidedly in favour of this system. He is a stern man, rigid in his principles, plain, unaffected in his manners, no foppery in his dress, certainly above corruption, despising wealth, and with nothing of the volatility of a Frenchman in his character. I do not enter into the question of forms of government, but I say that Robespierre is *bonâ fide* a Republican, and that nothing which the king can bestow on him, were his majesty in a situation to bestow anything, could keep this man from his purpose. In the sense of the word, that is *in his heart meaning well*, as to the destruction of the monarchy, he is an honest man. I watch him very

closely every night. I read his countenance with eyes steadily fixed on him. He is really a character to be contemplated; he is growing every hour into consequence; and, strange to say, the whole National Assembly hold him cheap, consider him as insignificant; and when I mentioned to some of them my suspicions, and said he would be the man of sway in a short time, and govern the million, I was laughed at.'

A good account of the Revolution itself, as it appeared to an admiring observer in 1790, can also be gathered from these pages; and this, we have said, is the most interesting part of the book. Mr. Miles went to Paris with the fixed belief of an English Liberal of an extreme type—the belief avowed at this time by Fox—that France had done an inestimable service to mankind by emancipating herself from the old *régime*, and that a golden era was opening on the world:—

'The Revolution appeared to me at a distance to be one of those magnificent events which move even the most torpid into admiration and enthusiasm. . . . I formed the most extravagant expectations from the change, and, in the wildness of an imagination which sober men like you call distempered, I fancied that my favourite divinities—Liberty and Justice—resolved on a visit to this sublunary globe, had descended in Paris, and would make the tour of at least the continent of Europe.'

With shallow prejudice, too, Mr. Miles ascribed all that was faulty and bad in the state of old France to the despotism of Louis XVI. and his government, and especially to the crimes of the *noblesse* and the church. This is in the vein of the Revolution Society:—

'I am sufficiently read in French history to know that the tremendous change which has happened is to be placed in a great measure to the scandalous incapacity and profligate manners of that pestilential and contemptible banditti of legalised plunderers, your nobility and clergy of the highest class. They are, in fact, the original cause of the Revolution. Had the former been less rapacious and the latter exemplary as ecclesiastics ought to be, the abuses which brought forward bad men and enabled them to obtain credit by their clamour for reform would have been diminished, and the old system, meliorated, would have rendered a revolution not only unnecessary, but impracticable. Your Marats, your Dantons, and your Robespierres are the offspring of the accumulated corruption of your bishops and of an upstart *noblesse*, who had obtained wealth by rapine and titles by purchase and intrigue.'

Mr. Miles, however, soon learned to view the Revolution with alarm and regret. The Englishman, brought up under institutions firmly rooted in the traditions of the past, was struck by the weakness of the National Assembly and of all depositaries of power in France, though he would not acknow-

ledge that this was the natural result of anarchic change. He thus describes the Assembly and the Government in 1790-1, when the 'principles of 1789' held the field in triumph:—

'They are mere subalterns in the dreadful havoc, plunder, and dissolution of the French monarchy, and are only entitled to half the odium of so much guilt. They found everything in disorder, and they have increased the general confusion. The power they possess is a usurpation, for it was never delegated to them; it is far from being permanent, for they now hold it at the pleasure of the Jacobins, who, on the slightest provocation, will perhaps dismiss them with as little ceremony as Cromwell dismissed the Parliament in the middle of the last century. . . . The Jacobins govern the kingdom, or rather they carry everything before them. Louis XVI. retains the title of king; . . . but not an iota of the royal authority remains to him, not even the pageantry of royalty. For my part, I do not see any termination to the confusion that prevails but in a civil war.'

Mr. Miles gives this account of municipal rule in Paris under Lafayette and Bailly, long before the upheaval of 1792:—

'The police of Paris! Good heavens! there is no such thing. The unfortunate object whom they have decorated with the title of Maire and placed at the head of the magistracy is without credit, authority, or respect. Tumults happen daily; the metropolis abounds with libels of the most diabolical tendency; whoever happens to fall under suspicion of the mob is menaced with death; and handbills are publicly distributed inviting the rabble to pillage and disorder. The civil power calls in the aid of the military; and Monsieur de Lafayette and his *aide-de-camp* are kept trotting about like so many penny postmen. Battalions, horse and foot, are called out for the purpose of dispersing the people, but, not daring to fire, they are reduced to the humiliating spectacle of becoming the passive spectators of licence and injustice.'

Mr. Miles dwells with disgust in a number of passages on the attitude of the Assembly to the mob of Paris, an attitude of cowardly fawning and compromise. He saw more than one member taking an active part in encouraging outbreaks of popular passion; yet, what else was to be expected from the evangel of Jean-Jacques and his *Peuple Souverain*?

'In the mob last night I perceived some of the members of the National Assembly abetting the tumult without revealing themselves. I entered into conversation with one of them, without letting him perceive that I knew who he was, and, drawing him imperceptibly from the crowd, I asked him if he could of his conscience approve of those atrocious and sanguinary discourses spoken to a dissolute rabble

capable of committing every crime that shocks and dishonours mankind.'

This is a general account of the state of France and of Paris years before a German soldier had crossed the Rhine, and when the Revolution was running its course undisturbed by any real hostile influence :—

'Eighteen months have elapsed since the royal sceptre was violently torn from the grasp of its weak and deluded sovereign, and from that period to the present moment every kind of savage enormity—every possible plunder that the most confirmed ignorance could commit—have stained with sable spots the annals of this wretched, impoverished, and distracted kingdom. The nation is without revenue and government, its metropolis and provincial towns are without police, its legislature without talents, without probity, and without credit, except with a senseless and sanguinary rabble, who would suspend their representatives from a lantern with as little motive and with as much facility as they applaud their tumultuous and indecent harangues in the senate. There is no prospect, not even the most remote, of public tranquillity being restored ; no measures are taken, or in appearance thought on, to conciliate the disaffected, relieve the injured, or establish order ; and, enamoured with confusion, they wish to render the evil contagious and spread the terrible mischief over the habitable globe. . . . It would be difficult to give you an exact picture of Paris at this moment ; no pen, no pencil can describe it. Bedlam broken loose, and its wild and melancholy inhabitants giving full course to lunacy in Moorfields, would fall far short of what this distracted metropolis exhibits ; and, to aggravate the horrors of this place, every maniac almost an assassin either in thought or deed. There are as many political sects here as there are religious ones in the Christian system—all violent, all zealously pursuing their respective views by the foulest means.'

The shallow levity, the theatrical folly, and the cruel glee which were distinctive features of the multitude in Paris are thus described :—

'It is no uncommon thing to be stopped in the street by an entire stranger, who asks your opinion of the measure under consideration in the National Assembly ; and he asks it with a gravity that would lead you to believe he is interested in the answer, and really wished your opinion ; but before you are recovered from the surprise at being so abruptly accosted, he is off, chaunting "Malbrook," or some other popular ballad. . . . I am wonderfully amused at times, and having seen this place under the stern rigour of absolute monarchy, everything appears in its present disorganised state as in masquerade. I fancy myself in the midst of a grand carnival, and would enter *de bon cœur* into all the mirth and ridicule of the diversified characters that jostle one and each other perpetually in the street, were it not that I am frequently called from the folly of the actors to a commiseration of their sufferings and to a horror of their crimes. They do not, however, suffer or feel disgusted at atrocities that would freeze

our blood; they will mount the scaffold on which they are to perish with a hop, step, and a jump, take a pinch of snuff, crack a joke with the executioner, and die with a *bon mot* or a pleasantry in their mouths.'

This forecast of the moral grandeur of France seems mockery to a generation which has beheld the scenes of the Commune of Paris in 1871; but Mr. Miles, like Catherine, truly predicted that the advent of despotic power was at hand:—

'The rising generation will receive an education different to that of their fathers. Their minds will then become vigorous and enlightened. They will lose their servility with their fears and ignorance, and they will yet become a great people. At present all is cabal and intrigue among the upper and middle classes, and anarchy and confusion pervade the lower orders. The Government will inevitably remain crippled and impotent until some transcendent genius arises in whom great talents and great probity are united; but this will not happen until the measure of Gallic misery is full—that is, until some great disaster takes place, or the public patience, exhausted, calls loudly for a stable and intelligent Government as the only basis of security.'

Mr. Miles describes the 'Reflections on the Revolution in France,' which appeared during his visit to Paris, as a 'rhapsody of pernicious nonsense.' It would be idle to compare his fugitive sketches with the elaborate picture drawn by Burke; and his superficial views are in marked contrast with the profound insight of the philosophic statesman. Yet the English guest of the Jacobin Club, and the man of genius of the great Whig Secession, practically agreed as to the state of revolutionary France and as to the immediate causes of her universal anarchy. Mr. Miles, indeed, does not comment upon the legislative follies of the Assembly, and does not indicate how the 'principles of 1789' and the constitution modelled upon them led necessarily to widespread confusion. But Mr. Miles and Burke concur in pointing out that the worst of the ills that afflicted France were the collapse of authority of every kind, the cowardice and weakness of the men in power, the reckless licentiousness of the Parisian demagogues, and the cruelty and fickleness of the Parisian populace. These Letters and the 'Reflections' are at one in this matter, and both show, what is now not doubtful, that if a great change must have taken place in France, the complete subversion of her social order was by no means an inevitable event. Had Henry IV. worn the crown of Louis XVI., had Richelieu stood in the

place of Necker, had Turenne held the command of Broglie, the reins would not have been thrown to the mob of the capital; and if the *émigrés* had not deserted the king, and the *noblesse* had done their duty in the Assembly, Jacobinism would not have gained its appalling triumph. For the rest, as we have said before, this Correspondence, like Burke's masterpiece, describes France in 1790-1, before there was a sign of the 'Pact of Despots,' and when France was wholly mistress of her own destinies. It proves, therefore, what is now certain, that the anarchy, the excesses, the deeds of wickedness, which culminated in the horrors of 1792-3, were in full swing in the distracted country when the Revolution was its only foe, and that the apologies which have been made for the 20th of July, for the 10th of August, and for the crimes of September, that foreign intervention was their real cause, are true only to a small extent. The Reign of Terror goes nearly back to the risings in the provinces in 1789-90, and to the removal of the royal family from Versailles.

It deserves notice that it was well known in Paris that Prussia was hostile to Austria in 1790-1, a significant fact for those who contend that the League of Pilnitz set France mad:—

'Prussia for intrigue takes the lead. She pays court to each party as appearances may seem to favour. The Tuileries she disregards. All her agents vociferate against the House of Austria as plotting with the queen for the purpose of destroying the Revolution.'

Mr. Miles left Paris in the spring of 1791, but his family remained, and beheld the return of the fugitive king and queen from Varennes as the captives passed through the streets of the city. His daughter wrote to him thus of that sad procession:—

'The king, queen, and royal family arrived in town yesterday, escorted by 150,000 men. The crowd assembled to see them enter was astonishing. The interment of Mirabeau did not produce such a number. The king, queen, dauphin—whom they call her *louveveau*—Madame Royale, and Madame Elisabeth are in separate apartments, with separate guards. . . . The king and queen are to be conducted to the National Assembly to answer the questions that will be asked them. A report goes about the town that the enemy has entered France, and it is advised, if that is the case, to chop off the king's head, and to tie the queen to the tail of a horse and drag her through Paris until she dies. . . . When she was taken she entreated them to kill her, saying she could not support being separated from her children. She has scarcely any hair left; in her despair she tore it off.'

Valmy probably changed the fortunes of Europe; the Revolution would have collapsed had the Duke of Brunswick boldly marched to Paris. Mr. Miles records the hesitation and hopelessness of the duke:—

‘When Dumouriez had collected his troops, and was joined by Kellerman, the troops of the Duke of Brunswick were three leagues nearer to Rheims than were those of the French, and it was proposed that the duke should instantly march to Paris. He agreed at first, but, revolving in his mind all the circumstances, he stated to the King of Prussia that, in the event of his meeting any check, however trifling, at Rheims, it would give Dumouriez time to come up with him; that if he passed that city and advanced on his road to Paris, there was no doubt he would be able to repel any force that might oppose him, but it must be recollected that these different bodies, falling back on each other as they advanced, would finally form a terrible mass of men by the time he reached Paris.’

This was the state of the French soldiery before Valmy:—

‘When Dumouriez joined the army to take command, he found it in a terrible state of insubordination, in a state of mutiny. The men in the ranks as he passed along the line exclaimed, “Voilà le petit b—— qui nous a amené la guerre!” Of these he took no notice, but he seized an officer by the collar on hearing him use insulting language, and made an example of him.’

Mr. Miles was confidentially employed by the Government during the months that preceded the war with France, and his reminiscences are of no common interest. In an examination of Mr. Lecky’s *History*,* we recently surveyed this momentous period, big with events that still affect the world, but this *Correspondence* throws fresh light on it. The distrust of England which, as we have seen, prevailed among Frenchmen in 1790–1 was largely dispelled by the judicious conduct of Talleyrand, who practically represented France at St. James’s in the beginning of 1792; and even when Chauvelin had replaced Talleyrand the relations between the two countries remained so friendly that, as is well known, Pitt reduced our armaments, and felt assured of peace. The Minister, in fact, held the common opinion that the Revolution had immensely weakened the military strength of our ancient enemy; and this view was, for some months, confirmed not only by the first events of the war between France and the German Powers, but by the attitude towards us of the men at the helm in Paris. In the autumn of 1792 several secret envoys were sent over to endeavour to obtain

* See ‘*Edinburgh Review*,’ No. 340, October 1887, pp. 369 *sqq.*

the support of England in a contest which seemed of the worst omen to France, for by this time it was already known that Chauvelin did not stand well with our Government, his meddling intrigues with the noisy Jacobins who infested our cities having become notorious. MM. Noël, Scipion Mourgue, and afterwards Maret—the Duc de Bassano of the first Napoleon—were the most notable of these emissaries; and through Le Brun, now the Foreign Minister of France, they became acquainted with Mr. Miles, who, we have seen, had helped Le Brun when a needy writer. The negotiations remained unnoticed for a time; but the great events of the close of 1792 brought them, with Mr. Miles, into relations with Pitt, Lord Grenville, and the heads of our Government. By this time Jemmapes had been won; Savoy and Nice had been overrun and conquered; Dumouriez was in the heart of Belgium, and was menacing the territory of the Dutch Republic; and the Revolution, as Burke had foreseen, carrying in its train the doctrines of plunder and anarchy, was proclaiming a crusade against established States, and endeavouring to subvert the order of Europe. Grave danger was already drawing near England; and Pitt, who regarded Chauvelin with profound distrust, engaged Mr. Miles to see his new French friends, to correspond with them and the French Ministry, to ascertain the real state of affairs in France and the intentions and aims of the French Government, and generally to report all that he could learn to the Cabinet. The negotiations were chiefly conducted through M. Aust, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Long, Secretary to the Treasury; but Pitt and Lord Grenville often saw Mr. Miles, and Pitt had one interview at least with Maret, and in this way a great deal of information was obtained.

Mr. Miles honourably discharged this delicate duty, and exerted himself to prevent the rupture between England and France which, he feared, was impending, though his point of view was not seldom mistaken. He flattered himself that Pitt might recur to his project of an alliance with France—in the circumstances an absurd idea—and at first he thought our Ministry in the wrong:—

France is disposed to an alliance with England, but she will soon put our good or bad disposition to the proof by demanding an acknowledgement of the Republic; and a refusal will produce war—a war more sanguinary and furious than ever yet distinguished the contests of the two nations since the days of Edward III. Ministry in this country affect to treat the Executive Council with contempt—so they

did the Congress in America; but the Congress triumphed, and Lord Grenville, with all his hauteur, will be compelled to treat with statesmen who, whatever may have been their origin or former social position, have already proved, by turning the tables against those who would have crushed them, that they possess no mean knowledge of the art of government.'

He was gradually undeceived by his correspondence with Le Brun, who, through Chauvelin, was endeavouring to spread the Jacobin propaganda in England and to bring about the fall of the British Government. The following letter to that Minister shows the attitude of these plotters of mischief, and also what even Mr. Miles thought of the celebrated Decrees of the Convention in Paris, as a defiance of the whole European system:—

'The rapidity of your conquests in the Austrian Netherlands, as in Germany and Savoy, has made you lose sight of what you owe to yourselves and to others; and because you succeeded, by the boldness of your arms, against some governments naturally weak and already infected with the contagious vices of the times, you believed yourself able to dictate the law to all Europe, and to force her to adopt the same principles of anarchy of which you have been the victims since the 14th of July 1789. . . . Recall, then, all your emissaries, let the propaganda cease, and do not any longer seek to disturb public tranquillity in this country. Your Decrees of the 19th of November and 15th of December are menaces which no government could hear without taking immediate precautions for its own safety; and you must feel that, while such decrees exist, we cannot rely on your pacific assurances.'

According to a member of the Convention, France had resolved on war at the beginning of December 1792:—

'Our fleet is in as forward a state as yours, great exertions are making in all our ports, and the conflict between our two countries, whenever it happens, will be dreadful. War, to a certain extent, is inevitable, not so much for the purpose of opening the Scheldt—for that is rather a pretext made to animate the people and preserve their enthusiasm—but to get rid * of 300,000 armed vagabonds, who can never be allowed to remain without evident risk to the Convention and Executive Council. These men must be expended, and the ardour which generally prevails for military fame must be diminished or subdued before my country can hope to enjoy peace. You are too sanguine when you assert that a rupture between our two nations will not take place. I tell you again that it is unavoidable, and that, if we had no cause of complaint

* This was the view of the Girondins. Robespierre, more far-sighted, was opposed to war; he foresaw it would lead to a military despotism.

against the Cabinet of St. James, it would be necessary, from policy and for our internal security, to break with the Court of London rather than consent to a general peace, which, I conceive, is the principal object of your Minister.'

Pitt, however, would not have thought of war merely on account of the intrigues of Chauvelin or of the incendiary Decrees of Paris. Mr. Miles was evidently aware of his policy; and it will be seen that the Minister took his stand on the necessity of protecting Holland and on the question of the navigation of the Scheldt. Pitt, too, had his eye on the invasion of Belgium, though he would perhaps have acquiesced in this; and the conduct of the Government was all through consistent with the celebrated Despatch of December 31, in which Lord Grenville defined the position of England—a State paper probably from the hand of Pitt. Mr. Miles wrote thus to Mourgue on December 6:—

'I have reason to believe that the Court of St. James desires nothing better than to avoid hostilities, but at the same time you will admit that it cannot balance between war and solemn engagements made with allies. If France makes any attempt on the independence or the privileges of the Dutch, it will be imperative on England to fly to their assistance, or she would risk being no longer considered as a nation.'

And again to Le Brun on the 22nd of the same month:—

'In the name of God, my dear sir, do act in such a manner that the Executive Power may retrace its steps relative to the opening of the Scheldt, and that the Convention may renounce its error in wishing to support insurrection in foreign countries. It is the only means of avoiding war and of extinguishing in our respective nations the fire-brands who, labouring vigorously, intrigue and cabal, and make all possible efforts to produce the outbreak of a general explosion!'

Mr. Miles had written to Pitt a short time before, expressing his conviction that France would yield if England would recognise the new Republic—an impossible condition, we think, at this moment:—

'Forgive me if I again repeat my firm belief that by an immediate interference you have it in your power to restore peace to Europe. . . Allow me to express my conviction that Le Brun would open himself to me without reserve, and that all operations against Holland and the Scheldt would be renounced *in toto*, if only the Executive Council were assured that, by such a renunciation, and by agreeing to enter into a negotiation for peace with the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, this country would acknowledge the Republic. It is the great point they aim at.'

The leaders in Paris undoubtedly paused and hesitated to provoke a quarrel with England. Mr. Miles remained long sanguine that terms would be made as regards Holland and even the opening of the Scheldt. He was, however, undeceived:—

‘ At half-past nine Mourgue came. I found him elated with the expected interview (with Mr. Long) and as much a *Gascon* as ever boasted in the reign of Louis XIV. He talked of the glorious principles of equity, of the imprescriptible rights of men, and the determination of France to open the Scheldt. “If England,” he continued, “opposed the measure, *tant pis*—so much the worse for her—the arms of France would vindicate her just pretensions in favour of the Anversois, and it was impossible that France could recede.” In that case, I replied, war is inevitable, for England was bound by treaty to defend her ally if attacked.’

This, too, from Maret, who was earnest for peace:—

‘ M. Maret has just left me. He comes again in a few days. He informed me that the French fleet was as forward for sea as ours, and that war was almost inevitable.’

While diplomacy, whether formal or secret, was agitating the question of peace or war, the attitude of France had become more and more hostile. The French armies had established themselves in Belgium; and the leaders of the Convention, who had disclaimed the notion of permanent conquest in these provinces, were incorporating them with the territory of France. Dumouriez had not invaded the States, and probably wished not to break with England; but his troops were on the verge of Holland, and French ships of war had entered the Scheldt. Meanwhile France had collected a great fleet at Brest, and Chauvelin, in London, had left nothing undone, at the instance or with the assent of Le Brun, to intrigue with conspirators against the Government. These facts compelled England unwillingly to arm and to defend herself by an Alien Bill; and the well known Despatch of December 31, in our judgement altogether justified, gave France fair warning that, should she persist in her present course, she would bring on war. This admirable State paper, haughty in tone, but plainly within our international rights, was answered by a dexterous note of Le Brun, most probably the composition of Maret, which asserted that France was desirous of peace, that she had no intention to annex the Low Countries, and that she was ready to negotiate on the question of the Scheldt. Maret wrote privately to Mr. Miles in this sense, sending him, it seems, a copy of the official despatch; and Mr. Miles com-

two nations, but there are men in high credit in this country who rejoice at the horrible excesses of the French in the hope that they will force us into the war.'

The contest was due to great causes, and could not, we think, have been averted; but, if the following is credible, mean and trivial causes concurred:—

'A curious account of the immediate origin of the outbreak was given by Maret himself, in August 1797, to Lord Malmesbury. "The failure of his negotiation," he said, "could be attributed to the then French Government, who were bent on that war; that the great and decisive cause of the war was quelques vingtaines d'individus marquans et en place, qui avoient joués à la baisse dans les fonds, et là ils avoient porté la nation à nous déclarer la guerre. Ainsi," said he, "nous devons tous nos malheurs à un principe d'agiotage." He said on his return to France he was informed of this, and was considered as in possession of so dangerous a secret that they wanted first to send him to Portugal, which he refused, then to Naples, which he was *forced to accept*; and that he had every reason to believe that his arrest and confinement were settled and concerted at Paris before he left.'

Mr. Miles gives this account of the state of opinion in England at this momentous juncture; but his French sympathies warped his judgement: the war at the beginning was the will of the nation:—

'I find a general aversion bordering on horror to war with France. An unpopular war is to be dreaded. Every man deploras the melancholy fate of Louis XVI., but the inestimable blessings of peace and the tide of national prosperity ought not to be interrupted under the vain and illusory pretext of revenging the death of an individual whose existence and relation had ceased to be an object of national importance long before he fell on the scaffold.'

Under the impressions formed by the disasters of the war Mr. Miles deceived himself into the false notion that, even as early as 1791, Pitt was forced by the king to become hostile to France. This statement is erroneous, nay, absurd:—

'In 1791 Mr. Pitt received a message from the king by Lord Hawkesbury that he must war with France or resign, and Lord Moira was actually sent for express to town in order to be at the head of a new Administration, had Mr. Pitt resigned. . . . The sad consequences of the war I deprecate as much as any man, but, pressed as he was by the king, it was not in his power, as I have repeatedly told you, to avoid it.'

Mr. Miles, in fact, often confuted himself; he has acknowledged, over and over again, that Pitt was driven into the war

by France, or rather by the wicked and reckless men unhappily supreme in the Convention in Paris:—

‘I must again protest to you that Mr. Pitt could not avoid the war at any period after 1791; I could convince you from papers in my possession that he was even eager to preserve peace in December 1792, and although I condemn his dereliction from those Whig principles which first induced me to stand forth a volunteer in support of his Administration, I will never desert him where I know him to be right.’

The positions of England and France in the beginning of 1793 almost necessarily led to a violent rupture. Settled government and aristocratic rule were defied by lawless anarchy and demagogic insolence; tradition, international right, and the conservative forces of an old society were brought into collision with insane theories, with doctrines subversive of established law, with revolutionary passion, and with the lust of rapine; and the two nations had been for ages enemies. But it is absolutely certain that Pitt struggled hard, and earnestly, to prevent the conflict; and the conception of the Minister, still common in France, and derived from the notion that Pitt resembled Chatham, and considered France our natural foe, is a complete, nay, a ridiculous, error. The policy of Pitt was for years founded on the principle of a French alliance with England. As a Minister he was as pacific as Walpole; and Carteret, Chatham, Russell, and Palmerston would assuredly not have brooked, as he did, the treachery of Chauvelin against our Government, the invasion and the conquest of Belgium, and the menaces of France against the Dutch Republic, not to speak of the crusade against the European system. He was driven into war because England was bound to respect the obligations of treaties, and to protect an ally; and, if the opening of the Scheldt seems a small affair, we must not forget that, as matters stood, it would certainly have given France Antwerp, and perhaps supremacy in the narrow seas. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, because a shallow belief has made its way, that Pitt drew the sword without sufficient reason, nay, was the real author of the Great War with France. The contrary is the simple truth; and though Pitt doubtless did not attempt to resist the explosion of wrath in England, due to the execution of Louis XVI., he went to war to defend real British interests. As for the plausible overtures made to him by the men in power in the French Convention, clear evidence exists that they were either insincere or were inadequate on most important questions. An impartial survey of the

whole case convinces us that the British Minister was desirous all through to prevent hostilities, and was forced into the struggle with extreme reluctance, and in a cause essentially just; and the responsibility for a contest which shook the world rests on France, or rather on her detestable rulers. It may, no doubt, be true that Pitt and Lord Grenville maintained a somewhat unbending attitude, and that their despatches were curt and haughty in tone; but if we remember the plotting of Le Brun and Chauvelin, and bear in mind what manner of men were supreme in Paris in 1792-3, this is hardly matter for surprise or censure.

Pitt believed that the war would soon be over; he argued from the distracted state of France, and from what seemed to him her financial ruin. Nor was his judgement as wrong as is commonly supposed. Had the coalition put forth its strength; had not time been wasted in useless sieges; nay, had the French levies been boldly pursued, as they were driven in rout from the Camp of Cæsar, the allies would have entered Paris in the summer of 1793, and have crushed Jacobinism in its foul seat of blood. The golden occasion, however, was lost. France was given time to combine her forces; the greed of the German Powers made the war national; and ere long the Committee of Public Safety, wielding the resources of a great revolutionary State, had created out of the old troops of the monarchy and the masses of recruits sent into the field the famous 'fourteen armies' which, in a few months, rolled back their disordered enemies, and had poured over the Meuse and the Rhine. Mr. Miles quickly perceived the real nature of the war:—

"This is not a war to be conducted by the common routine of office—an expedition here and another there, a few jobs and lucrative contracts, or improvident loans by way of stimulus. We seem to forget that we wage war with millions of men, not with an Administration which could be bribed to peace the instant that hostilities became irksome. The French are brave, they have infinite ingenuity, their perseverance is equal to their dexterity; and, without being the advocate of their guilt or an admirer of their follies, I will venture to assert that to such a mass of intellect, muscular strength, perseverance, and courage, an equal proportion of wisdom, fortitude, and activity must be opposed, or monarchy will be at an end in this country, as it almost is on the Continent. Ministers should weigh well the force with which they have to contend, and act accordingly."

The following indicates the untoward results of the separation of the Duke of York from Cobourg at the most critical moment of the campaign of 1793:—

'The fatal rock upon which all success of the last campaign split was the expedition to Dunkirk. Who was the original planner I know not, but it is certain that Prince Cobourg was against it, and said in strong terms to the Duke of York, "Sir, only stay with me six weeks, I will then accompany you, and I will almost venture to affirm that we shall succeed."'

Mr. Miles gives us this caricature of Lord Howe, but is just in his reflections on the Duke of York, whom Pitt had wished to replace by Cornwallis:—

'Our Channel Fleet is commanded by a man so addicted to detail, so frivolous, and yet so formal, that he would pick out a ropeyarn before he saw a cable, and stumble over it sooner. Such men are fit to measure tape behind counters. I would not say so much, but that I know from whence his support arises, and it is from my regard for Mr. Pitt that I have said it. Nor am I less concerned that the army should be under the command of the Duke of York. You know my sentiments on this subject. I shall only add that, should he be taken, his ransom will be a peace at once ignominious and insecure. . . . As I am no stranger to the Duke of York's conduct and character, I am the less disposed to confide in his prudence or capacity.'

In the first months of the war an offer was made by M. de la Colombe, an *aide-de-camp* of Lafayette, to organise a great rising in the Cevennes and Auvergne, which would have given assistance to Lyons and Toulon, besieged by the Republican armies. Mr. Miles pressed this on the attention of Pitt, and evidently thought the plan of extreme importance; but the Minister took no notice of it. Whether the project would have had more success than the descents on Quiberon or the Helder it is, of course, impossible to say; but the fortunes of Europe might have been changed had not Bonaparte found an opportunity at Toulon to display his extraordinary genius for war. Mr. Miles often complained that his advice was rejected:—

'At the commencement of hostilities I presented a proposal from several emigrants who are attached to a limited monarchy and were authorised by their countrymen to create a diversion in the South of France and raise an army of 30,000 men. They required no assistance from the coalesced Powers, either in men or money or ammunition, and, from what I have since been informed, it is more than probable that Lyons would have been preserved, and of course Toulon, if this offer had been accepted. . . . I could enlarge on this subject, for the torrents of blood that have flowed at Lyons excite my horror and indignation, and all the more as I know it could have been prevented by proper exertions even on the part of the King of Sardinia.'

It is impossible to defend Pitt, as a War Minister, after 1793. By this time he had become aware that the German

Powers were playing England false; that Prussia and Austria were rather looking to Poland than to making a real effort on the Rhine; that Spain and Prussia were turning towards the French Republic; above all, that revolutionary France had triumphed over a terrified Continent and was marching on an easy path of conquest, 'with ideas infinitely more strong than bayonets.' Yet Pitt continued to lavish gold on allies whose treacherous lukewarmness was well known; he refused to believe that the Peace of Basle was at hand; he did nothing to develop our military power, which a year or two would have made formidable; he allowed the Duke of York to retain his command; our fleets remained in a neglected state, as the mutiny at the Nore was soon to show; and our naval strength was wasted in petty attacks on West Indian islands which had no results. His great and capital mistake, however, was that he misunderstood the nature of the war: he regarded it as the kind of conflict waged by his father with Louis XV., not as a tremendous strife between old Europe and a great military nation, in a state of frenzy, letting loose anarchy and the evangel of plunder; and he talked of the speedy collapse of the victorious Republic, because assignats were below par, as if it was not gorged with the spoils of rich towns and provinces, or as if, as Macaulay has said, 'Attila had a Chancellor of the Exchequer' among his lieutenants. He carried on the war lavishly, alike, and feebly, and betrayed want of insight in foreign affairs; and it is to the credit of Mr. Miles that, at an early period, he charged the Minister with these grave faults while he was still all powerful in the House of Commons. Mr. Miles enlarged fully on these points, and his description of Pitt as a War Minister is one of the most valuable parts of this work. He wrote thus to Sir Edward Newenham in the spring of 1794:—

'Lyons has been lost through our folly and the treachery of the King of Sardinia. The fall of Lyons necessarily produced that of Toulon. The king's partiality to his second son has occasioned defeat and disgrace in the Low Countries. The army is dissatisfied with the Duke of York, who, independent of his want of capacity, is violent and imprudent. Yet these nominations have been sanctioned by the Minister, and he relies on a majority in Parliament for support. . . . The conduct of the war has not borne any proportion to the magnitude of the occasion; and with France triumphant everywhere and the Republic established beyond the force of the combined powers to destroy it, we seem destined to play guineas against assignats, whilst some of the coalition are as well disposed to this odds as if they had Mexico and Peru in their pockets, and did not know the value of money. Yet

you appear to derive encouragement from Mr. Pitt's last speech in the Commons. It is only the uninitiated, or the sanguine, or the prejudiced who are deluded by his statements on foreign affairs. He requires the aid of every gleam of hope to sustain the power he possesses. Time will prove the fallacy of his predictions, and show that in his forecast of the future he has not been gifted with prophecy, nor in the present entanglement of our Continental relations does he exhibit the qualities of a farseeing statesman.'

And again to Mr. Aust, in the summer of the same year:—

'I told you from the first that the Republic was established; I asserted it in the year 1790, and my correspondence with Ministers will prove that I predicted the dissolution of the monarchy in the autumn of that year. France acts for herself; it is no longer the Court of Versailles, it is the nation; and her Ministers are infamously imposed upon by them who tell them the contrary.'

As the war progressed, Mr. Miles became more severe. He wrote thus at the close of 1794:—

'We are certainly in a very deplorable situation. The French are everywhere victorious, and we have been everywhere defeated or duped. A very pretty negotiator is Lord Malmesbury to make such a bargain with the King of Prussia as to pay in advance a sum of money sufficient to maintain the whole herd of beggarly princes in Germany for some years. When I see all these improvident measures—this profusion, and this thorough ignorance of foreign politics—I cannot support such conduct, or think well of the capacity of those who have managed so ill. The conduct of the war has been faulty from first to last, and the fact is that it is equally ruinous to contend or to yield. The war must certainly be prosecuted—we have no alternative; we must obtain peace by force, or descend to solicit it as a boon from an enemy triumphant in every direction. We have to contend with an entire nation who are as rich in the resources of genius as they are ardent and enterprising in the field.'

This general account of Pitt as a War Minister, summed up by Mr. Miles in December 1795, is not wholly correct, but contains much truth:—

'In all matters that relate to our foreign interests he wants information—he is without knowledge and without system. In the conduct of the war he has failed in judgment, and, what is no less to be regretted, he wants that bold, vigorous, and decisive character—quick in conception and prompt in execution—which ensured glory to his father and prosperity to his country. . . . What is now the situation of our country? It is as deplorable as mismanagement, amounting almost to imbecility, can make it; and Mr. Pitt, whether he strives for peace or prefers the continuation of war—if he has not already rendered a revolution inevitable—has, at least, by his profusion and want of

system and energy, brought us into a position of incalculable embarrassment and danger both at home and abroad.'

Mr. Miles corresponded with his friends in France, apparently at the request of the Government, from 1793 until the Peace of Amiens. He clung, even in 1794-5, to the notion that he could bring about a reconciliation between France and England; but he was '*eandem canens cantilenam ad nauseam usque.*' The following seems to us absurd:—

'Admonish Danton and Robespierre to be moderate; let them prove the justice of their dispute with Austria by the equity of their pretensions; and let them disavow and for ever renounce those sanguinary revolutionary doctrines which lead to the subversion of all government and of all order and subordination in society.'

He wrote thus to M. Noël in 1794:—

'If Danton and Robespierre come into our plan—and surely, if they have the interests of humanity at heart, and are actuated by a sincere desire to terminate the dreadful disorders that ravage all France, they will not refuse their aid—I feel assured that the olive branch will again be displayed at Calais and Dover.'

M. Barthélemy, the French Minister at Bâle, made a pacific overture in 1795:—

'M. Barthélemy, by order of the Convention, wrote to me in December last from Bâle, that France was disposed to treat with England for peace. I sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding his avowed disinclination to receive intelligence on the subject of peace from France, and I offered to proceed to Bâle, mainly to sound the Convention, without any recompense from the Government; but the Cabinet remained immovable in their resolve to continue the war.'

'The overture, however, was a mere pretence, or at best an eddy of thought in a roaring sea of frenzy. France and her rulers had no notion of making peace:—

'In March 1795 I received an assurance from a person in power at Paris that I must no longer hope for peace; that France was resolved, under the persuasion that the rancour of this country was inextinguishable, to prosecute the war until Great Britain was crushed, and that she would shut us out from the Elbe and the Mediterranean.'

Mr. Miles continued his laudable efforts, but to no purpose, down to 1800. He had gradually become estranged from the Minister, and had retired to the country, 'in disgust of politics'; but he wrote thus to Temple, now Lord Buckingham, on the subject of the negotiations for peace, just when Pitt resigned on the Catholic question:—

My wish certainly is that Mr. Pitt should make the peace, not only from the strong personal regard I once had for him, but from the full conviction—and I think that this conviction must be general—that no man in England is more capable than himself to make a better use of peace after he has obtained it; no man could possibly turn it to better account. His forte is finance, and the wonderful height to which he raised the public credit of this country after a very disastrous war is my voucher. Thus thinking of his talents, as far as they relate to political economy, and believing, as I firmly do, that he has through the whole of this unfortunate quarrel been *seduced* or *compelled* to act in opposition to his better judgment and disposition, I cannot but most cordially wish that the styptic may be applied to the bleeding wounds of my country under his auspices.

Mr. Miles bitterly complained of Lord Grenville for treating as he did the famous letter of Bonaparte to George III. respecting peace. But the letter was a violation of diplomatic forms, and England had reason to regard the First Consul with distrust:—

‘France is at this moment disposed to treat for peace; but, whilst I impart this information in confidence, I am bound to reveal that the Government, which had the criminal imbecility to reject the overtures of the First Consul in a tone of arrogance which its situation neither at home nor abroad justified, must submit to the well merited humiliation of making an overture in turn.’

The attitude of our diplomatists under the rule of Pitt was, however, rigid and unbending, like that of the Minister, and this unquestionably had bad results. Mr. Miles alludes to this over and over again. As early as 1790 he wrote as follows:—

‘If Ministers, in their selection of men for foreign missions, would choose those who are familiar without being vulgar—endowed with a ready and obliging disposition, gracious without being lifted up with pride—they would find their account in it. The diamond in the rough, as for immediate use, is without value, and lies in a dormant state, whilst the Bristol stone blazes at the ball and dazzles the multitude.’

This remark of Mr. Miles on Irish affairs, and the miserable rebellion of 1798, confirms what Mr. Lecky has just published, and is significant at the present time:—

‘The infatuation must be extreme that supposes the French espoused the cause of the discontented in Ireland from personal affection for the people of that country, or from a wish to render them free and happy. The Directory consider them as a lever by whose astonishing force they hope to prise Great Britain out of her political position, and their calculation proves equal wisdom, malignity, and accuracy. Hence the promised succour to the deluded insurgents, who do not perceive that they are the dupes of a nation whose sole object is to cripple and

destroy us. From the extravagant pretensions of the "United Irishman," I am doubtful whether any reform in their representation would have satisfied them. I am afraid that their views point to independence.'

Before the negotiations prior to the Peace of Amiens, Mr. Miles took much interest in the question of Newfoundland, still a subject of jealousy between England and France:—

'I have since the commencement of the present rupture been apprised that France keeps an eye steadfastly fixed upon Newfoundland; and as she will most probably avail herself whenever the season for negotiation arrives, not only of the law which supposes the island to be evacuated every fall, but of her gigantic attitude, to demand a part of it to be ceded to her for the purpose of curing and salting fish, it becomes a question whether such a claim could not be prevented by instantly colonising Newfoundland.'

It deserves notice that Mr. Miles strongly advocated the retention of Malta before the renewal of war in 1803:—

'Had I been Minister, no consideration would have induced me to surrender it—fortified, as we were, in the possession of the double argument of conquest and of public acclamation—the inhabitants, approaching to 80,000, being desirous to be under the British Government.'

This is the epitaph of Mr. Miles on Pitt—not laudatory, but in some measure just:—

'Il est donc parti après nous avoir fait infiniment de mal! But the errors of Mr. Pitt may be entombed—de mortuis nil nisi bonum. Would to God that we could as easily dispose of the consequences of these errors!'

The death of Pitt caused a complete change in the political attitude of Mr. Miles. The follower of Wilkes, like many of that school, had supported the young statesman against Fox and Lord North, and when the Coalition fell had, as we have seen, adopted the progressive Tory creed of Pitt. Even the war did not wholly estrange Mr. Miles from a patron he still revered; but he quickly turned to the Whig leaders when the Minister had been removed from the scene. The literary activity of his youth revived; he wrote much as an advocate of 'All the Talents'; and through the influence of Lord Moira, an old friend, it was proposed that he should be sent to Corfu as Consul General, in the interest of peace, believed for a time to be possible. The appointment, however, was never made; and on the return of the Tories to power Mr. Miles retired to the country again, where he continued briskly to employ his pen in promoting the

Liberal ideas of the day. He corresponded regularly with Lord Moira; and it is curious to observe what that statesman thought of the position of affairs after the retreat from Moscow :

‘ Ministers have really deluded themselves to such a degree with the notion that Bonaparte’s army was annihilated, and himself devoid of all chance to escape, as to have thought it superfluous to take any ulterior measures. I believe they now suspect that their utmost activity will be requisite to provide against the probable renovation of his strength.’

Mr. Miles had by this time returned in politics to the ideas of his youth, and had adopted the creed of Burdett and Wood. He has scarcely commented on the fall of Napoleon, and though he rejoiced, like an Englishman, in the glory of England, he barely alludes to the Peninsular War; and he was secretly vexed, perhaps, that all that he had foretold about the supremacy of France had proved false. He found a home in Paris in 1816, renewed his intimacy with Lafayette and with many of his old French friends, and passed quietly away a few months afterwards, a believer in the new Liberalism of France and of England. After the lapse of two generations his Correspondence appears to throw fresh light on a grand page of history, and on the chief personages of a memorable time. The work has been edited with pious care by a son, now in extreme old age, who, in the preface to his book, gives us a curious example how one life may link the distant past with the present: ‘ It seldom happens that any person is able, as in the present instance, to speak of his father as having been, 112 years ago, in communication with literary and political men, Mr. Miles having corresponded with David Garrick, among others, as far back as the year 1778.’

- ART. II.—1. *The Viking Age: the Early History, Manners, and Customs of the Ancestors of the English-speaking Nations.* By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU. In Two Volumes. London: 1889.
- *2. *The Pre-History of the North, based on Contemporary Memorials.* By the late Chamberlain J. J. A. WORSAAE. Translated by H. F. Morland Simpson, M.A. London: 1886.
3. *Glyphes des Rochers du Bohuslän.* Dessinés et publiés par L. BALTZER. Avec une Préface de Viktor Rydberg. Gothenbourg: 1881–1887.
4. *Kjökken-Müddinger.* Von J. JAPETUS SM. STEENSTRUP. Kopenhagen: 1886.
5. *The Vikings in Western Christendom, A.D. 789 to A.D. 888.* By C. F. KEARY, M.A., F.S.A. London: 1891.
6. *The Saga Library.* Vol. I. 'The Story of Howard the 'Halt,' &c. Done into English out of the Icelandic. By WILLIAM MORRIS and EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON. London: 1891.

M. DU CHAILLU's fundamental thesis claims little discussion. We have unlearned a great deal of late: All our traditional convictions, it may be said, have been flung together into the melting-pot, and not all have proved infusible. But the révision of ideas may be carried too far, and we should certainly draw the line in front of belief in our Anglo-Saxon ancestry. It is not, indeed, seriously menaced. The contention that the Teutonic settlement of Britain was Scandinavian from first to last is supported by no argument worthy the name. To assert that it was begun as well as completed by Northmen; that Hengist and Horsa (admitting, what our author denies, their real existence) were no less truly vikings than the sons of Ragner Lodbrog; that Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were swarms from the same hive with the pirate bands who conquered Northumbria under Ethelred, and were barely, by the genius of Alfred, held aloof from the heart of Wessex, is to mistake affinity for identity.

The Low-Dutch tribes, first visible to us as dwellers on the coast and islands between the Elbe and the Rhine, figure in history as precursors to the enterprising rovers of the Baltic and North Seas, who outdid them in ravage, and supplanted them in maritime supremacy. From the fourth to

the sixth century of our era, Saxon fleets were as formidable to Britain as Danish fleets were to England four hundred years later; but they had vanished from the seas long before the Northmen's power rose. The opulence of the new establishment secured by the adventurers from the mouth of the Elbe after the Roman abandonment of our island, their conversion to Christianity, the exigencies of domestic warfare, wholly changed the character of their activity, and rendered them defenceless against the buccaneering arts they had formerly themselves practised.

The Danish conquest of England was effected by a people of kindred origin, it is true, with the victims of their aggression, but separated from them by important differences of language, manners, and traditions. Although politically consummated by the foundation of the dynasty of Swein, it was never complete; and to this day the limits of Danish occupation are traceable in peculiarities of local nomenclature. Terminations in *by* (from the Danish *bo*, a dwelling-place) afford the surest criterion. Comparatively rare south of Watling Street, they swarm between the Wash and the Tees, over the area of the old 'Danelaw.' Whitby, Naseby, Rugby, Ashby, Kirkby, Selby, are a few among scores of instances. The Saxon Northweorthig was re-named by the Scandinavian invaders Derby, the 'town of the deer' (*Dyrby*); Baldersby and Thornaby contain reminiscences of Norse mythology; Grimsby, Asgardby, Haconby, Swainby, Rollesby, perpetuate the appellations of individual vikings. The tripartite division of counties into Ridings, or 'Tri-things,' is found only in the Anglo-Danish shires of York and Lincoln,* where also the hundred was superseded by the 'wapentake'; while the Danish municipal institution of the 'husting' (from *hus*, a house, and *thing*, an assembly) has gained prevalence, and suffered deterioration with the progress of the centuries.

The Norse *Vig*, or *Wik*, a creek, whence the Vikings, or 'creek-men,' got their generic name, crops up along our shores, not only far to the North, in Wick, Alnwick, Lerwick, and elsewhere, but close to the port of London, in Woolwich and Greenwich, and on the coast outside, in Sandwich, a well-known station of the pirate fleets lying in wait for opportunities to slip up the Thames. The assiduity of their watch over the metropolis is betrayed, too, in the names of

* Streatfeilde, 'Lincolnshire and the Danes,' p. 111; Isaac Taylor, 'Words and Places,' p. 105, 3rd. edition.

Deptford ('deep fiord'), of Shoeburyness, Foreness, Whiteness, the Naze, and Sheerness, all framed from the Scandinavian *naes*, a promontory. Hard by London itself, a fortified town called Southwark (*Syd-virk*) was set apart, when the epoch of mere ravage was past, for Danish trade and habitation, just as was Oxmantown (the town of the *Ostmen*) in the neighbourhood of Dublin; and a church dedicated to the Scandinavian patron-saint gave its title to 'St. Olave's Street,' since corrupted, beyond easy recognition, into 'Tooley Street.' *

The primitive relationship between Northmen and Saxons undoubtedly helped their amalgamation, but did not hinder the subsistence of a marked diversity, accentuated by the fanatical paganism of the new-comers. To confound the two races is to ignore philology and to stultify history. Fortunately, however, M. du Chaillu's book does not depend for its interest upon the truth of an hypothesis. It is essentially a pictorial presentation of the archaeology of the North. The text illustrates the figures, rather than the figures the text. These are good in themselves; they are well chosen, admirably executed, and strew the pages in lavish abundance. The accompanying letterpress is good relatively. Its function is suitably performed. It states the necessary facts without circumlocution, supplies explanatory comments, and is judiciously made to give place, when the 'Viking Age' is reached, to long, and often entertaining, extracts from the national Sagas, by the aid of which an authentic description is furnished of the modes of life and thought, the manners, customs, and superstitions, characterising the indomitable worshippers of Odin.

The first rule of story-telling—namely, to begin at the beginning—is in their case far from easy to observe. Their extraordinary display of energy in the eighth and three following centuries was unheralded by any audible note of preparation. They sprang upon Europe as it were in silence and at a bound. Urged by an impulse as unanimous as it is now inscrutable, they issued in their 'long ships' from every fiord and creek in Norway and Denmark, expert in war and seamanship, armed with weapons sometimes scarcely inferior in splendour and power to Excalibur itself, reckless of life, greedy for plunder, counting risk a good in itself, ready to inflict or endure each last extremity of physical torture. Within a few decades they became known

* Worsaae, 'The Danes and Norwegians in England,' pp. 17-18.

and feared from Ultima Thule to the Bosphorus; they discovered America, colonised Greenland and Iceland, annexed the Orkneys and Hebrides, gave kings to Ireland, twice conquered England, seized a province of France, rifled the Piræus, and founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

They were known, however, only from the outside as despoilers and intruders; their inner history remained undivulged. Strangers did not care to investigate it; and they themselves were content that their scalds should glorify the present by throwing a mythical veil over the past. Less questionable records, meanwhile, yearly accumulating beneath their soil, have furnished to later ages the only authentic materials for a 'pre-history' of the North—materials so abundant, that every column of peat in Denmark three feet square contains, Professor Steenstrup calculates, some relic of long past generations.*

The opulence in antiquities of the Baltic lands cannot be properly estimated without a visit to the splendid museums of Stockholm and Copenhagen. There, collected from turf-mosses, quagmires, grave-chambers, and shell-mounds, are to be found the national chronicles. The history is complete, and the shape into which it was thrown by the late Professor Thomsen, the official head, during fifty years, of Danish archæology, has become classical throughout Europe. At Copenhagen the typical three ages of human culture were first distinguished, and the successive use of stone, bronze, and iron in the fabrication of weapons and implements assigned a significance which subsequent research has not failed to ratify.

The primitive inhabitants of Scandinavia are supposed to have reached the banks of the Eyder from the south-west. Fishermen and hunters, they knew nothing of agriculture, kept neither flocks nor herds, and were attended, among the lower animals, only by the dog. Metals they had none; but their skill in the manufacture of flint weapons was not inconsiderable, and with their help they were able to bring down the stags and boars, the wild oxen, bears, and wolves, which in those times lurked in the pine-forests or roamed over the peaty moors of Sleswig and Jutland. But the new comers were primarily fish-eaters, hence reluctant to depart from within sound of the sea. Nor did they linger long among the inhospitable sandy dunes of the western coast, but made their way by semi-casual daily advances, to per-

manent settlements among the deeply embayed and indented shores and islands bordering upon the straits of the Baltic known to later ages as the Cattegat, the Belts, and the Sound. Here they left extensive, if unpremeditated, memorials in the 'kitchen-middens,' or refuse-heaps, strewing the Danish coasts, the contents of which have yielded much curious information relating both to the customs of these pioneering bands, and to the prehistoric fauna and flora of the region they chose to inhabit.

Kitchen-middens are veritable embankments of shells and bones intermixed with fragments of rude pottery, often hundreds of feet in length and breadth, and varying from three to ten feet in depth.* Representing the sites of ancient villages, they serve to remind us that the dustman's cart was not an institution of the stone age. They afford evidence, too, that the water of the Baltic was then much saltier than it is now.† For oysters are no longer met with, and cockles, mussels, and periwinkles, only of stunted size, along the shores where millions of finely developed specimens were consumed by the low-browed savages, the staple of whose food they made. The fish-bones scattered among the shells include those of such thoroughly marine species as herrings, haddocks, and dabs, none of which are fitted to exist in the brackish waters of the modern Danish Archipelago. The change has sometimes been regarded as due to a supposed more direct communication, in former times, of the Baltic with the German Ocean; yet the commercial importance of its herring-fisheries down to the fifteenth century appears to render superfluous the introduction of a geological cause for an effect adequately explained by diminished rainfall, or a more copious evaporation.

Eels, carp, and snails were also eaten by the shell-mound men; their chief animal food was venison and boar's flesh, to which they added, as opportunity offered, or necessity urged, *pièces de résistance* furnished by the urus, bear, seal, and porpoise, with *entrées* of roast hedgehog, beaver, marten, otter, and water-rat. Nay, the wolf, fox, lynx, and wild-cat were not altogether eschewed; while the bones of the dogs who certainly shared their repasts (as proved by the invariable absence of certain softer parts of the skeletons of the animals consumed) ‡ betray, by tell-tale knife-marks,

* Taylor, 'Origin of the Aryans,' p. 61.

† See art. 'Baltic' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

‡ Steenstrup, 'Kjökken-Möddinger,' p. 11.

the occasional sacrifice to hunger of their four-footed friends. During the winter months, indeed, when the formation of ice put a stop to piscatorial operations, the pressure of want must have been severe; yet there is no evidence that the fishermen shifted their quarters with the seasons. The fixity of their bleak habitations is, on the contrary, certified by the fact that the birds slain with their flint-tipped arrows were almost exclusively wild geese, ducks, and swans, the winter visitants of Denmark. With these are associated remains of the seagull, the great auk (become extinct within living memory), and of the capercaillie. The presence of the last-named birds is loosely indicative of an epoch; for they fed upon the shoots and cones of the pine, and the pine-forests of Jutland have long since been buried in its morasses, while the vegetation of oak which succeeded was, in its turn, to a great extent displaced by the now prevailing growth of the beech. It has hence been computed that the shell-mound builders cannot have lived less than four or five thousand years ago, and may have been still more antique. Both the elk and reindeer had, nevertheless, vanished prior to their advent.

These dimly-discerned dwellers by the Baltic possessed, despite their abject mode of life, some points of superiority over modern savages. They beyond question abstained from human flesh; and they, in all probability, never tasted the brutal joys of intoxication. The preparation from wild honey of some kind of mead may, it is true, have been compassed by them, but there is no sign that it was; and they were at any rate extremely careful to fix their settlements within easy reach of some wholesome spring of clear water. That they were conscious of dependence upon, and strove to propitiate, a power above nature, may be argued, in the competent opinion of the late M. Worsaae,* from their dedication to the Invisible, in hoards concealed beneath stones or among rushes, of the rude products of their industry in clay, horn, and stone.

Upon the measurements of a few stray skulls, found with articles on the lowest level of workmanship, depends all that is known, or can be conjectured, respecting the racial peculiarities of the kitchen-midden men of Denmark. It seems certain, however, that they were neither Lapps nor Finns, and probable that they belonged to the dolichocephalic or long-headed tribes, formerly diffused over Europe, but

* *Pre-History of the North*, p. 16.

dispossessed by the more powerful and numerous brachycephalic peoples to whom a considerable part of the actually existing population of the West owes its direct descent. Which were the true Aryans has yet to be decided. We are, indeed, assured, since the Aryan languages possess no common word for fish, that the primitive Aryan stock looked to the land rather than to the sea for the means of subsistence; yet, on the other hand, circumstances often leave no room for preferences, and a latent taste for cockles and periwinkles might conceivably develop independently of ethnic affinities. However this be, kitchen-middens have been discovered in all parts of the world—in Scotland and Japan, in Australia and along the coasts of North and South America. The modern Fuegians own more nearly the habits they represent than any living tribe of our acquaintance—adding, however, incidents of degradation unknown to antique fish-eaters.

These, after some undisturbed centuries in Denmark, crossed over to the Scanian province of Sweden, where they have left some feeble traces of their gastronomic propensities. Pressure from behind no doubt compelled them to move on, for by this time a more cultivated race, by whom they were quickly overpowered or absorbed, was advancing through the Cimbrian peninsula. They brought with them oxen, sheep, goats, and swine; their stone chisels, knives, and lance-heads were of heretofore unknown perfection; with a resulting increase of power over environment which made room, by lightening the sordid care how merely to prolong life, for the growth of the higher concern for its adornment. The fresh immigrants are known to us chiefly through their care for the dead. The graves constructed by them are scattered, in Sweden and Norway, over the margins of seas, and fiords, and inlets, up to fifty-nine degrees of north latitude; and occur in East Jutland and the Danish islands at the average rate of twenty-seven to the square mile. Some are of the dolmen type; others are chambered tumuli, or 'gallery graves,' within which the dead were laid, probably by families or clans together, equipped with such implements as seemed appropriate to the conjectured needs of their transferred existence.

M. du Chaillu gives (vol. i. pp. 73–79) some excellent representations of these megalithic monuments, the construction of which involved an almost incredible expenditure of patience, labour, and skill in the employment of scanty mechanical resources. One of the largest, near

Karleby, in Vestergötland, Sweden, has a main receptacle fifty-two feet in length, roofed by nine massive stones, and approached by a gallery forty feet long and six high, opening at right angles into its centre. Another, overlooking the Axvalla heath, consists of a mortuary chamber thirty-two feet long by nine broad, and a passage of twenty feet. 'The dead sit along the walls,' our author explains, 'young and old, men and women, the chin resting in both hands, with their legs drawn up. Thin slabs form the cell round each skeleton, and are about three feet high, consequently do not reach the roof. Arrow points, knives, etc., of flint-stone, are found with the men, pieces of amber with the women.' The custom of interment in a contracted attitude is illustrated by the posture of Peruvian mummies, and prevails to this day among the Andaman islanders, the Bashkirs, and other rude tribes.

The plan of the gallery-graves is doubtless that of the habitations of the living in that remote age.* They invariably open towards the south or east, never towards the north, and were piled over with earth or tumbled stones when the tale of their inmates was complete. This cannot have been until long after they were built, some being literally packed with skeletons, evidently deposited when decay had removed the soft parts of the bodies. The ringed crosses and cup-marks carved on the smooth under-surfaces of the roofing-stones, had a religious significance. Both are widely diffused symbols--the first of the sun, the second, apparently, of the moon.† The axe and hammer-shaped ornaments, or rather amulets, abundantly collected both from graves and votive hoards of the stone age, indicate the worship of Thor by those early tribes. Superstitious, too, rather than surgical associations, attach to a trepanned skull of the period exhumed at Naes, in the island of Falster.

Culture, apart from the knowledge of metals, nowhere reached so high a pitch as in Denmark.‡ Mastery over material could scarcely be carried farther than in the production of the highly-finished stone implements unearched in singular profusion from Danish soil. The accompanying pottery, though still hand-made, testifies to the awakening

* Nilsson, 'Das Steinalter,' p. 100; *Les Habitants Primitifs de la Scandinavie*, p. 176.

† Worsaae, 'Industrial Arts of Denmark,' pp. 33-4.

‡ Ibid. p. 17.

of a decorative instinct, gratified by the incision of more or less harmoniously arranged lines filled in with a white, chalky substance, precisely as in the Hissarlik pottery of the lowest stratum.

The tardy transition to the age of bronze, effected in the North somewhere between 1500 and 1000 B.C., might have been still further delayed but for the riches of the Baltic in one precious commodity. The masses of amber thrown by every storm on the strands of Jutland and Scania, although neglected by the first settlers upon them, attracted the eager attention of their sepulchre-building successors. The submarine product cast at their feet by the waves served not only for the adornment of their persons, living and dead, but for their protection against supposed malefic influences, and, gradually becoming known to distant peoples, was bartered, in the growing trade-centres of the South, for objects fraught with the significance of a new era.

The traffic assumed large proportions. To the diffusion of the fossil gum of Jutland from Liguria to Thrace corresponds an equally surprising plenty of bronze and gold in Scandinavia, where, too, finds of wrought amber and of the objects purchased with it suggest a reciprocal relation, scarcity of the first attending on plentifulness of the second. Not even in those remote times was it possible at once to have a cake and to eat it. About the sixth century B.C. the Etruscans entered the market. Amber occurs in the oldest tombs at Cervetri, and its exchange for bronze wares explains the stamp of Etruscan design impressed upon many objects now in the Copenhagen Museum.* Although the materials for their construction were imported, the discovery of the moulds in which they were cast proves conclusively the weapons and implements of the bronze age in the North to have been of home manufacture. Their remarkable beauty and elaboration tell of an advance in taste ensuing upon the developement of commerce. they sprang from; while the system of ornament adopted in them betrays an Oriental origin. Its elements were probably rooted in religious symbolism†—fire, for example, being denoted by the zig-zag; the sun, by the double spiral characteristic of Danish bronze-work, although found as well on the pottery of the beehive tombs of Mycenæ.

* Genthe, 'Ueber den Etruskischen Tauschhandel nach dem Norden,' pp. 108-110, 175.

† Worsaae, 'Industrial Arts of Denmark,' p. 71.

Indications of intercourse with the East are strongly confirmed by the rock-tracings which form perhaps the most distinctive feature of Scandinavian archæology. They occur conspicuously in the provinces of Bohuslän, Smaalene, and Scania, where large surfaces of ice-smoothed granite are covered with hundreds of patiently engraved figures. For the minute enquiry which they deserve, M. Baltzer's careful reproductions, in the work quoted at the head of this article, afford ample materials; but here they can meet with only cursory mention. Like the Assyrian sculptures, they appear to be, in many cases, of a narrative character, and to commemorate, in a kind of rude picture-writing, the feats of champions and chieftains. Almost ludicrously defective as drawings, they are nevertheless the records of a life full of animation. Adventures 'by flood and fell' are suggested by them; they depict naval engagements, cavalry skirmishes, and rural occupations; warriors are represented as armed with swords, spears, and shields; ploughs and wains are in use; whole fleets of ships approaching the dragon-type of a subsequent epoch, but without sails, attest a remarkable developement of navigation; domestic animals, including reindeer, figure extensively, and in curious association with dromedaries, ostriches, and turtles.* Some then, at least, among the artists of the Scandinavian rock-tracings had either visited distant climes, or, what is much more probable, were familiar with the representations of animals, exotic and other, met with in early Greek pottery. The date of these extraordinary monuments cannot be fixed with any precision, but they are generally referred to the bronze age. There can, at any rate, be little doubt that they were executed previously to the adoption of the runic mode of writing and subsequently to the exchange of stone axes for bronze swords. Their pictorial announcement of the introduction of the horse into Scandinavia tallies satisfactorily with the discovery in bogs and fields of equine trappings undoubtedly belonging to the later bronze age. Between each epoch and the next there is no violent breach of continuity. Improvements were the gradual result of increased facility of communication, and the confluence of fresh streams of invention. No abrupt change, for instance, in the manner of sepulture accentuated the substitution of bronze for stone implements. The dead were still buried, not burnt; tumuli were raised in their honour; they were still equipped for the other

* Du Chaillu, 'Viking Age,' vol. ii. p. 117.

world with whatever had subserved their most essential needs in this. Megalithic graves, however, ceased to be constructed. Corpses were laid singly, in stone cists or cloven tree-trunks, and rarely in the crouching attitude formerly prevalent. Some of their costumes, owing to the antiseptic qualities of their oaken coffins, have survived entire, and supply full particulars of a Scandinavian toilet at about the epoch of the battle of Marathon. Within a grave-mound at Aarhus in Jutland was found a set of female habiliments, consisting of a skirt and bodice of a coarse woollen stuff, a tasselled girdle, and a neat coif, from beneath which escaped a lock of long dark hair. Bronze ornaments were added, and a dagger lay ready for the clutch of the skeleton hand. The whole was enveloped in a large cloak made of a kind of grogram, and that again in an untanned deer's hide. The chief articles of a man's dress, similarly preserved at Treenhoë, were a long kilt, a fringed shawl, a rough woollen cloak, and two caps.* A bronze sword testified to the militant character of its quondam owner; as the collection of a snake's tail, a hawk's claw, a piece of amber, and a Mediterranean shell in a stone-cist dug up in 1845, seemed to announce an ex-sorcerer or physician, if not a combination in one person of both professions.† In this case, the body had been reduced to ashes, for the practice of cremation, some centuries after the introduction of bronze, made its way to the North, whence it was only expelled fifteen hundred years later in the train of the raven banner, and the weird maidens.

History and tradition are alike silent regarding the inhabitants of Scandinavia in the bronze age; only the relics of their handiwork are eloquent with a *sic cogitavimus*. That they belonged to the Teutonic race, and spoke a Teutonic language, much induces us to believe, but nothing enables us to demonstrate. Evidence of distinctive customs or beliefs is wanting. Sacred symbols, associated later with Norse deities, bore at first, there is reason to believe, a less exclusive significance. Many of them indeed occur, in connexion with a widely different cycle of religious ideas, on the pottery from Dr. Schliemann's 'burnt city' at Hissarlik.

Direct acquaintance with the Scandinavian branch of the great Germanic family of languages begins with the runic

* Du Chaillu, 'Viking Age,' vol. i. p. 91.

† Worsaae, 'Pre-History,' p. 90.

inscriptions. Dr. Isaac Taylor has shown—it may be said, conclusively—that this peculiar mode of writing was derived from an archaic Greek alphabet in use among the Milesian colonies planted by the Euxine about six centuries B.C.* Thence becoming known to the Goths dwelling in Volhynia, it was by them, perhaps in the first century of the Christian era, transmitted further north. The runes were, however, no part of the common Teutonic heritage. On the Continent, they penetrated a very little way south of the Eyder; but the Jutes brought them to Kent, and Anglian runes were employed in Northumbria from the seventh to the ninth centuries. Their absence from *Saxon* England affords one more (if a superfluous) proof that the first Teutonic occupation of this country was by Low-Dutch tribes.

The definitive establishment of the iron age was delayed, in the North, until the beginning of the Christian era. Thence onward to 500 A.D. Romanising influences prevailed almost to the exclusion of all others. The conquering legions of the Imperial city, it is true, never reached the shores of the Baltic; but the arts of life bore the stamp of Roman thought in lands the very names of which had never reached Roman ears. The concomitant advance of culture was attended by some degradation of taste. Original invention decayed with the spread of habits of imitation; nor could feebleness of characterising power be compensated for by added variety in the available materials. Silver now for the first time took its place beside gold as a precious substance; mosaic and enamel were freely used in decoration; glass vessels of exquisite workmanship came into use; copper was alloyed with zinc and lead, to the exclusion of tin.†

The abundance of Roman coins discovered in Scania and Gothland proves the activity of the intercourse maintained thence, in Imperial times, with the south. Those of earlier dates—and they go back to Augustus—are chiefly silver denarii, replaced, in the fifth century, by gold solidi, Roman or Byzantine. They obtained, however, in the Baltic countries little currency for the ordinary purposes of trade. Payments continued to be made by weight of metal, in gold rings or spirals. The first native Swedish coinage was in the eleventh century; and the employment for its production of English artificers explains its striking similarity to

* *Greeks and Goths*, p. 48.

† *Hildebrand, 'Industrial Arts of Scandinavia,'* p. 130.

English money of the same period. Large hoards of genuine Anglo-Saxon coins of the time of Ethelred are believed, on the other hand, to have been part of the Danegeld so freely paid by that 'unready'* sovereign.

The solidi of Constantine and Theodosius, meantime, were turned to account for personal embellishment, and were imitated in the peculiarly Northern ornaments or amulets termed 'bracteates.' These were golden discs embossed with sacred signs and effigies, worn suspended from the neck. Their use was limited in Denmark to what is called the Middle Iron Age (450 to 700 A.D.), but prevailed later in Sweden and Norway, where successive epochs of civilisation were invariably somewhat retarded. There is no exception to the rule that bracteates bear a pagan character, and a large collection constitutes a most curious mythological record. Many are stamped with runic inscriptions; most commemorate the exploits or attributes, singly or in combination, of the members of the Northern divine triad. Thor, helmeted and gigantic, with his bull, goat, or eagle, and distinguished by the auspicious 'hooked cross' or swastika, is usually predominant. Odin is either indicated by a triskele, the sign appropriated to him, or appears *in propria persona*, mounted on his eight-footed steed Sleipnir, or fighting his last fight with the world-serpent and the wolf Fenris; the sun-god Frey is represented individually as a seated figure armed with sickle and pitchfork, or figuratively, by means of the four-armed cross, his emblem, or the aerial ship, the horse, stag, or goose variously associated with him. The symbolism employed in bracteates forcibly recalls the mystical marks upon the ambiguous objects designated by the non-committal name of 'whorls,' disinterred in multitudes at Hissarlik, the resemblance constituting one among many symptoms of the permeation by Oriental ideas of the Scandinavian cycle of thought.

Especially after the fall of the Western Empire, and the irruption of the Slavs from the Vistula to the Elbe, the Baltic peoples, cut off from other outlets, seem to have turned their energies almost exclusively into an eastern channel.† From very early times a trade-route was opened up between the Euxine and Baltic by means of the waterway of the Dnieper, the prehistoric importance of which sur-

* The true meaning of Ethelred's surname was not 'unready,' but 'uncounselled,' without *rede*.

† Worsaae, 'Industrial Arts,' p. 166.

vived in the mediæval prosperity of Novgorod and Gothland, and was commemorated by the tradition of an actual *exodus*. Asaheim, the original seat of Odin and the Asar, was located in Saga literature between the Black Sea and the delta of the Don, in a region whence, undoubtedly, the seeds of knowledge and power were transported northward. Græco-Scythic influences are distinctly traceable in Scandinavian art. A comparison of objects extracted from tumuli near Kertsch and preserved in the Hermitage collection at St. Petersburg, with sundry ornaments found buried beneath Danish and Swedish soil, renders a community of ideas unmistakable.* It is highly probable, too, that much of the gold lavishly employed in Scandinavia for decorative purposes, both before and after the introduction of iron, found its way thither from the Ural Mountains; while the silver which to a certain extent took its place during the Viking age, may have been derived from the riches of Bagdad. The abundance of Cufic coins, discovered both in the island of Gothland and in the southern part of Sweden, tends to confirm this surmise; nor can the damascened blades wielded by, and buried with, jarls and vikings, have been copied from other than Arab originals.

The prehistoric period lasted in the Baltic lands until far on in the eighth century. Yet the blankness of their annals was not due to the poverty of their population. The tastes of the latter were, on the contrary, splendid, and did not remain ungratified.† Massive gold rings were worn on neck, arms, and fingers; brooches and clasps were often jewelled, sword hilts overlaid with silver and gold; accoutrements of horses and horsemen showed quaint devices of ornamentation in the precious metals; mosaic, enamel and niello-work heightened the sumptuous effects eagerly sought after in all industrial products. This notable outburst of magnificence is attested incontrovertibly by the buried treasures of the North. ‘Bog-finds,’ spread over a wide extent of territory, and often of astonishing richness, form indeed one of the most striking features in its archaeological history. The persistence during some three millenniums of the habit to which they owed their origin may even contribute to prove the identity of the race to which it clung. It indicates, too, the vividness of their faith in a life to come,

* Maskell, ‘Russian Art,’ p. 52: Du Chaillu, ‘Viking Age,’ vol. i. pp. 245, 260, 287.

† Worsaae, ‘Industrial Arts,’ p. 162.

since they renounced their spoil with a view to its possession in Valhalla. Their hoards were a post-mortem provision.

That barbarian restlessness of which the earlier onsets had pulverised the Roman world prompted in its latest phase the achievements of the vikings. Their sudden swoop upon the West in the eighth century was heralded, in the reminiscent view of its terrified victims, "by sky-portents associated in our unimpassioned epoch with the occurrence of a sunspot maximum. The dismay caused by their advent was intensified by the circumstance that for several previous centuries the dangers of the sea had been purely elemental. Marine robbers and raiders were unknown. Peaceful trading craft made their slow way, without let, hindrance, or alarm, other than by winds and waves, from coast to coast, from headland to headland.* Sea-girt, secluded isles had attracted the foundation of churches and monasteries destined to become the first prey of spoilers, whose versatility in the arts of destruction rendered them, however, no less formidable by land than by sea. Equally at home on horseback and on shipboard, they sped with incredible rapidity across shires and hundreds, devastating ruthlessly what they were unable to remove.

Yet they were no savages. A highly developed social polity regulated their mutual relations. They to some extent realised a lofty ideal of life; nor were their actions devoid of moral grandeur. Their courage, whether for enterprise or endurance, approached the sublime; and they intensely believed in, without flinching before, the unseen. They were hence invincible, because death fought on their side. Their true triumph was to be numbered among the 'Einherjar,' or chosen ones, and, 'spear-marked for Odin,' enter Valhalla as his guests, conducted by the Valkyrias from the reeking battlefield.

The wild grandeur of the Scandinavian religion corresponded with the type of character developed amid the ice-worn fastnesses of the Scandinavian fatherland. There was no pity in it, nor mercy; it was at once sensual and severe. The Odin of the Sagas might be called the Mahomet of the North. Each proclaimed a gospel of bloodshed, and inspired and rewarded an exclusively militant piety. Each equally ignored the rights and virtues of womanhood, and adapted the joys of paradise to the strong of hand and the

* Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup, 'Vikingstogene,' p. 6.

fierce of spirit. Eternal battle, infinite mead and boar's flesh awaited the 'chosen' in the shield-thatched hall of the five-hundred gates. No redress of wrong, no compensation for the poignant injustices of human destiny, no rejoicing for the meek, no binding up of broken hearts, was looked for beyond the grave. There, as here, the thrall was a thrall, and existed but for the good pleasure of the jarl, his master, whom he was, indeed, not unfrequently compelled to accompany, in a servile capacity, on his last journey.

The burial customs of the Northmen were essentially those described by Homer in the twenty third Iliad. They included, it is true, that of simple interment in a mound or tumulus; but cremation, accompanied by such rites as solemnised the obsequies of Patroclus, was largely practised. By the North Sea, as by the Hellespont, horses, dogs, and other domestic animals were sacrificed on the pyres of 'mighty chiefs untimely slain,' with the addition, on occasions, of the *κακὰ ἔργα* to which Achilles was impelled by his stormy sorrow. The mythical funeral of Balder was on two sides typical. The famous 'burning voyage' of King Haki imitated the despatch of the body to sea in a blazing ship, the launch of which, however, by a sorceress, alighted from a wolf ridden with snakes for reins,* was a unique incident. On shore, meanwhile, a pyre was kindled with ceremonies scarcely different from those attending the exits from the scene of Beowulf, Sigurd, and other less visionary heroes. The corpse of Nanna, consort to the 'ray-crowned' god, was laid upon it, with his horse fully caparisoned, Draupnir, the magic ring of Odin, and the dwarf Lit, kicked into the flames by Thor. There was one indispensable item in this miscellaneous collection. A wife, a dwarf, or a ring might be omitted from it without much 'pain of loss,' but not a horse. No warrior of distinction could be permitted to enter Valhalla as a foot-passenger.

In the slaying of horses at burials, the welfare after death of the deceased was kept exclusively in view; the sacrifice of the same animal at the three great festivals of the year formed, on the other hand, a part of the Oriental sun-worship adopted into the religion of the Asar. The eating of horseflesh, regarded as equivalent to a profession of faith in Odin, was hence strictly prohibited to Christian converts. In Norway it is said at times to have been punished with death; and its interdiction by a Church council held in

* Du Chaillu, 'Viking Age,' vol. i. p. 332.

Merca in 785* suggests that pagan customs were then still apprehended to linger among the Christianised Anglo-Saxons.

Viking shades, however, would have been poorly off if provided with means of land transport only. To the 'riders of the keel,' existence, in this world or the next, was inconceivable unless divided between sea and shore. Even the sun-god of the North, besides his chariot, possessed a skiff—'Skithbladner,' the ship of the air—so cunningly constructed by trolls that, while capable of conveying all the Norse Olympians—and Thor was a weighty cargo in himself—it could be folded up like a piece of cloth, and carried under one arm. The idea then of a mortuary outfit was incompletely carried out until the 'dragons' and 'skeids' of the sea-rovers became their sepulchres.

Burial ships have, so far, been discovered to the number of about a dozen in Sweden and Norway. The bodies laid in them, burnt or unburnt, were equipped with pathetic care. Besides being elaborately armed and adorned, they had placed at their disposal means of employment and diversion, such as writing-tablets, forging-tools, whetting-stones, scissors, cooking-utensils, chessmen, draughtsmen; and dice. In one of nine boats containing as many bodies, disinterred in the churchyard of Vendel, in Uppland, weapons and implements were associated with the remains of three horses, three dogs, a cow, pig, ram, ewe, and goose. Another sheltered the bones of a goose, a duck, a falcon, rock-owl, and crane. The inference seems justified that all these birds were domesticated.† Inside the ribs of the celebrated Gokstad ship some peacocks' feathers lay scattered with fragments of gold-embroidered silken stuff; and the tumulus near Sandefjord, from which it was unearthed in 1880, contained the skeletons of at least twelve horses and six dogs.‡ But the treasures of the sepulchral chamber amidships had long ago fallen a prey to some of the numerous and nameless thieves who

'Ransacked the graves of warriors old,
Their falchions wrenched from corpses' hold.'

The vessel itself, which is of oak, clinker-built, and seventy-

* Laing, *loc. cit.* p. 69.

† O. Montelius, 'Guide to the National Museum, Stockholm.'
Translated by C. H. Derby, p. 84.

‡ 'Das Wikingschiff von Gokstad.' Von Dr. Ingvald Undset, 1888.

five feet long, is preserved in the Archæological Museum at Christiania.

Life in the North, however fundamentally homely, was attended in those days by accessories of considerable splendour.* Gastronomic refinements were indeed unknown. Boiled veal counted as the 'best of dainties'; roast pork with wheaten bread might also be provided for favoured guests, in default of which delicacies curds and buttermilk were welcome; and the bill of fare during a royal visit comprised, on alternate days, fish and milk, meat and ale.* Yet the tables spread with such simple repasts were often gay with embroidered cloths, and radiant with gilded vessels, dainty glass beakers, and repoussé silver and bronze drinking-horns. They were surrounded, too, by gorgeously-clad revellers. Scarlet cloaks lined with fur, and secured with magnificent fibulæ of bronze inlaid with silver, or of silver gilt, diversified with filigree-work, garnets, or walrus-ivory, were flung over silken tunics, or kirtles made of a kind of velvet called 'pell.' These were belted in with girdles finely wrought of precious metals; gold rings encircled legs, arms, and fingers; silk caps, adorned with lace, covered the head; shoes were of leather covered with beaten gold, and stitched with silk; a gold band like a diadem confined tawny and profuse locks flowing down to the shoulders. We hear, besides, of gloves made soft with down, of suits of 'many-coloured English cloth,' rain- and dust-cloaks, and of fur-lined mantles with golden neck straps. Sigurd the Jarl figures in St. Olaf's Saga as clad in 'a blue kirtle and blue hose, high shoes laced round his legs, a grey cloak, and a grey, broad-brimmed hat and a hood over his face, a staff in his hand with a gilt silver mounting at the upper end, from which a silver ring hung.'†

In the time of Olaf, King of Norway, surnamed Kyrri, or the Peaceable (eleventh century) prosperity and the love of display reached a great height. 'Men wore trailing gowns' (drag-kyrtil),‡ laced on the sides, with sleeves ten feet in length, and so narrow that they had to be put on with 'a running-string, and laced tight up to the shoulder.'§ These singular draperies were often of costly silk, embellished with strips of embroidery and gold buttons.

* St. Olaf's Saga, cap. 33, quoted in 'Viking Age,' vol. ii. p. 276.

† 'Viking Age,' vol. ii. p. 294.

‡ Compare the Homeric description of the Athenians as ἐλαχέτωρες Iliad, xiii. 685.

§ Viking Age, vol. ii. p. 298.

Similar fashions prevailed in female attire. Ornamental kirtles, scarlet cloaks trimmed with lace, flowing skirts, gold necklets and brooches, set off the beauty of blue-eyed maids, often as tempestuous in spirit as their sires and sons. Their yellow locks, outshining the gold fillet round their brows, descended loose to the waist, where they were confined with richly-embossed silver belts, such as are still fabricated by the goldsmiths of Bergen and Trondhjem. They did not, however, devote exclusive attention to personal adornment. The loom and the embroidery-frame absorbed much of their time; married women governed both household and estate during their husbands' frequent absences; and 'even queens attended to the brewing of ale and bleach-ing of linen.' A bunch of keys deposited in the grave of many a high-born lady appropriately typified her quiet domestic rule; but damsels of the irrepressible sort adopted the profession of arms, and fought with honour among the foremost of the stronger sex. The few women to whom burial in ships was accorded perhaps belonged to this class of so-called 'shield-maidens.'

Music and poetry ranked in the North as a gift of Odin, secondary only to that of a Berserker blood-thirst. That hyperborean Iceland, frost-bound, fire-shattered, a fragment, it might be said, of the legendary Nifheim, should have been the blooming place of Scandinavian literature, could not easily have been anticipated, and can only, by the *ex post facto* discernment of futile analogies, be explained. The best that can be said about it is that so it was. With some of the many sagas recited in old times at Icelandic Yuletide gatherings and marriage feasts, English readers are already familiar, through the translations of Sir George Dasent, Sir Edmund Head, Mr. William Morris, and Mr. Magnusson. Further specimens are now in course of being offered to them in the 'Saga Library,' of which the first volume lies before us. It contains the three prose tales of 'Howard the Halt,' 'The Banded Men,' and 'Hen Thorir,' dating, in their present shape, from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and admirably Anglicised by Messrs. Morris and Magnusson. As absolutely faithful records of a long subsisting phase of Scandinavian society, they are of high antiquarian value; and general readers, with a cultivated sense of congruity, must enjoy the unconscious perfection of the 'get up' of each little piece. They include, too, shrewd and consistent character sketches; betray a lively interest in the lifting of hay stores, the straying of sheep,

and the course of traffic over the sea; above all, a sincere enjoyment of bloodshed. Their personages are fully alive; it never occurs to us to doubt the reality of their grudges and hatreds, waylayings and burnings, of their rides to the Thing, and appeals to the justice, freely tempered by corruption, to be had there. But there is lacking to them that subtle note of universality which never appeals vainly to an otherwise indiscriminating public, and without which no work, whether in compass small or great, can take rank as a permanent contribution to the possibilities of intellectual pleasure.

The official bards of the Norwegian courts were, very remarkably, nearly all of Icelandic birth, and wholly, or in part, of Celtic descent. They were of the Homeric type, singing the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* of their epoch, professing an art, in its way supreme, and procuring supreme rewards. They needed no Dapplegrim or Puss in Boots to push them preternaturally into royal alliances; through the thick of battle they were guarded that they might see what it fell to their lot to sing; they were courted and feasted as the adjudicators of imperishable renown. Their lays, in fact, constituted the groundwork of the Sagas transmitted to us; they wielded the only spiritual power of the times in which they lived; and made a track of light through the darkness of the pagan North. Nevertheless, the kind of excellence celebrated by them had little expansive capability. It played its part in the moral development of Europe, but perished before the mild radiance of a purer ideal. For the strength of the Northmen was deeply tainted with cruelty. Their vengeance was frequently wreaked in punishments of which the details are too revolting for repetition. It is enough to mention the serpent-pit and the blood-eagle. Human sacrifices, too, were habitually resorted to for the propitiation of the gods on critical occasions, and an ingrained eagerness for them was with difficulty extirpated by the influence of Christianity. The recommendation of suicide as a passport to sempiternal felicity chimed in naturally with the remainder of the Odinic code, which countenanced as well the exposure of sickly or superfluous infants.

Amid a community in which natural sentiments were thus mutilated, no supreme artistic gifts could come to perfection, since the highest beauty blooms alongside the widest humanity. The scope of Northern art was hence a restricted one; it aimed at intensifying and embellishing, not at ennobling existence. The 'vision and faculty' of the scalds

were genuine, but they were scarcely 'divine'; no monumental works of architecture rose along the Scandinavian shores; sculpture had a purely subsidiary office; decorative design was the characteristic form taken by plastic art from the Eyder to the North Cape. The great cathedral of Trondhjem, for instance, was in essentials an Anglo-Norman building; yet the carvings of its portals, pilasters, and gargoyles bore, in their vigorous or grotesque individualism, the distinctive impress of native style. This style, as we have seen, had a long history. Originating with the introduction from the East of metallurgical knowledge, it was continually modified by fresh Oriental influences down to 'the golden prime of good Haroun-el-Raschid.' It had, however, in the mean time, assimilated Etruscan and Græco-Scythic ideas; had barely escaped submergence by the flood of Roman fashions; and had finally, as the result of Viking conquests in the West, adopted, and become dominated by the Celtic mode of ornamentation by interlacing bands, scrolls, and serpentine windings. Here developement came to a stop, and neglect, rather than degeneration, set in. For although the old Viking magnificence in silver and gold and beaten bronze has long since mouldered and perished, yet still, here and there, far up towards the Arctic circle, some working jeweller, inspired by exhumed models, preserves the tradition of quaint and strong design which gave vitality to the various phases of early Scandinavian Art.

They corresponded, it must be remembered, from first to last, to an essentially secluded national life. The Scandinavian peninsula lies moored, so to speak, out of the tideway of European progress. No surge of foreign conquest has swept over it; its inhabitants preserve a racial purity unknown in any other part of Europe. They have largely contributed to mould the history of other nations; their own has taken its course, comparatively little affected by storms breaking in force elsewhere. The aggressive and insubordinate instincts of the more turbulent among them, their restlessness and craving for variety, have been gratified, economically as regards domestic disturbances, by adventures abroad. The story of some of these adventures is narrated in Mr. Keary's volume, the full title of which makes one of the headings of this article. Narrated not altogether satisfactorily, since, notwithstanding the author's laudable industry and unquestionable ability, both the plan of the work and the manner of its execution are, in our judgement, faulty. It rests uncomfortably upon the philosophical basis

provided for it; nor can it be said that the superstructure meets, in all respects, just critical requirements. Superfluities on the one side, deficiencies on the other, obtrude themselves upon notice. We could have dispensed with much of the information afforded about the later members of the Carolingian dynasty—their family relations, including a too famous divorce-suit, their ignoble ambitions, mutual treacheries, their frontier struggles with the Slavs, their wrestlings with the Saracens in Italy—all in its way interesting, but here out of place. For the purpose in hand a boldly outlined sketch of the state of affairs throughout the imperial domain would have amply sufficed. And history, like drama, has no accommodation for overflows. What is not *de rigueur* for the aims of an historian is *de trop*.

We miss, on the contrary, much that we should like to have been told about the Vikings themselves. They come upon us in Mr. Keary's pages, as they fell upon their prey in Western lands, out of the unknown, so far, at any rate, as their personal annals are concerned. Contemporary reports about them, it is true, are vague, often contradictory; still, authorities might have been found for some connected account of a few redoubtable leaders, interest in whose exploits would have been vastly enhanced by the sense of individual acquaintanceship thus engendered. As it is, the biographical element, invaluable for the linking and vitalising of recorded events, is almost wholly wanting. Nor is the narrative kept well in hand. The entangled theme is not unravelled with the desirable quiet lucidity; anticipations alternate with retrogressions; the same fact is recurred to without necessity, with the effect, not of fixing, but of distracting the attention of readers primarily anxious to follow out, one by one, the mingled threads of simultaneous occurrences.

We close the book, moreover, with the sensation of being somewhat shunted at a siding. For a *terminus a quo*, indeed, the arrival on the coast of Dorset of the fateful 'three keels' is well chosen; and the Peace of Wedmore, in 878, by which England was partitioned between Saxons and Danes, may be reckoned, so far as this island alone is concerned, a suitable *terminus ad quem*. But the corresponding epoch abroad was not reached until 911, upon the cession of Normandy to Hrolf; and the date was considerably anticipated, as well to the west, by the early establishment of the 'Ostmen' in Ireland and the Hebrides, as far

away eastward, by the foundation of Rurik's dynasty at Novgorod in 862. But it is none the less true for being almost a truism that, as our author says, 'there are no actual 'stopping places in history,' since 'we can never say that 'any force is really spent.' And the limit in time to his present historical enterprise was prescribed by the course of vicissitudes of a more intimate and vital kind than those of a purely material struggle.

'If we could imagine,' he remarks (p. 442), 'some passionate adherent of Odin-worship who had looked forward, during the last seventy years, with growing hope to the suppression of Christianity and the establishment of a great confederation of heathen nations in the north of Europe, such an one would have now felt, from causes which he himself could not well explain, those hopes gradually diminishing. And could he have looked over all Europe, and noted the course of Viking history in every country, he would have been inclined to date the year 887 or 888 as about the turning-point in these prospects. He would not, I say, have been able to explain to himself why it was so. No more can we; but the fact remains.'

'Christendom as a whole,' he continues, 'had now passed through its greatest trial at the hands of the heathens of the north. In many directions more effective Scandinavian conquests succeeded, during the ensuing century, to those already made. . . . But in none of these cases did the battle between Heathendom and Christianity assume such a momentous shape as during the period with which we have been dealing. The war of nationalities continued; but it was no longer likewise a war of creeds.'

It is, then, under the religious aspect that the period in question is professedly treated in the volume before us. But this involves, we cannot but think, a fundamental vice of construction. For the two subjects of Viking aggression and Christianised Teutonic mythology meet indeed, but scarcely mingle. That the *furor Normannorum* had its effect upon the religious, no less than upon the political, history of Europe, needs no argument to prove; but 'the 'creed of the Vikings as a whole—that creed which is preserved in the Edda—cannot,' our author admits, 'be reckoned a constituent element of the beliefs of the Middle 'Ages' (p. 476). Of that portion of it, held in common with other Teutonic nations, abundant traces may notoriously be found in folk-practices and popular superstitions still rife at the opening of the Napoleonic era: the wild hunt, the 'witches' sabbath, Christmas trees, Easter eggs, Yule logs, May poles, and a hundred other, mostly innocuous, survivals, have their shrivelled roots in the soil of an extinct paganism; and the study of how far popular religious life was, on its

customary side, interwoven with such fibres of primitive doctrine has a value of its own. But it lies altogether outside the proper scope of Mr. Keary's work. The Scandinavian deities were very imperfectly locomotive. Sailors aver that 'there is no religion in five fathoms of water;' and, however this may be, it is a fact that the wanderers over the 'swan road' of the sea found themselves strong only in their fierce impulses, but disarmed of positive beliefs in the presence of a living and organic faith. Hence, as indeed our author points out, their unexpectedly prompt conversion to Christianity; hence, in part, the completeness of that conversion. Odinic superstitions never flourished in Normandy; it would be easier to find traces of Oscan than of Scandinavian influences in the folk lore of South Italy; they probably linger in our own country only at its utmost verge, among the outlying islands to the north.

Thus, the spiritual surrender of the Northmen was unconditional; they did not even parley or ask for terms before coming over *en masse*. The singularity of the phenomenon, we venture to submit, is not one whit diminished by describing, as Mr. Keary is not ashamed to do, the venerable rites of the victorious religion as a kind of 'superlative 'magic.' 'Magic,' as the term is generally understood, exercises no sway over conscience, and we have never heard of its being made a passport to a higher moral life. The practice of it brutalises and enslaves; it drives ignorance, through terror, into crime, works in darkness, and is the chosen instrument of imposture. For a gloss on its meaning, we need only turn to the bloodstained record of many an African village. The phrase is, to say the least, not happily chosen which associates with the vile juggling of miscreants the message of redemption announced by St. Boniface beneath the sacred oak of Geissmar, and the spiritual powers wielded by the gentle and holy Oscar, the apostle of Sweden, the missionary archbishop of Hamburg. But false analogies are the bane of the so-called 'scientific method.'

The Scandinavian invasion of Western Europe was twofold. A double route was pursued by, was indeed almost prescribed to, the devastators. From the fiords of Norway the shortest and easiest passage across the North Sea is to the Shetland Islands. Here accordingly, and in the Orkneys, a permanent footing was easily gained and a starting place established for further onslaughts. The name of *Sutherland*, and the corresponding Norse designation of the Hebrides as

Sudreyjar, the *Southern Isles*, preserved in the title of the bishop of *Sodor and Man*,* still commemorate the sweep from the north of the Norwegian adventurers upon both localities. Ireland, Man, Anglesea, were next overrun, and the Irish ports constituted into arsenals for the despatch of expeditions against England and Wales. But in these lower latitudes the Norwegian stream encountered the twin-flow of Danish enterprise which, taking its way by the coasts of Frisia and Flanders, impinged on one side upon Kent, on the other upon Neustria, and effectively continued its course round Cape Finisterre, past the mouth of the Loire, and by the waterway of the Garonne to Toulouse. Against the Iberian peninsula, however, the current broke, not irresistibly. The little kingdom of Asturias, the nucleus of the future Spanish monarchy, beat off, in 844, and half destroyed a Viking fleet, the remnant of which got roughly handled by the Moors at Lisbon. Yet enough of it remained to make its way by the Guadalquivir to Seville, and to snatch spoil thence, as well as from Medina Sidonia and Cadiz.

Its ultimate discomfiture did not deter the notorious Hasting from the repetition of a tempting experiment, and in 859 the dragon ships from the north entered the Mediterranean. The usual train of disasters followed. The audacious strangers burned the mosque of Algeciras, took prisoner Garcia, king of Navarre, plundered the shrines of Roussillon, murderously maltreated the bishop of Arles, wasted the Balearic Isles with fire and sword, and at last moored their swift craft in the Bay of Spezzia. Thence, having commemorated by the sack of Luna their first visit to Italy, they turned their prows westward, and successfully ran the gauntlet of the foes echeloned along their protracted line of retreat.

It was in Dublin Bay, in the year 851, that the divided currents of seafaring aggression met, after making between them the circuit of Great Britain. Not without much eddying of battle, and red spray of slaughter, was their coalescence effected, little to the advantage of their common victims. During fifty-six previous years the Norwegian first-comers had had the harrying of the country all to themselves. Now the wretched Irish were able to distinguish

* The see of Man, extended in the eleventh century to embrace the *Sudreyjar*, remained until 1834 in dependence upon the archdiocese of *Trondhjem*. Taylor's 'Words and Places,' p. 114.

them as 'Dub-Gaell' (dark strangers) from their Danish cousins, the 'Finn-Gaell' (white strangers), epithets referring, it may be supposed, to differences in clothing and armour; or in the colours of the ships hailing from opposite sides of the Skager Rack. The history of the Vikings in Ireland is peculiar. They were at first able to carry everything before them. The disorganising influences of the tribal system, the division of the land almost *ad infinitum* among mutually hostile chiefs and kinglets, made combined resistance impossible; and Olaf the White of Norway, profiting by their dissensions, became, in more than mere name, although in less than actual fact, king over all Ireland. Yet nowhere else was the intrusive Norse power so completely broken by a great national effort as it was in Ireland, upwards of a century later, at the battle of Clontarf (1018). Thenceforth the dreaded 'black ships' ceased to be signalled from Irish headlands; not a single sept owned foreign subservience; foreign domination survived only in Dublin, which continued a Danish city until the coming of Strongbow.

The ineffaceable passion of national aversion does not soon die out. In the South of Ireland wrens are still annually (on December 26) persecuted for their supposed treachery to the patriotic cause, in rousing the sentinels of the enemy, during a night attack, by tapping on their drums! And the persistent tradition of ogreish qualities, matched by an ogreish aspect, inspired, at the late entry of the Princess of Wales into Dublin, the naïve amazement of an old woman in the crowd at the sight of such a flower from such a stock, translated into the characteristic exclamation: 'A purty crature surely! And she a 'Dane!'

Never indeed were wages of hatred better earned. All that was of good repute in the country—religion, art, learning—fell wholly or in part a prey to the ruthless fury of the seaborne spoilers. The flourishing schools of Ireland were extirpated; the exotic and solitary flower of Greek culture fostered in Irish monasteries was torn up by the roots; the monasteries themselves, the numerous progeny of St. Columba's foundation, perished, with their treasures of fine goldsmiths' work, illuminated vellums, and rare manuscripts. The light of a unique epoch was at once quenched. Much was lost that could never be recovered or replaced. Something, it is true, was given in exchange. The North-
were not mere pillagers. They constructed, as well as

destroyed. Ireland owes to them some of her principal ports—Dublin (till then a little accounted-of ‘black pool’ on the Liffey), Limerick, and Waterford. These soon became the resort of trading craft; commerce brought civilisation of a sort in its train; Flemings, Italians, and other foreigners settled in the country for purposes of traffic; mints were established, and a metallic currency put in circulation. As regards one item of this general improvement we have etymological evidence in the name of a town in Kerry. ‘Smerwick’ means in Norse *butter creek*; its interpretation assures us that the butter trade of Ireland originated with the initiative of the invaders.

The first Scandinavian expeditions westward were crudely piratical. Rendered possible by gradual improvements in navigation, they aimed at nothing but plunder, secured by the most direct and violent methods. Their success led to a modification of their character. Something of a political purpose began to sway them. Permanent settlements became more and more their main object, and from sea robbers the ‘creek men’ grew insensibly into sea kings.* In 835 they first wintered in Ireland; Noirmoutiers, at the mouth of the Loire, was converted into a Danish stronghold in 843, the year in which the dismemberment of the empire of Charlemagne was signed and sealed at Verdun; Thanet was gripped for a similar purpose in 851. With habituation to foreign countries the attractions of their own faded; the raiders of one decade became the virtual exiles of the next; their retreat was cut off by the succession of competitors to the places they had left vacant, and the winning of others with the sword became a matter of prime necessity.

The circumstances of the time favoured their rising fortunes. Theirs was then the only maritime power properly to be called European. Towards the close of his reign, Charlemagne, alarmed at the pertinacity of Saracen and Danish incursions, set on foot the building of a fleet, which, however, seems rapidly to have fallen into decay, and was certainly not restored by his immediate successors. No Celtic nation ever took spontaneously to the sea; the Saxons had unlearned the once familiar arts of their tribal infancy; only the Moors were able to cope with their formidable assailants on the treacherous element usually their best

* Steenstrup's ‘*Études Préliminaires pour servir à l'Histoire des Normands*,’ p. 125.

ally. Through grievous experiences, the strategical value of water communications was rendered only too glaringly apparent; the *κέλευθοι θαλασσής* stood forth as the best military roads, and some feeble efforts were made to secure command over them. Malachy I., 'over king' of Ireland, defeated the Vikings in 846, in one of the few naval engagements recorded in Celtic annals; five years later, the first English fleet was equipped by Athelstan, with temporarily prosperous issue; Alfred fought the Northmen by sea as well as by land; even Charles the Bald made a flourish, in 858, of collecting ships to dislodge the Danes from their island fortress of Oissel, in the Seine, but, *more suo*, ineffectually. On the whole, a beginning was made of organised maritime warfare. This was one result of the coming of the Vikings.

Another was the definitive severance of the great Carolingian inheritance north of the Alps into a German *Reich* and a French kingdom. The siege of Paris by the Danes, in 885-6, was the turning point of early French history. Its gallant defence by Count Odo constituted him virtually the king and Paris virtually the capital of France. His subsequent election to the empty throne of the imbecile Charles the Fat was a mere ratification of what events had already accomplished. His father, Robert the Strong, was the champion of a growing nationality; Hugh Capet was his grandnephew. The empire of Charlemagne was already going to pieces when the Northmen came to prey upon it; their attacks, accordingly, only quickened its disruption. Simultaneously, however, with its decline, the English monarchy was on the rise; and the same cause which had there a shattering effect acted here for consolidation. Alfred's victories, indeed, reached only to the saving of the country, not to the crushing of its foes, whose submission was on terms granted under the pressure of stern necessity. But the moral triumph was complete; what was left of England to the English was, or had the capacity of becoming, homogeneous and whole; by the exigencies of the struggle the ancient tribal distinctions of the Saxon confederation had become in all but name effaced, and the Wessex of Alfred was in all but name the England of the Confessor.

ART. III.—1. *Judicial Statistics for 1889.* London: 1890.

2. *Speech of Lord Esher in the House of Lords.* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. 3rd series, vol. 347.

THE first year of the last decade of the century appears to be a fitting time to review the administration of justice in England, and to endeavour to form some comprehensive idea of the general character and tendencies of the reforms which have been effected during the last fifty years. a more practical, but more troublesome task is to ascertain what further changes are needed to make the administration of justice in all its parts suited to the general requirements of the times. During the past year more than usual importance has attached to this latter phase of the subject in consequence of the debate in July on Lord Esher's motion in the House of Lords. This gave distinct actuality to the question, for it was a discussion introduced by a judge of the largest experience and ability. Last year also witnessed the passing of another important Act of Parliament intended to alleviate the congestion of business in the Queen's Bench Division by making it part of the work of the Court of Appeal to hear appeals in the form of applications for new trials, which have hitherto been brought before Divisional Courts. It is obvious, therefore, that the time has arrived for some consideration of what has been effected and what remains to be accomplished. But to give in comparatively few pages a comprehensive review of the changes which have occurred in recent years, and to indicate those which are needed, is scarcely possible, since the subject is at once technical and full of details. The reforms which have been accomplished have been attained by many statutes, and these it would be unfitting in this Review to consider in any but the most general manner.

The tide of legal reform has been steadily flowing since the beginning of the century; in every branch of law changes beneficial in the highest degree to the people have been effected, and the reforms which were accomplished by Romilly have been followed in our own day by those of Cairns and Selborne. Thus it is clear that the historian will hereafter note, as one of the characteristics of our century, the steady progress of law reform—a reform demanded by and for the people, but which can never be thoroughly effectual unless it receives the aid of the legal profession. There have been checks and disappointments. Measures of

which high hopes were formed have not always had the large and satisfactory results which were expected; but, regarding the entire field of the administration of justice, we may fairly say that it has been made more efficient and more accessible.

The history of legal procedure in these latter years divides itself into two distinct periods—the first from the year 1852 to 1875, and the second from the latter date to the present time. It was in the former year that the first Common Law Procedure Act and the Chancery Procedure Act, and the Abolition of Masters in Chancery Act were passed: It was on November 1, 1875, that the Judicature Acts of 1873 and 1875 came into operation. During the first of these periods reforms of a number of separate courts, and of separate systems of procedure, were continually taking place; during the second there has been one court and nominally one code of procedure applicable to every division of this court; this code we have, since its inception, been continually trying to improve. During the first period the improvements of procedure were in nearly all instances accomplished by Act of Parliament alone; during the second they have been effected by a mass of rules known as the ‘Judicature Rules,’ forming a schedule to an Act of Parliament.* While the former plan was wanting in elasticity it had the merit of brevity; for it is obvious, that under the new system there is a far larger number of rules than is either convenient or desirable. The former system of separate courts had also the merit of being more easily managed than the great machine of justice which we created in 1875. One Supreme Court no doubt facilitated the uniformity of procedure which was then regarded as the chief means of expediting justice. But it was overlooked that a great organisation such as this requires real administration if it is to do its work with anything like perfection. But this administration of the Supreme Court has never yet existed, and it is difficult to see how it ever can. Judges cannot be ordered about like clerks in an office, and the consequence is that, partly from this cause and partly from the inherent difficulties of the new plan and of the traditions of the past, the system of 1875, though it has in

* It is necessary to make an exception to this general statement in one instance; for the procedure in Probate and Divorce causes is still generally governed by the original rules and not by the Judicature Rules.

many points been a benefit to the country, has by no means had that large measure of success which its importance deserved.

Undoubtedly the most marked feature of the new order of things has been the localising of the administration of justice. The system of county courts was brought into existence by Lord Brougham in the year 1846: it has been the most important result of the legal reforms of the nineteenth century. It has brought to every man's door a competent and a just tribunal, capable of dealing with three-fourths of the disputes which arise between man and man; for it is useless to pretend that the great bulk of legal differences are not what are contemptuously called trumpery. It is the denial of an easy mode of redress in small matters which is most felt by the great bulk of the population; and it is because the county courts are, as we have said, just and effective tribunals, that the public has allowed the shortcoming of the higher courts to continue. For the litigants in the higher courts are few compared to those in the county courts, and the great mass of the population having a tribunal, which, as things go, cannot be improved, ready for their wants, take very easily the failings of the superior courts. It would be tiresome to enumerate the different measures which, within the compass of almost half a century, have gradually increased the effectiveness and the jurisdiction of the county courts. It is sufficient to mention, by way of example, that in 1850 their jurisdiction was enlarged from 20*l.* to 50*l.*; in 1856 equitable jurisdiction in respect of property not exceeding 500*l.* in value in regard to certain actions was given; in 1862 important Admiralty jurisdiction was conferred on certain county courts; and in 1888 it was enacted that the county courts should have co-ordinate jurisdiction with the High Court by consent of the parties. There is also another reason why the county courts have become efficient tribunals. The increase of their jurisdiction has attracted to them a higher class of advocates than was at one time seen in local tribunals. Barristers and a superior class of solicitors would in any case have been drawn to practise in them, but, when the Judicature Acts became law, and established district registries of the High Court in many local centres, a number of barristers gradually, as the phrase is, 'localised.' Primarily these advocates 'localised' with a view to practice in the High Court, but the result has been indirectly to draw business to the county courts; for these courts, being open for eleven

months of the year, are practically available throughout the year. The localisation of the bar has given a supply of advocates willing to practise in county courts, who make the most substantial part of their incomes from county court advocacy. The possibility also of transacting business in the local registries has caused solicitors to do themselves a good deal of litigious work which they before entrusted to their agents in London. But the judges of the High Court visit the county at intervals only, and at uncertain dates and for uncertain periods. The desire of practical men is to have litigious business, like any other business, quickly performed and with fair efficiency; hence, having reasonably competent judges at their door, having advocates to do the work if it was sufficiently important for someone other than an ordinary solicitor to perform, it is not surprising that men have sought the county courts, and that the localisation of the administration of justice has been the most marked feature among the changes of judicial administration in recent years. It is a feature of the utmost importance, since it means in effect that justice is available for the poorest of the Queen's subjects.

But the very efficiency of the county court system has made the inefficiency of the circuit system more apparent, and has been one of the causes of it. Many of the actions which, even ten years ago, would have been tried at the assizes are now tried in the county courts. In truth, there is scarcely a single thing to be said in favour of the present circuit system. Trials take place at uncertain periods and often in inconvenient places. It is impossible to say when a case may be called on, whether it will be quashed because the list of causes is too long, or come on prematurely because the nominal cause list has collapsed. The suitor is frequently uncertain if he can get the leader he desires, and whether, even if he has retained him, he may not at the eleventh hour be detained in London. He obtains the services, it is true, of a competent judge and of a conscientious jury, but the fees and the costs make him feel that he is paying somewhat dearly for the privilege. The smallness of the civil business at the assizes, as compared with that of former days, has also been productive of a considerable waste of judicial time. A judge may journey to a small provincial town, and may find that there are but two causes to try, both of which are finished in a day. To get through this business he has travelled on one day, worked on another, and done nothing on a third day, because

two days have been allowed to this assize town. If he had been in London he might have disposed in that time of fifteen causes. Moreover, improved railway facilities have, so far as London is concerned, caused nearly every civil case which arises within fifty miles of the metropolis to be sent there for trial. It is true that actions are still tried in the summer at Lewes and other places on the South Eastern Circuit, but that is usually because the courts in London are practically closed, and not because the parties prefer the local town. The same tendency is visible in the North and Midlands. Causes which arise within a reasonable distance of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, or Birmingham are sent for trial to these centres. Thus causes which should, strictly speaking, be heard at Lancaster, find their way into the Manchester or Liverpool list; those which should be presented to a judge and jury at Oxford are sent to Birmingham. Whilst, therefore, we have succeeded in giving to the county an efficient and well appreciated system for the trial of the smaller actions which, as we have seen, form the vast bulk of the litigation of the county, we have not yet replaced the old circuit system, for the trial of the more important actions, by a satisfactory system. We have tinkered at the old system; we have sent one judge to some places instead of two, and we have given three circuits in the year to several of the more important towns; but we have not courageously recognised the fact that the county court system and the changed circumstances of the times demand something more drastic. When we come to speak of the remedies for the existing defects in the administration of justice we shall state in a few words what seem to be the necessary changes in the circuit system.

If we regard the trial of *Nisi Prius* actions in the High Court in the metropolis the part of the system of most popular importance, we find a very marked defect of the present system to be the delay which occurs between the issue of the writ and the time of trial. This delay arises both before a cause is set down for hearing and after it has been entered in the list for trial. It is caused in the first instance by too frequent interlocutory applications; in the second by actual defects of the present system in regard to the trial of actions. In spite of the Judicature Acts, it is possible for an action to be delayed for months by dilatory interlocutory applications. On this point it is sufficient to cite the figures placed before the House of Lords by the Master of the Rolls. From 1888 to 1889 there were:—

stated, 37,400 summonses heard in the Queen's Bench Division; in the same time 2,023 causes were tried in London and on circuit. Of course every action in which a summons was issued was not tried, and therefore we must not put down eighteen summonses for every action tried. But the proportion of actions and summonses is altogether bad; look at it how we may, it is obvious that time and money are wasted by interlocutory applications, the majority of which have no real effect on the ultimate result of the action. Summonses for time are constantly issued; in some instances there exists a kind of reciprocity between solicitors' clerks injurious to the interests of clients; for when one clerk applies, another makes no strong objection, and he expects the same favour when he desires the same boon.

In some instances too much leniency is shown by the masters in granting time, so that it becomes rather the business of the person who opposes the application to show cause against it, than for the person who seeks the favour to make out a strong case for the application. Again, applications for discovery are often the cause of a waste of money and of time. Sometimes useful information is obtained by these means, but in many instances this is not so. If an application of this kind is granted, then time is required to comply with the order. The one indulgence probably necessitates another to the opposite party, and so the action is, to use a phrase of legal slang, 'hung up' for an indefinite period. It is here that the long vacation has an injurious effect. If business were promptly disposed of, this cessation of the hearing of actions would be convenient to the public and the legal profession; but as long as considerable delay occurs before an action can be tried, it forms another weapon in the armoury of the litigant who seeks delay.

As regards arrears in the Queen's Bench arising from delay in the trial of actions after they have been set down as being ready to be adjudicated on, it is again sufficient to take Lord Esher's figures. When the Master of the Rolls made his speech on July 17 last year there were, he said, the following arrears—viz. 280 cases for trial before special juries, 176 for trial before common juries, and 440 for trial by a judge without a jury, making a total of 896 actions. These figures, together with the common knowledge which exists in regard to the delay, are sufficient to justify a demand for a remedy. In an ideal tribunal causes would be tried within a few weeks after they are ready for hearing. That

is what the public have a right to expect, and it is what should be aimed at in every change of system. Such an ideal system is the only tolerable one, since delay is often synonymous with a denial of justice. In mercantile cases, more especially, delay is very injurious to the interests of suitors. Not only does it prevent that closing of accounts which is so necessary in business: it oftentimes causes great unnecessary expense by obliging parties to keep witnesses in this country, or to bring them back from foreign countries, or to send out commissions to take evidence abroad. The desire to close accounts, and the difficulties in regard to witnesses when causes cannot be quickly tried, frequently, there can be no doubt, oblige men to forgo their just demands.

Another cause of delay in the trial of actions, in addition to that arising from interlocutory applications, is the want of organisation in the arrangements of the courts. There is no steady trial of actions continuously throughout the legal year; the work is done in a spasmodic manner: for two or three weeks the judges get to work, then comes a loss of judicial strength by reason of assizes, the demands of the Old Bailey, and of Divisional Courts. Then follow another two or three weeks, and then a vacation occurs. The fact, briefly stated, is that the judges of the Queen's Bench Division never really settle down to work in an organised and systematic manner. There cannot be a doubt that the causes above stated are those which have largely contributed to drive commercial business from the High Court. The volume of this kind of business is very large. Bad years there have no doubt been, and periods of depression; but bad times will not account for the large diminution of commercial litigation when the actual volume of commercial business is borne in mind. Moreover, it is notorious that commercial men are continuously engaged in arbitrations, which means that they prefer a domestic forum to that which the State places at their disposal. But we are by no means sure that if commercial men can adjust their differences by arbitration there is any particular reason for regret. To a certain extent a State tribunal is intended for those who are unable either to agree with their adversaries or to find a domestic forum; and if commercial men are satisfied to get the opinion of a brother merchant, after all is anyone the worse for it? On the other hand, such desertion of the courts of law by the classes who, above all others, have the most important litigation, shows that there

is something rotten in the present system. To a certain extent, an apparently small cause has had a good deal to do with this existing absence of commercial business. That cause is the abolition of periodical sittings of the High Court at the Guildhall for the trial of actions arising in the City of London. Animated by a desire for uniformity we abolished these sittings, and in their place arranged for the trial of London actions in the Courts of Justice in the Strand, setting a judge or two to deal with them at uncertain intervals. Formerly several judges were sent to the Guildhall for a fixed number of days, and the trials of commercial causes went on *de die in diem* in the very centre of the commerce of the world. In a rough sort of way there then existed a 'tribunal of commerce.' Now business men have to come to the courts to wait throughout the day, and very likely to hear it announced in the evening that Mr. Justice B. has to sit with Mr. Justice C. to take the Crown Paper on the following day, and that the actions in his court will stand over till a future day. But, apart from the unsystematic manner in which London causes are tried, the question of locality is of great importance. Men could formerly attend to their daily business and to commercial litigation, whether they were parties, witnesses, or jurymen. From Mincing Lane to the Guildhall is a mere step, and even if the interested person had to wait in court for a short time he could be reached in a few minutes by clerks and messengers. In this way there existed, in fact, a convenient commercial tribunal, which the High Court can never become so long as the existing arrangement continues.

The Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division must be excepted from the censure which has been passed on the Queen's Bench Division, since in the former there are no arrears, and cases come on for trial with as much speed as the parties desire in the case of probate and divorce suits, often within a few weeks of a shipping casualty in the case of Admiralty actions. In that division also litigation is little encumbered by those dilatory interlocutory applications which undoubtedly seldom influence the final issue of a suit, though they may hinder it. The business also has largely grown, and an immense sum of money is every year adjudicated upon. Thus, for the judicial year ending in October 1889, 353,000*l.* odd was pronounced to be due by the registrar and merchants,* and over 95,000*l.*

* The number of references shows a remarkable and steady increase

was claimed in salvage actions. In the Queen's Bench Division 244,000*l.* was recovered in court otherwise than on circuit, and on circuit 90,000*l.* It will be thus seen that the amounts actually recovered in the Admiralty Court on references alone, without taking into account cases of salvage and of damages where the amount of damages was agreed upon, after a decision as to the liability of the vessel given in open court, amounted to more than the whole of the sums received in the Queen's Bench Division after trial in court. This work is done with one judge and two registrars, as against a number of judges and many 'masters' in the Queen's Bench Division.

When we turn to the Chancery Division we find no absence of business, as in the case of commercial actions in the Queen's Bench Division, but a block of general miscellaneous business. The assertion is sufficient, since the fact is common knowledge; but it may be well to give one or two examples, so that the delay which awaits those who seek justice in the Chancery Division may be appreciated. For example, taking some of the Chancery lists at the beginning of the present legal year—that is to say, after the long vacation of last year—we find that the second cause in the list of actions with witnesses in Mr. Justice Kay's list, being number fifteen in such list (we omit the first action because it appears to be out of its order), stood tenth in this general list at the beginning of the Trinity sittings in May 1890—in other words, the cause was actually lower down the list at the end of five months. In the list for the Hilary sittings—that is, in the list issued in January—it was forty-fourth in the list of a hundred and twenty causes for trial; that is to say, it was comparatively high up in the list for January, and was yet not reached for trial till the end of October. Following the fate of this cause still farther back, we again find it well up in the list for the Michaelmas sittings of 1889, being then number sixty in a list of a hundred and one causes. In order, however, not to rest on one example only, though it is merely one on a par with many others, we may take the cause which stood just below it at Michaelmas 1890: it was sixty-seventh on the list a year previous.* Again, the first cause in Mr. Justice North's list of witness

* e.g. the number of days on which references were taken in 1875 was 42; in 1889 it was 101.

* Lord Esher, in his speech in the House of Lords on July 17, 1890, stated that the oldest witness cause was of January, 1890.

causes stood fortieth in the January list and fifty-first in a list of fifty-eight causes a year previous, thus showing that suitors in the Chancery Division have to wait at least a year after a cause is set down for trial before it can be heard. When we bear in mind the time which is occupied in making ready for the battle, it is obvious that a person who determines to seek justice in the Chancery Division cannot, if his action be one for trial with witnesses, hope to obtain a decision for two years from the time that the litigation begins. It is equally certain that this knowledge deters persons from asserting their just rights. The loss, the inconvenience, and the anxiety to large numbers of persons which are caused by this delay it needs no imagination to picture. It is a disgrace to the judicial system of our day, and requires an instant and efficacious remedy.

We may now indicate briefly some of the remedies which appear to be required in consequence of the existing defects in our judicial system, and we desire that it should be borne in mind that in this Review it is impossible to go far into those technical details which demand minute attention. We can only point in a general way to the changes which seem necessary. We stated earlier in this paper that, in our opinion, it was a mistake to take away from the Guildhall the trial of commercial cases. It follows, therefore, that commercial cases should again be tried there. It would be easy to effect this change. Two judges should be told off for this duty at the beginning of the year, and they should sit for one year *de die in diem* to try commercial cases. They should have full control of the general and the daily lists, and when they finished their special business for the sittings they could assist the other judges at the Courts of Justice. It would be necessary to frame some definition of the term 'commercial cases,' since it would be absurd that non-commercial cases should be heard in the City. The following definition no doubt may be improved, but it will serve as a rough test sufficient for the present occasion. One party or the other must carry on business within the City of London, and the action must be one arising out of the use or hire of a ship, or out of a contract for the sale of goods, or in respect of a bill, note, or negotiable instrument. If this change were carried out, the commercial community of the first commercial city in the world would have a tribunal in its midst, and it is right that it should be so.

Next we have to consider the waste of judicial power on

circuit. From what has been said in regard to the county court system it will be obvious that the circuit system as it at present exists is an anachronism. It is largely derived from a time when county courts and railways were unknown, and it requires adaptation to the needs of the present day. First of all there are certain large towns—provincial centres—in which there should be sittings of definite length of one or more judges of the High Court for the trial of actions. These are Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Bristol. In each of these towns there should be two or three sittings every year, always beginning on the same day. These sittings should have a maximum length allotted to them, though they need not necessarily last for this length of time. This system would be to the convenience of suitors and of the legal profession, and it would cope with the bulk of the civil work of the provinces which has to be dealt with by judges of the High Court.

But it still leaves the civil work of some localities to be disposed of, and it does not touch the more important class of criminal trials. The establishment of provincial centres would prevent the necessity of some present circuit towns being continued as such. For example, cases which would be heard at Lancaster may be taken to Manchester or Liverpool, as indeed is generally done now. Again, certain towns near London, such as Aylesbury, Hertford, and Reading, should be taken out of the list of assize towns, and the causes which would be tried in them should be heard in London. Here, again, it would only be making compulsory a system which is in practice already, voluntarily followed by suitors and the legal profession. But by so doing the time of the judges would be economised. We are now left with a certain space of England yet to be dealt with, and also with the trial of criminals. As regards this space, some towns within a radius of the various provincial centres must be excluded from it, since they would be served by these centres. As regards others, they would have to be grouped either in new circuits or in new circuits under old names. As regards the trial of criminals, only capital offences and a few of the worst forms of felony should be tried by a judge of the High Court. It is certain that the time of the judges of the High Court is wasted by the trial of simple questions of fact; nor is any uniformity of sentences gained by the present system. Take, for example, charges of theft. It is an absolute waste of judicial time for a judge to be engaged on the trial of such questions, which can

be efficiently dealt with by a jury presided over by a chairman of quarter sessions.

Another means by which judicial time in the Queen's Bench Division might be saved would be the abolition of the system under which a judge sits in chambers to hear appeals on points of practice. The judge should sit in court, and any appeal from his decision should be to the Court of Appeal. The practice judge would then take the place of a Divisional Court, and the hurried and unsatisfactory hearing of appeals in chambers would become a thing of the past.

But in order to make new arrangements work satisfactorily, they must have a fair trial. To obtain this, we must recognise the further fact that it is necessary to get rid of arrears by extraordinary means. If a private person, having loaded himself with debts, intends to begin a new and economical mode of living so as to equalise his income and expenditure, he must first make some sacrifices to rid himself of his incumbrances. In the same way, judicial arrears must be cleared off by extraordinary means, otherwise no improved system can be satisfactory. The extraordinary means which appear desirable are to appoint some commissioners to try common jury cases at the Royal Courts for a specified time, and thus enable the regular judges to cope with the other mass of business.

As regards the business of the Chancery Division, it has been proved to demonstration that more judicial and official strength is required. It is obvious that the business of this division must gradually increase. It is, in a large sense, administrative; the working out of executorships, trusts, and the winding up of companies is business that must necessarily grow with an enlarging population and an ever-increasing commerce. We must recognise the fact, therefore, that from time to time there must be an increase both of the judges and the officials of this department; and if this is not done, the Chancery Division is as certain to become a great scandal at the end as the Court of Chancery was at the beginning of the century. There is no more to be said on this point; the defect and the remedy are equally obvious.

One of the reasons why litigation is dreaded by many is, in our opinion, the fear that even when victorious they will be put to considerable expense. The fear is justifiable. The theory of making a defeated party pay costs is that the victorious party shall be indemnified against the cost of

litigation. In practice this result is not attained, and a legal victory is therefore in many cases much worse than no litigation at all. This result is caused in two ways. Costs as between party and party are somewhat strictly taxed, and solicitors are apt to spend too large sums in carrying on litigation. It may therefore fairly be a question whether a solicitor should be allowed to recover from his client any sums over and above the taxed costs. That is to say, when the bill of the solicitor of the victorious party has been taxed the client should be liable for no sums whatever unless he has specially authorised their expenditure. His victory should be, so to say, a bloodless one. In some cases persons who have been successful in litigation are mulcted in extra expense because some solicitors of the less reputable kind make it a practice to swell a bill of costs unnecessarily; in others because, from over carefulness or from professional routine, unnecessary expenses are incurred. In others the client's own fussiness or anxiety increases the costs; in such cases no blame attaches to the solicitor. In this publication it would be obviously impossible to go into this particular part of the subject in detail; it is sufficient to indicate a remedy for what is now a discredit to the law. Some kind of revisal of the ordinary scale of costs, and also some rule to the effect that in every case care shall be taken not to disallow any item which is not clearly unnecessary, is required. The fact is that taxing masters are apt, as is quite natural, to fall into a groove of taxation and scarcely to exercise in all cases that discretion which they are allowed. A diminution in the number of scale items would materially assist in giving greater elasticity to the discretion of the taxing master; he would then use his own judgement in regard to many items in which he is now hampered by scale charges, which he allows in some instances, not because they are necessary, but because they are allowable; whilst he disallows items, not because they are unreasonable, but because they are not such as appear in the scale of authorised charges. To enter into this point in greater detail would be here impossible, since it is a subject of the most technical legal kind.

The remedies which we have suggested would meet the present difficulties. There are many, no doubt, who would view the abolition of the old circuit system with regret. But it is now an anachronism. It has almost entirely lost those social features which have endeared it to many generations of the bar and have filled the biographies of eminent

lawyers with some of the best of stories. The localisation of the bar is now so accomplished a fact that the circuit has ceased to be a species of club, as it was at one time: of the men who are not local, many do no more than run down for a day or two from town, hence the *camaraderie* of the old circuits is almost a thing of the past.

But the main point to bear in mind, apart from any questions of social pleasure, is that the new order of things must be recognised in a businesslike manner if the business of litigation is to be transacted to the satisfaction of the country. It must be confessed, indeed, that the tendency of the times has been not always so present in the minds of law reformers as it should have been. If there is one feature of the present day more marked than another it is specialisation. But, with a curious disregard for this characteristic of the century, all the courts of law and chancery were in 1874 grouped into one High Court. It was intended that one code of procedure should be in use in every division, and that a homogeneous system should thus exist in every court. The result has been quite different from the anticipation of those who championed these reforms. The courts of law and equity are still as distinct as ever, and the prolixity of the pleadings in Chancery actions is nearly as remarkable as in former years. The single enormous volume known as 'The Annual Practice' contains, it is true, the practice of the several divisions—a mass of rules and of judicial decisions and of forms on questions of practice wholly unsystematic and most cumbersome in shape. A number of beneficial changes have no doubt been accomplished, but they might have been obtained in a much more modest and unassuming manner. The tendency of the times towards specialisation was not sufficiently perceived, and in the same way no change of the circuit system can now be of much avail which does not thoroughly recognise the tendency of localisation in regard to general business. It is certain that in time some kind of sittings for the transaction of the Chancery business of large local centres will have to be held. The Chancery Court of Lancashire is, to all intents and purposes, a branch of the High Court, and what is good for Lancashire will in due time have to be declared suitable for other places.

Everything points, indeed, to the extension at some future time of the jurisdiction of the county courts so as to make them the sole courts of first instance, leaving the High Court as a court of appeal. But this is a change

not yet within measurable distance, though it would be a logical and natural conclusion to recent legislation, by which much of the legal business of the county has been handed over by degrees in a large measure to the county courts. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the tendency of the legislation of the past quarter of a century has been to raise the standard of the county court bench and to lower that of the High Court. Every increase of the jurisdiction of the county court has rendered it more necessary to have that of the Queen's Bench Division filled by capable men. The position of a county court judge has become one of more dignity and importance. He is his own master; and, though he has no long vacation, he has constant periods of intermission between his periods of work. The salary is not a high one, but it is sufficient for the needs of most men. On the other hand, we have been taking away the most important work of the judges of the Queen's Bench Division. The larger mass of appeal business formerly transacted in the courts at Westminster has been handed over to the Court of Appeal. The judges of the Queen's Bench Division have thus become more completely only judges of fact, and of appeals from county courts and magistrates, and we send them over the country at all seasons of the year, whether they like it or not. Their remuneration is still the same, but their dignity and position is less. What has already been done naturally tends to the throwing of yet more of the business of the country into the county courts. Nor is there any reason why this tendency should be checked; popular feeling is in favour of the county courts, and it is the popular feeling of the country which gradually makes itself felt in the judicial system of a nation.

While we must recognise the tendency to localisation as a characteristic of the times, we have also to remember that we must keep up the high judicial standard which has made the past administration of justice one of the great glories of our country. We ought not to fritter away the time of our judges by sending them about England to adjudicate on very trivial matters. Localities should be served by the best judicial intellects only when it is actually necessary; and, to accomplish this effectually, the judges ought to transact only important civil and criminal work when they travel away from London.*

* In connexion with the point it may here be suggested that whenever unfortunately a vacancy occurs in the office of the Lord

It is only by so doing that we can unite the traditions of the past with the needs of the present. To keep up the great standard of English justice is a paramount duty of our generation, since the manner of its administration in the mother country serves as an example to her colonies and dependencies in every part of the globe. The decisions, too, of the appellate tribunals here are continually formulating the law for millions of the English-speaking race in every part of the world. Therefore, to keep the Courts of Appeal at a high standard of judicial power is a duty we owe to others as well as to ourselves; for the more numerous become the inhabitants of our colonies, the more various and busy become the colonial tribunals which look for guidance to the decisions of the Appeal Courts of the mother country.

Chief Justice of England, this judge should become the permanent president of one of the Courts of Appeal, as the Master of the Rolls is of the other. In former days the Chief Justice was president of the Court of Queen's Bench in Banc and sat at Nisi Prius in important cases. To retain this high officer simply as a member of a Divisional Court and to do the work of an ordinary puisne judge is to lessen the importance and usefulness of this historical post.

- ART. IV.—1. *A Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, performed in His Majesty's Ships the 'Resolution' and 'Adventure,' in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775.* Written by JAMES COOK, Commander of the 'Resolution.' In Two Volumes. The Second Edition. 1777.
2. *A Voyage towards the South Pole, performed in the Years 1822–24. Containing an Examination of the Antarctic Sea, to the Seventy-fourth Degree of Latitude.* By JAMES WEDDELL, Esq., Master in the Royal Navy. 1825.
3. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.* By CHARLES WILKES, U.S.N., Commander of the Expedition. In Five Volumes, with an Atlas. Vol. II. 1845.
4. *A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions during the Years 1839–43.* By Captain Sir JAMES CLARK ROSS, R.N., Knt., D.C.L. Oxon, F.R.S., &c. In Two Volumes. 1847.
5. *Report on the Magnetical Results obtained by H.M.S. 'Challenger' during the Years 1873–1876.* By Staff-Commander E. W. CREAK, R.N., F.R.S. Contained in Report of Scientific Results, Physics and Chemistry. Vol. II. 1889.

LIKE most words, the word 'Antarctic' has a vague and loose as well as a special and definite application. The Antarctic Circle is an imaginary line, roughly speaking ten thousand miles long, described at a distance of twenty-three degrees and a half from the South Pole, from which any point of it is removed by an interval of fourteen hundred and ten geographical, or about sixteen hundred and thirty statute, miles. The frigid zone, of which it is the boundary, is therefore an area containing more than eight millions of square miles, or considerably more than twice the size of Europe. Immediately outside this line lies the south temperate zone; all that is inside it, land or sea, known or unknown, is properly and strictly antarctic. But when antarctic waters and antarctic weather have to be discussed, it is found that they set at nought all precision of boundary lines, and at times encroach upon the so-called temperate regions with defiant capriciousness. Like our English seasons, which at their own sweet will fling winter into the middle of spring or autumn, and occasionally insert a charming spring day into the gloom of winter,

so the antarctic winds and waves, which sometimes carry their freezing fury far out of bounds, are also at others surprisingly calmed and tempered in the home where geographers have given them leave to rave and fret.

Looking at a modern map of the southern hemisphere, we see at once how little is definitely known of the true antarctic area, and by what a vast wilderness of waters this great field for conjecture and exploration is certainly surrounded. At wide intervals the southern extremities of Africa, Australia, and South America point at the mysterious circle, as if to signify that the way is open, that discoveries are only waiting for discoverers. Looking at maps published at the beginning of the last century, we find that the same pointers are in position, but that the space into which they are pointing is at that period an absolute and discouraging blank. Little more than two centuries earlier still, the three pointers, if such an expression may be allowed, were themselves unknown to Europeans.

Bartolommeo Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, and ten years later Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape and made out the eastward sea route to India. Cape Horn and Van Diemen's Land were not discovered till long afterwards. Fernão de Magalhães is by courtesy called the first circumnavigator of the globe. He did not in fact sail round the world, though one of his ships did. Yet his personal title may be in a sense sustained as just, for, one half of the course being already known, it was he who first sailed over the other and hitherto unknown half; so that, if he did not circumnavigate the earth, he at least completed its circumnavigation. Instead of sailing eastward across the Indian Ocean, he was enabled, by his discovery of the Straits of Magellan in 1520, to make his way to the East Indies westward across the Pacific. In the following year, at Zebu, in the Philippines, he lost his life, bravely but foolishly, in a petty skirmish. His flagship, the 'Trinitate,' eventually fell a prey to the Portuguese in the Moluccas, but another vessel of his squadron, the 'Victoria,' was brought home to the haven of S. Lucar, near Seville, by Juan Sebastian del Cano, who, it is said, was most nobly rewarded by Charles V. The voyage was rather a grand achievement than an honourable one, seeing that Magalhães, or Magellan, planned and undertook it in the service of Spain from a spirit of revenge, against the interests of Portugal, his native land. With him went an Italian, one Antonio Pigafetta, as

a volunteer, and to his narrative history is indebted for a knowledge of the many interesting incidents of the voyage. The squadron suffered much from external enemies, but, like exploring companies of a later date, it was also far from forming within itself a united household. With that part of the business we are not now concerned. The most important matter was the discovery of the straits. According to Pigafetta, as rendered in Harris's Collections,

'they found them about 110 Leagues in length, and as for the breadth very uncertain; in some places very wide, in others not more than half a League over; the Land on both sides high and uneven, and the Mountains cover'd with Snow. When they came to the end of it, and found an open passage into the great Ocean, *Maglianes* was surpriz'd with a Joy that exceeded all the common bounds and measures, for this was the happy thing that he look'd for, and now he was able to demonstrate his Sailing round by the West to the Emperor.'

In still closer connexion with our present subject, Pigafetta is credited by Harris with the curious statement that 'at the distance of 20 degrees from the *South Pole*, they tell us of an Island of exceeding height called *Cipanghu*, and at 15 degrees of another as high, the name of which is *Sumbdit*.' It would have been interesting to know who the authorities were, thus early in the sixteenth century, that claimed to have seen mountains in the latitudes of 70° and 75° south, since within modern knowledge the latter has been reached only by a single explorer. But a different complexion is put upon the matter by the translation of Pigafetta which Lord Stanley of Alderley has given in the Hakluyt Society volume published in 1874. The report of the two islands there proves to be Pigafetta's own, and is introduced by a context worth quoting, although its wording is not shorn of all technical obscurities as in Harris's paraphrase:—

'The antarctic pole is not so covered with stars as the arctic, for there are to be seen there many small stars congregated together, which are like to two clouds a little separated from one another, and a little dimmed, in the midst of which are two stars, not very large nor very brilliant, and they move but little. These two stars are the antarctic pole. Our compass needle still pointed a little to its arctic pole; nevertheless, it had not as much power as on its own side and region. Yet when we were in the open sea, the captain general asked of all the pilots, whilst still going under sail, in what direction they were navigating and pointing the charts. They all replied, by the course he had given, punctually [pricked in]; then he answered, that they were pointing falsely (which was so), and that it was fitting to arrange the needle of navigation, because it did not receive so much force as in its own quarter. When we were in the middle of this open sea we saw a cross

of five stars, very bright, straight, in the west, and they are straight one with another.

During this time of two months and twelve days we navigated between west and north-west (maestral), and a quarter west of north-west, and also north-west, until we came to the equinoctial line, which was at [a point] one hundred and twenty-two degrees distant from the line of repartition. This line of delimitation is thirty degrees distant from the meridian, and the meridian is three degrees distant from the Cape Verd towards the east. In going by this course we passed near two very rich islands; one is in twenty degrees latitude in the antarctic pole, and is called Cipanghu; the other, in fifteen degrees of the same pole, is named Sumbdit Pradit. After we had passed the equinoctial line we navigated between west, and north-west and a quarter west, by north-west.

Had all the narrative been like this extract, the savages might have been excused for their opinion of 'Pigafetta's' writing, and reading what he had written, as 'mysteries' which they could not comprehend; but to the civilised world his notices of the Magellanic clouds, the Southern Cross, and the variation of the compass are sufficiently interesting, while the course of the squadron which he describes makes it clear that the *Cipanghu* and *Sumbdit* are far from being antarctic islands. Evidently the 'antarctic pole' is an expression equivalent to the southern hemisphere, and the degrees are reckoned not from the pole, but from the equator.

There was in Magellan's time great reason for the feeling of triumph which he exhibited as to his discovery of the straits, since at that period no other waterway westward into the Pacific was known or even supposed to exist. People seem to have taken it for granted that to the south the mariner would find his course intercepted by the land. Under this impression, in 1584 the Spaniards made an attempt to occupy the narrow passage which Magellan had discovered in such a way as to exclude all the rest of the world from the use of it. The attempt, without any of the opposition which it might reasonably have excited, ended of itself in disastrous failure, as is fully and unsparingly explained in the account of 'The Prosperous Voyage of Mr. Tho. Candish (of Trimly in the County of Suffolk, Esq.); Written by Mr. Francis Pretty of Eye in Suffolk, his Companion in the same Voyage.' But when, in 1616, a Dutch captain and a merchant of Amsterdam rounded Cape Horn, the extreme importance which the Straits of Magellan might otherwise have attained was withdrawn from the competition of international selfishness.

It was not, however, from any despotic avarice of the foreigner, but from the narrow-minded monopoly of their own countrymen, that the two adventurers sought a way of escape:—

'The States-General of the *United Provinces* having, in favour of their *East India Company*, prohibited all others to pass by the *Cape of Good Hope* Eastward, or through the *Magellanick Straights* Westward, there were some that began to think of another Passage, by the means of which the South-Sea might be visited, as well as by the *Magellanick Straights*, which were now shut up from all but the Company. Such a passage was suspected to be somewhere south of the *Straights*. The Notion was started by *Isaac Le Maire*, a Merchant of *Amsterdam*, and *William Cornelison Schouten* of *Hoorn*, amongst themselves; and they resolved to be at the Cost of a Voyage, to prove whether there were any truth in it or no.'

In these matters we must not be tempted to regard the nations of old as incomparably below the wisdom and humanity of modern times. It is only too likely that even now, if Paradise itself were discovered, the possession of it would be disputed in several sanguinary wars, and its area eventually disposed of to supply the dividends of a company limited.

The Dutch expedition accomplished its object. For, though the smaller of the two vessels, the 'Hoorn' or 'Horn,' was accidentally burnt in the entrance to the Straits of Magellan, and though the other ship, the 'Eendracht' or 'Unity,' before it reached home, was seized and confiscated in the East Indies, by the President of the Dutch Company there, this cruel injustice was not perpetrated until the vessel's memorable service to the world had been already rendered. Its captain, having discovered and sailed his ship through the Strait of Le Maire, doubled Cape Horn, naming it presumably after the recently burnt vessel, which had itself no doubt been named after the captain's own birthplace. He reached the southern latitude of $59^{\circ} 25'$, and at that point 'saw no signs of any land to the south.'

Fifty years later, Sir John Narborough, who had been sent to Patagonia by Charles II. in quest of gold, found not much of that metal, but found on an island in the Straits of Magellan 'several pieces of Boards of the Wreck of a Ship that had been burnt,' and also a piece of sheet-lead with an inscription recording the arrival of the two Dutch ships and the departure of one of them. The signatures to this he gives as 'C. Jacques Le Maire, S. Willem Cornelison Schouten, Ares Classen, Jan Cornelius Schote, and Claes

'Janssen Ban.'* Hence the name of the principal navigator would seem to have been Le Houts, not Schonten, as Captain Cook and others have called him. Captain Cook also speaks of his ship as the 'Concord,' but the English narrative of Le Houts' voyage calls it the 'Unity,' and this must be the correct rendering, since, when mentioning the death of one of the ship's company, the narrator remarks that 'the *Unity* still kept its Company intire to this time, and now had it lessen'd, but by the number of its Name.'

If Le Houts was the first to prove the continuity of the southern ocean, it was Pedro Fernandes de Quiros, a Spanish pilot, who was the first sent out with the sole view of discovering a southern continent, 'and indeed he seems,' Cook says, 'to have been the first who had any idea of the existence of one.' By the expression 'a southern continent' we must evidently understand, not the vague indefinite extension of South America southwards, but some great independent mass of land. Starting from Callao in 1605, as pilot of a fleet of three vessels commanded by Luis Paz de Torres, Quiros discovered various islands, but no southern continent. De Torres in the next year, after he had separated from Quiros, discovered the strait which is called by his name, between Australia and New Guinea. The existence of Australia appears to have been already vaguely known. The honour of discovering its most southern point belongs to Tasman, who in 1642 sailed from Batavia with two ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and gave the name of Van Diemen's Land to the island which has since been called Tasmania. The older name ought surely not to have been altered. It was given by Tasman in honour of his friend Anthony van Diemen, the governor of the Dutch possessions in the Indies, who fitted out the expedition which Tasman commanded, and whose daughter or near relative, Maria van Diemen, afterwards became Tasman's wife. The Falkland Isles, which Sir Richard Hawkins explored in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and called Hawkins's Maiden Land out of respect to the virgin queen, have, like Tasmania, suffered a change of name which is to be regretted. Tasman, who discovered, besides Van Diemen's Land, the north island of New Zealand, gave to one of the headlands of the latter the name Cape Maria van Diemen, and this record of his affection has been allowed to remain unobliterated.

* A complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, by John Harris, A.M., 1705, vol. ii. p. 805. Yet in vol. i. p. 37, of the same work, the Dutch captain is named William Cornelison Schouten.

In the advances of knowledge there is great irregularity, such as it is not always very easy to account for. At some epochs the slightest clue seems to give an impulse to the wits of a multitude of men, who follow it up so closely and eagerly that it soon becomes almost impossible to decide who first carried the thread into the labyrinth or to discern who has carried it furthest. Yet at other epochs the world seems sluggish to all suggestions. Though Tasman discovered New Zealand in 1642, nevertheless, until Cook in 1770 sailed round the whole group of its constituent islands, it continued through a century and a quarter to be supposed by many to be part of a southern continent. Considering that its most southern point is in a latitude corresponding, as regards distance from the equator, pretty nearly with that of Dijon in France, one is disposed to wonder where the brave spirits of ocean were slumbering in the days before Dibdin. South Georgia, it is true, appears to have been sighted in 1675, but this was by accident, and in the same latitude of 54° south, Lozier Bouvet of the French East India Company 'discovered land, 'or what he judged to be land,' on January 1, 1739. Cook made several attempts to rediscover Bouvet's Land, but without success, and concludes that 'it is, therefore, very probable 'that what Bouvet saw was nothing more than a large ice 'island.' Sir James Clark Ross also made an ineffectual attempt to find Bouvet Island, and came to the same sceptical conclusion that Cook had formed; but he candidly adds—

'I have now, however, reason to believe that there is an island in that vicinity, for since my return to England I have learned from C. Enderby, Esq., that it has been visited by several of his vessels, and that a party from one of them actually landed, and was compelled by stormy weather to remain nearly six days on the island, and brought on board several seals, which they had killed on its S.W. point.'

One voyage of great importance brought the seventeenth century to a close—that, namely, on which the great astronomer Halley, himself a captain in the Royal Navy, was despatched in 1699, 'for improving the knowledge of the 'longitude, and of the variation of the compass, and for 'discovering the unknown lands supposed to be in the 'southern part of the Atlantic Ocean.' To the first two articles of his instructions he attended very successfully, but he did not find any southern land that was unknown before.

It was not till the early part of George III.'s reign that the spirit of maritime discovery once more awoke to pro-

ductive enthusiasm, and its activity has not since relapsed, nor does it show signs as yet of any inclination to regard difficulties of any kind as unconquerable, or of a disposition to yield to any that are not so.

The voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, between 1764 and 1771, form an extremely agreeable and romantic narrative as 'licked into shape' by the practised literary craft of Dr. John Hawkesworth. That author's manner did not, perhaps, give entire satisfaction to Cook, whose second voyage is described by himself with an apology, for which there was little need, in regard to possible 'inaccuracies of style.' As to these his readers are invited to recollect that the work 'is the production of a man who has not had 'the advantage of much school education, but who has been 'constantly at sea from his youth; and though, with the 'assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all 'the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice 'boy in the coal trade to a post-captain in the Royal Navy, 'he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters.' 'After 'this account of myself,' he proceeds to say, 'the public 'must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer or 'the plausibility of a professed bookmaker,' in which a side-thrust at Hawkesworth would seem to be intended. Hawkesworth's dedication of his work to the king might well disgust a simple-minded sea captain by its braggadocio, since it ventures to flatter the young monarch by saying, 'Under your Majesty's auspices, in little more than seven 'years, discoveries have been made far greater than those 'of all the navigators in the world collectively, from the 'expedition of Columbus to the present time.'

In the voyages of those seven years, a period which includes also that of the French commander Bougainville, the most important novelty in southern exploration was the rounding of Cape South in New Zealand by Captain Cook. In the matter of pointing to the mysteries of the frigid zones, this cape may be considered as a sort of twin sister to South Cape in Tasmania, the glances of the two being focussed, as it were, upon the same portion of the Antarctic Circle.

On January 13, 1772, M. Marion du Fresne discovered, between latitudes 46° and 47° south, Marion and Prince Edward Islands. To the former, which is also the southern and larger of the two, Captain Marion gave the name of 'Ile de l'Espérance,' in the hope that this island would 'prove an outlying sentinel of the Antarctic continent.

which was then being constantly sought for, and the necessity for the existence of which was firmly fixed in the minds of the geographers of that age.* This unfortunate gentleman did not live to realise his mistake, as he was soon afterwards eaten by some of the natives of New Zealand, a misunderstanding about the custom of *taboo* having given rise, as Mrs. Lirriper would have said, to 'fruitful hot water for all parties.'

January 13, 1772, was propitious to French discoveries, for on this same day M. de Kerguelen observed two of the Kerguelen group, which he named the Isles of Fortune, after the ship, 'La Fortune,' which he commanded. He afterwards came in sight of the main island, but was driven off its shores by tempestuous weather. 'From the exaggerated account he gave of the extent of this new discovery,' says Sir J. C. Ross, 'it was very generally believed that the great southern continent which the philosophers of that time considered necessary to maintain the balance of our earth was at length found; and M. de Kerguelen, in command of the "Rolland," of sixty-four guns, accompanied by "L'Oiseau" frigate, was sent again to examine more fully this interesting land.' In December 1773 he again came in sight of the principal island, and was again driven off; but in January of the following year the consort ship was enabled to land an officer, who went through the formality of taking possession. Early, however, in 1773, Cook and Furneaux had already sailed past this group of islands to the south, and Ross observes that the illusion which had taken possession of men's minds of its being a part of the great southern continent was dispelled by a reference to the log book of the "Adventure," for in this vessel Captain Furneaux crossed the meridian of Kerguelen Land about fifty miles to the southward of Cape George, which is near its southern extremity, 'thus proving that no part of this land extends to the southward beyond the fiftieth degree of latitude.'

Cook's second voyage, in the 'Resolution,' in company with Furneaux in the 'Adventure,' resulted in a great clearing up of the question. It set back the possibilities of the hypothetical continent within quite unexpected limits. The mere fact of the two ships roaming about the Southern Ocean without being able to find some of the existing points of land which other mariners had discovered was in itself

* Narrative of the Cruise of H.M.S. 'Challenger,' p. 292.

evidence that those points did not belong to any greatly extended coast line. When Cook discovered, or, more strictly speaking, re-discovered, the Isle of Georgia, now called South Georgia, in a southern latitude corresponding to that of Harrogate in the north, he found reason to name one of the headlands Cape Disappointment. He had been inclined to believe that he was on the outskirts of a great continent; but instead of at once sailing home to proclaim the sensational probability, he circumnavigated the island, or group of islands, and found it not more than seventy leagues in circuit. His reflections upon the occasion are of much interest.

'Who would have thought,' he says, 'that an island of no greater extent than this, situated between the latitude of 54° and 55° , should, in the very height of summer, be, in a manner, wholly covered, many fathoms deep, with frozen snow; but more especially the S.W. coast. The very sides and craggy summits of the lofty mountains were ~~covered~~ with snow and ice; but the quantity which lay in the valleys is incredible, and at the bottom of the bays the coast was terminated by a wall of ice of considerable height. It can hardly be doubted that a great deal of ice is formed here in the winter, which, in the spring, is broken off and dispersed over the sea; but the island cannot produce the ten thousandth part of what we saw, so that either there must be more land or the ice is formed without it. These reflections led me to think that the land we had seen the preceding day might belong to an extensive track; and I still had hopes of discovering a continent. I must confess the disappointment I now met with did not affect me much; for, to judge of the bulk by the sample, it would not be worth the discovery.'

If Cook in his last observation was thinking of commerce, conquest, or colonisation, there can scarcely be two opinions about the correctness of his view, and the samples that have been taken much farther south give just as little encouragement with regard to the purely financial value of the bulk, although whales and seals and guano might for a time be a source of profit. To the shores actually within the frigid zone, on which it is but rarely possible to effect a landing or maintain a foothold, even Cook's energetic namesake in modern times would not readily undertake personally to conduct a group of tourists. Captain Cook himself, however, was little enough influenced by the unscientific aspect of the question to which the phrase above quoted might seem to refer. He was the first navigator, so far as history has recorded, to penetrate within the Antarctic Circle. Between eleven and twelve o'clock on Sunday, January 17, 1779, he crossed it for the first time in longitude $39^{\circ} 35'$ east.

The weather was at the time tolerably clear, so that the view was open for several leagues round the ship, and only one island of ice had been seen since the morning, although later on, about 4 P.M., still steering to the south, they 'observed the whole sea in a manner covered with ice, from the direction of S.E. round by the south and west.'

'At a quarter past six o'clock,' he says, 'being then in the latitude of $67^{\circ} 15'$ south, we could proceed no farther, the ice being entirely closed to the south, in the whole extent from east to W.S.W., without the least appearance of an opening. This immense field was composed of different kinds of ice, such as high hills, loose or broken pieces packed close together, and what, I think, Greenlandmen call field-ice. A float of this kind of ice lay to the S.E. of us, of such extent that I could see no end to it from the masthead.'

On December 20, 1773, Cook came again within the Antarctic Circle, in longitude $147^{\circ} 46'$ west, and on this occasion pursued his course as far as $67^{\circ} 31'$ south, the longitude then being $142^{\circ} 54'$ west. In this region they met with ice islands that were very high and rugged, forming at their tops many peaks, whereas the most of those they had seen before were flat at top, and not so high, 'though many of them were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides, astonishing to behold.' Cook was here under a necessity of turning back northward again. There was a space of twenty-four degrees of latitude to the north, still unexplored, in which there might or might not be a large tract of land, a problem only to be solved by visiting those parts. But besides this, the field ice was so thick and close as wholly to obstruct his passage to the south, and when he made sail to the west, under double reefed topsails and courses, with a strong gale at north, the attendant snow and sleet froze to the rigging as it fell, making the ropes like wires and the sails like boards or plates of metal. 'The shivers, also,' he adds, 'were frozen so fast in the blocks that it required our utmost efforts to get a topsail down and up; the cold so intense as hardly to be endured; the whole sea, in a manner, covered with ice; a hard gale and a thick fog.'

Undeterred by such hardships, in the very next month, on January 26, 1774, Cook a third time penetrated the Antarctic Circle, this time entering it in the longitude of $109^{\circ} 31'$ west, being lured on by very different climatic conditions, since on the previous day he was able to report:

'The weather mild and not unpleasant, and not a bit of ice in view.'

With weather now foggy and cold, now clear and serene, under gentle gales, he pressed on till the 30th of the month, and on that morning they perceived the clouds over the southern horizon to be of the snow-white brightness which indicated the approach to field ice. Soon afterwards, 'ninety-seven' ice hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those 'on the outside; many of them very large, and looking like 'a ridge of mountains, rising one above another, till they 'were lost in the clouds.' There is great probability that in these 'prodigious ice mountains,' as he calls them, Cook may have been looking upon a portion of the missing continent, or perhaps an antarctic island of continental proportions. Without saying it was impossible anywhere to get farther to the south, he believed it to be a dangerous and rash enterprise, such as no man in his situation would have thought of.

'It was, indeed,' he says, 'my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here—that is, to the south of this parallel—where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in high latitudes.'

But, whatever the possibilities of the case might be, and whatever his own personal ambition might have dictated (which was, not only to go farther than anyone had been before, but as far as it was within the power of man to go), Cook concludes that, since they could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for his tacking and standing back to the north, he 'being 'at this time in the latitude of $71^{\circ} 10'$ south, longitude ' $106^{\circ} 54'$ west.'

On January 31, 1775, when in latitude 59° south, longitude 27° west, Cook came in sight of a lofty peak, like a sugar loaf, to which he gave the name of Freezeland Peak, after the man who first discovered it. The man, perhaps, owed this honour to the fact that his name was in happy coincidence with the temperature of the region. Behind this peak appeared an elevated coast, whose lofty snowclad summits were seen above the clouds; and about fourteen miles to the south Cook sighted another coast, which he named Southern Thule, because, so far as he knew, it was

the most southern land that had ever yet been discovered. It showed a surface of vast height, and was everywhere covered with snow.

After cruising about till February 5, at first northward and then again southward, sighting various coasts and headlands, Cook concluded that what he had seen, which he named Sandwich Land, was either a group of islands or else a point of the continent.

'For I firmly believe,' he says, 'that there is a track of land near the pole which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast southern ocean. I also think it probable that it extends farthest to the north opposite the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, because ice was always found by us farther to the north in these oceans than anywhere else, which, I judge, could not be if there were not land to the south—I mean a land of considerable extent.'

As a matter of fact, though the polar ice field may correspond with Cook's hypothesis, the polar land is not now supposed to be arranged in the way that he imagined. A map, published by Mr. A. S. White, in the easily accessible pages of 'Good Words' for 1889, shows that the antarctic land, as planned from the best data available, bulges northward in a remarkable manner, not towards the great oceans, but towards the older known land masses. The nearest approach is made to Cape Horn, towards which it throws, as it were, a connecting chain of outlying islands.* Over a far larger space of intervening ocean, it points to the Cape of Good Hope; and again, though also at a great distance, it projects a vast broadside towards the southern coast of Australia.

Cook remarks in one place:—

'The risque one runs in exploring a coast, in these unknown and icy seas, is so very great, that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done, and that the lands which may lie to the south will never be explored.'

And, in another place:—

'I had now made the circuit of the southern ocean, in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to leave not the least room

* It is probable, too, 'that the depth between Cape Horn and the south polar land is much shallower than that between either Africa or Australia and the same land. In any case, it is certain that facilities must exist here for promoting the flow of cold water at the bottom from high antarctic latitudes into the lower latitudes of the South Atlantic Ocean.' Narrative of the Cruise of H.M.S. 'Challenger,' p. 360.

for the possibility of there being a continent, unless near the pole, and out of reach of navigation.'

But even Cook's great skill and remarkable services did not, it will presently be perceived, suffice to make him an unerring prophet.

Among the predecessors of Cook, the one who most nearly approached the Antarctic Circle was, according to Dumont d'Urville, a Dutchman, whose name he gives under the several forms of Théodoric de Gheritk, Dirik Guéritk, and Gherik. His ship, D'Urville says, was part of the East Indian squadron of Simon de Cordes. In January of the year 1600, as they were quitting the Straits of Magellan, a furious tempest dispersed the vessels, and drove that of Gherik to latitude 64° south. 'There he discovered a coast 'resembling that of Norway, mountainous, covered with 'snow, and extending, it seemed, in the direction of the 'Solomon Islands.' This narrative, long deemed apocryphal, was, the French author observes, reinstated in credit by the discovery of New South Shetland. It was early in 1819 that Mr. William Smith, of Blyth, in his passage from Monte Video to Valparaiso, made, apparently by accident, the discovery referred to of the South Shetland Isles, in latitude 62° south and longitude 60° west. The Russian captains Bellinghausen and Lazareff, with the ships 'Vostok' and 'Mirni,' in January 1821, penetrated to the seventieth degree of south latitude, and subsequently, in latitude $69^{\circ} 30'$ south, discovered the islands of Alexander and Peter the Great. The Powell Islands, or South Orkneys, in latitude $60^{\circ} 55'$ south, were discovered by Powell in the same year, 1821. Not much later, James Weddell, in the brig 'Jane,' of Leith, of 160 tons, having with him Matthew Brisbane, in the cutter 'Beaufoy,' of London, of 65 tons, being on an adventure for procuring fur-seal skins, proved that Cook's Sandwich Land was no point of the unknown continent. This he determined by the expedient of sailing past it to the south. Still, he thought it probable that a large tract of land might be found a little farther south than they had yet been. 'I accordingly informed 'Mr. Brisbane,' he says, 'of my intention of standing to the 'southward, and he, with a boldness which greatly enhanced the respect I bore him, expressed his willingness to 'push our research in that direction, though we had been 'hitherto so unsuccessful.' Cook's ship, the 'Resolution,' of 462 tons burthen, was only a collier, but it was at any rate a type and size of vessel specially selected and approved by

himself for the purposes of his voyage, and, besides being of seven times the tonnage of Brisbane's cockleshell, it was nearly three times that of Captain Weddell's brig. Yet the two traders were able to falsify Cook's prediction that no man would ever venture farther than he had done. They pressed bravely on, in spite of a long course of dense fogs, decks constantly wet, the seamen suffering from colds, agues, and rheumatisms, the necessity of being content with inadequate rations, and the not unfrequent chances of running against some ice island, perhaps a mile or two long and two or three hundred feet high, an incident which might at any time have abruptly and for ever ended their combined pursuit of seals and science. As a reward for their enterprise, on February 20, 1823 (misprinted 1822 in Weddell's book), they reached latitude $74^{\circ} 15'$ south and longitude $34^{\circ} 16' 45''$ west. The sky was clear. Nothing like land was to be seen. Only four ice islands were in view, on one of which a great number of penguins were roosting. The sea was perfectly clear of field ice. It is with pardonable pride that Weddell points out that the latitude he had attained was ' $3^{\circ} 5'$ farther south than Captain Cook or any preceding navigator reached.' To this hitherto unvisited part of the ocean he gave the cumbersome name of King George the Fourth's Sea. From his own remarkable experience he fancies that the antarctic polar sea may be found less icy than is imagined, and that a clear field of discovery, even to the south pole, may therefore be anticipated.

His record for two days earlier, when the vessels were between latitudes 72° and 73° south, is worthy of note:—

'In the evening we had,' he says, 'many whales about the ship, and the sea was literally covered with birds of the blue peterel kind. NOT A PARTICLE OF ICE OF ANY DESCRIPTION WAS TO BE SEEN. The evening was mild and serene, and had it not been for the reflection that probably we should have obstacles to contend with in our passage northward through the ice, our situation might have been envied.'

Neither Weddell in this February, nor the American Morrell, who penetrated beyond 70° south in the following month of the same year, discovered any antarctic land, and much of the New South Greenland which Morrell claimed to have discovered was sailed over by D'Urville's ships, the 'Astrolabe' and 'Zélée.' By this incident D'Urville was made extremely and not unnaturally sceptical in regard to the narratives of Weddell and Morrell alike, but he admits that subsequent events redeemed Weddell's account from any

imputation of intrinsic improbability. Captain John Biscoe may dispute with Cook the honour of being the first discoverer of the so-called Southern Continent. Biscoe, in the brig 'Tula,' on February 27, 1831, met with it in latitude $65^{\circ} 57'$ south, longitude $47^{\circ} 20'$ east, and found it extending east and west 200 miles, and this portion he named Enderby Land, after the merchant who had equipped him for the voyage. On February 10, 1832, he discovered Graham's Land, in latitude $67^{\circ} 1'$ south, longitude $71^{\circ} 48'$ west. Captain Balleny, sent out by the Messrs. Enderby and other merchants, reached the southern latitude of 69° in the 'Eliza Scott,' and with that vessel, on February 9, 1839, in latitude $66^{\circ} 44'$ south, longitude $163^{\circ} 11'$ east, discovered five islands, since named after him the Balleny Islands. In the following month he discovered Sabrina Land in latitude $65^{\circ} 25'$ south, longitude $118^{\circ} 30'$ east, so named after the cutter 'Sabrina,' which, under command of Captain Freeman, accompanied the 'Eliza Scott' throughout her perilous adventure.

There now arose a rather singular complication. In 1838 the United States sent out an exploring expedition of five vessels under Commodore Wilkes, an expedition of which the noble conception and solid successes should be estimated not by a consideration of the position which the great Republic now holds, but in view of its resources fifty years ago. The voyage was not concluded till 1842. It was in the early part of 1840 that the fleet made a cruise in the frigid zone, choosing, as all expeditions naturally do for such a purpose, the months which stand for summer in the antarctic regions. The scientific staff were for this occasion left ashore in sunnier climes. Exactly at this same period the French navigator above mentioned, Captain J. Dumont d'Urville, was making a similar cruise. Very shortly afterwards, namely, on January 1, 1841, Sir James Clark Ross, with the English expedition which had long been preparing with a view to reaching, if possible, the south magnetic pole, crossed the Antarctic Circle in pursuit of this object. One might innocently remark upon the strangeness of the coincidence that three such expeditions should be, as it were, attacking the same fortress so nearly at the same time.

Wilkes is inclined to regard it as a feather in the cap of the Americans that their ships should have been allowed to brave the dangers of the frigid zone when very ill prepared in comparison with the English vessels which had been fitted out expressly for that purpose, and yet he does not

conceal his vexation with the Government of his own country for having left them so ill furnished. It may be questioned whether his own eagerness to snatch a discovery may not have been chiefly in fault. He certainly encountered great risks and hardships, and in the end obtained only a very qualified meed of praise for the success of his exploit. He does not speak in his narrative of having reached much beyond 67° south, but he claims to have explored upwards of 1,500 miles of the coast of the antarctic continent facing New Holland and lying between 95° and 157° of east longitude.

D'Urville, with the 'Astrolabe' and 'Zélée,' discovered antarctic land on January 19, 1840. Some of his officers landed on a small granitic island on the 21st. He traced the land, which he named Terre Adélie, in a continuous line for 150 miles between the longitudes of 136° and 142° east, in about the latitude of the Antarctic Circle. Proceeding westward, he sailed along about sixty miles of ice barrier, which he named Côte Clairée, the western point of which, Ross says, had been seen by Balleny in the preceding summer, but mistaken by him for an enormous iceberg, while the land he at first imagined he saw behind it he afterwards thought might only be clouds.

That the American enterprise at this moment was not very welcome to the French explorers may be inferred from a queer incident reported by Lieutenant Commandant Ringgold, of the United States brig, the 'Porpoise.' In the midst of the ice he came up with the French vessels, and was 'desirous of speaking and exchanging the usual 'and customary compliments incidental to naval life,' but, while gaining fast, and his intentions too evident to excite a doubt, so far from any reciprocity being evinced, he saw with surprise the French flagship making sail to get away from him.

'It is with regret,' he says, 'that I mention the above transaction, and it cannot but excite the surprise of all that such a cold repulse should have come from a French commander, when the officers of that nation are usually so distinguished for their politeness and attention.'

To make matters even, Commodore Wilkes maintains that his squadron by a few days anticipated the French discovery of an antarctic continent. The value of the anticipation can be best estimated from his own account of it.

'On this day (16th January),' he says, 'appearances believed at the

time to be land were visible from all three vessels, and the comparison of the three observations, when taken in connection with the more positive proofs of its existence afterwards obtained, has left no doubt that the appearance was not deceptive. From this day, therefore, we date the discovery which is claimed for the squadron.*

To claim the observation in those regions of the appearance of land as giving any just title to the actual discovery of it was very puerile and unworthy of Commodore Wilkes's real character and merit. Almost every voyager had given decisive warning against the illusions produced in that atmosphere. Captain Weddell says:—

‘I had offered a gratuity of 10*l.* to the man who should first discover land. This proved the cause of many a sore disappointment, for many of the seamen, of lively and sanguine imaginations, were never at a loss for an island. In short, fog banks out of number were reported for land; and many, in fact, had so much that appearance that nothing short of standing towards them till they vanished could satisfy us as to their real nature.’†

That the various patches of land discovered on the verge of the Antarctic Circle by Wilkes, by D'Urville, and by himself, unite to form a great southern continent, did not seem to Sir J. C. Ross to be by any means adequately proved; but in any case he decisively allots to Balleny the coveted honour of priority for which the French and Americans were contending with each other, and

‘to which,’ he observes, ‘should this land eventually prove to be a continent extending to Kemp and Enderby Land, as they suppose, it follows that neither of them have the smallest claim whatever; although equal praise is due to them for their exertions and perseverance as if they had really been the discoverers, for at that time they could not have known that Balleny had been there the year before them.’

* Ross himself had a grievance against both the other expeditions.

‘That the commanders,’ he says, ‘of each of these great national undertakings should have selected the very place for penetrating to the southward, for the exploration of which they were well aware at the time that the expedition under my command was expressly preparing, and thereby forestalling our purposes, did certainly greatly surprise me. I should have expected them rather to have chosen any other path in the wide field before them than one thus pointed out, if no higher consideration had power to prevent such an interference.’

He evaded the difficulty thus caused by using the discretion,

* The remarks by Ross, vol. i. pp. 177-8, are also very much to the point, but they were not available for Wilkes's guidance.

entrusted to him and selecting a much more easterly meridian on which to enter the Antarctic Circle. From Commodore Wilkes he received a peculiar act of kindness, for which he expresses himself duly grateful, although it was probably at the moment a source of exquisite discomfort and annoyance. To the distinguished discoverer of the North Magnetic Pole Wilkes sent a letter of advice, observing, 'I venture to offer you a few hints that may be useful to you in your undertaking,' thus ingeniously providing that whatever success the countryman of Cook and Weddell and Balleny might meet with should be attributable to the 'few hints' of his American adviser. Though Wilkes, by the instructions of his own Government, was expressly precluded from making known his discoveries during the continuance of his voyage, he nevertheless sent a chart of them to Ross, a mistaken piece of benevolence which could not but fetter Ross, by warning him, as it were, off Wilkes's field of exploration. In the end it turned out very badly for Wilkes himself, for, though in his Narrative he insinuates that it was he who told Ross where to go, Ross went to at least one place from which Wilkes would certainly have wished him to abstain. He sailed right over a portion of Wilkes's southern continent. To add to the vexatiousness of this proceeding on the part of Ross, which Wilkes tried to explain away, it was an officer of high standing in the United States Navy, Captain Aulick, who, to his great honour, made the world acquainted with the true merits of the case. It was not unnatural that the record of Wilkes's discoveries should have been much discredited by this occurrence. He seems, indeed, in his over-eagerness to have mixed up in a very unscientific manner the appearances of land with those observations which might be described as having a solid basis of reality. In speaking of the combined explorations of the 'Vincennes,' the 'Porpoise,' and the 'Peacock,' Wilkes says: 'The fact of there being no northerly current along this extended line of coast is a strong proof in my mind of its being a continent, instead of a range of islands.' Having found the coast, where the ice permitted approach, enveloped with a perpendicular barrier, in some cases unbroken for fifty miles, he argues that if there were only a chain of islands the outline of the ice would undoubtedly be of another form, and that it is scarcely to be conceived that so long a chain could extend so nearly in the same parallel of land. Besides that 'the land has none of the abruptness of termination that the islands of high southern latitudes

‘exhibit,’ in his opinion the vast number of ice islands conclusively points out that there is some extensive nucleus which retains them in their position, whereas from islands, if they were such, the ice would be disengaged, as happens in all other cases in like latitudes.

‘The formation of the coast,’ he adds, ‘is different from what would probably be found near islands, soundings being obtained in comparatively shoal water; and the colour of the water also indicates that it is not, like other southern lands, abrupt and precipitous. This cause is sufficient to retain the huge masses of ice, by their being attached by their lower surfaces instead of their sides only.’

Whatever the weight of the arguments, the facts are still awaiting satisfactory observation to determine whether the ice-girt range in question is the border of a continental mass of land, or of one or two long islands, or of a chain of small ones more or less bound together by ice, and standing perhaps as the advanced guard of a continent. How easily deep gulfs and straits and arms of the sea might have been passed unnoticed in the midst of fogs and storms by the antarctic voyagers may be guessed from the fact that Cook’s companion, Captain Furneaux, when exploring in a very different climate, unhampered by icefields and icebergs, was deluded into saying, ‘It is my opinion that there is no strait between New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land, but a very deep bay.’

Ross, on his part, had no reason to be dissatisfied with his own results. On February 2, 1841, he and Captain Crozier, in the ‘Erebus’ and ‘Terror,’ reached latitude $78^{\circ} 4'$ south, in longitude 187° east, not only far beyond any previous, but far beyond any subsequent, navigators except themselves. On February 23 in the following year they reached $78^{\circ} 9' 30''$ south, in longitude $161^{\circ} 27'$ west. Their highest latitude in 1843 was attained on March 5, in longitude $14^{\circ} 51'$ west, and though it was only $71^{\circ} 30'$ south, it was still higher than anyone except Weddell and themselves had ever reached; and this third cruise was distinguished by one remarkable feature, that in latitude $68^{\circ} 34'$ south, longitude $12^{\circ} 49'$ west, they sounded with 4,000 fathoms of line without reaching the bottom. That their achievements were not carried out without hardships and extreme peril, it would take too long to show in full detail. It may be sufficiently indicated by two curious incidents. While the two vessels were endeavouring to weather an iceberg in a storm, they were brought into violent collision with one another, and among other consequences the best bower

anchor of the 'Erebus' was subsequently 'found suspended 'about three feet below the water line, by its palms being 'driven between seven and eight inches into the solid wood, 'and [it] remained fixed there without any other fastening 'to the ship, with the flukes uppermost.' On another occasion, with the thermometer at 19° Fahr., the waves which broke over the ships froze as they fell on the decks and rigging, so that a heavy weight of ice accumulated about the hull and ropes, which kept the crew constantly employed with axes breaking it away; and while the people of the 'Terror' were engaged in thus chopping away from her bows the thick coat of ice which had been formed by the freezing of a portion of each wave that she plunged into, a small fish was found in the mass. 'It must have been 'dashed against the ship, and instantly frozen fast.'

In 1841, after discovering Mount Sabine, nearly 10,000 feet high, Ross and Crozier landed on Possession Island in latitude 71° 56' south, at that time the most southern land ever trodden by human foot. They took possession of it 'in the name of Our Most Gracious Sovereign Queen 'Victoria,' but as it is dangerous to reach and difficult to leave, and as the igneous rocks of which it is entirely composed show not the smallest appearance of vegetation, this addition to the empire will be rather of sentimental than economic value, unless and until its deep bed of guano can be made a source of malodorous wealth. A few days later the explorers came into clear view of a magnificent chain of mountains, which they had already obscurely descried stretching away to the southward. The elevation, roughly measured, varied from twelve to upwards of fourteen thousand feet. To the most conspicuous summit was given the illustrious name of Herschel. After discovering Mount Melbourne, which bore a striking resemblance to Mount Etna, but apparently with an elevation very much greater, they passed Weddell's highest latitude, and celebrated the occasion by drinking the seamen's favourite toast of 'Sweethearts and 'Wives.' They then surpassed their own previous achievement by landing on and annexing Franklin Island, in latitude 76° 8' south, having risked their lives that nothing might be wanting to the ceremony of adorning the British crown with this gem of purest ray serene. In this neighbourhood they were astonished to find an active volcano, 12,400 feet high, which they named Mount Erebus, calling an extinct volcano near it, and little inferior in height, Mount Terror. To the whole of the southern tract which

they had discovered, and the continuity of which they had traced from the seventieth to the seventy-ninth degree of latitude, Ross gave the name of Victoria Land.

Eventually the land which it was his glory to have discovered prevented Ross from reaching the point which it was one great object of his voyage to attain. He had already planted the British flag on the North Magnetic Pole, and it was his ambition to adorn the South Magnetic Pole in like manner. By his instructions, based on the views of Professor Gauss, he had been directed to look for it in longitude 146° east, latitude 66° south. Commodore Wilkes, in his letter to Ross, had said, 'The pole, without giving you accurate deductions, I think my observations will place in about latitude 70° south, and longitude 140° east.' Ross came within 160 miles of the coveted position, some hundreds of miles nearer than any of his predecessors, and, 'from the multitude of observations that were made in so many different directions from it, its position,' he says, 'may be determined with nearly as much accuracy as if we had actually reached the spot itself.' A careful combination of all the observations in question assigned the position to latitude $75^{\circ} 5'$ south, in longitude $154^{\circ} 8'$ east.

One other Antarctic adventure has to be mentioned. On February 16, 1874, Captain Nares, in the 'Challenger,' with the scientific staff on board, penetrated the fringe of the frigid zone to latitude $66^{\circ} 40'$ south, in longitude $78^{\circ} 22'$ east. There were very sufficient reasons why that expedition went no farther in those waters; but even its limited experience was of importance. According to the 'Narrative of the Cruise,' it was found that—

'the deposits forming at the most southerly points visited by the "Challenger" are composed chiefly of continental *débris* carried into the ocean by the floating ice of those regions, and that this material makes up less and less of the deposit as the distance from the Antarctic Circle increases until it completely vanishes about lat. 46° or 47° S. The deposits along the antarctic ice barrier, which have been called blue muds, resemble in many respects the deposits formed at similar depths off the Atlantic coast of British North America. The nature of the rock fragments dredged in these latitudes conclusively proves the existence of continental land probably of considerable extent within the Antarctic Circle.'

The report by Staff Commander Creak on the magnetical results obtained by the 'Challenger' shows that they also were of high value. It has been noticed already that the

great mathematician Gauss did not rightly estimate the position of the South Magnetic Pole. For certain reasons he removed it from the point to which his own theory assigned it; and in the end it turned out that his theory was much nearer the truth than himself. At any rate, it must not be forgotten that it was his writings which gave an enormous impulse to the study in modern times of terrestrial magnetism, and practically led to the sending forth of the expedition under Ross. Commander Creak remarks that—

“In view of the extended knowledge now possessed of the distribution of the earth’s magnetism, there remains but one obstacle to a re-calculation of the Gaussian constants promising important results—the necessity of a fresh magnetic survey of the regions south of the parallel of 40°. The observations made by the memorable Antarctic Expedition under Ross in 1839–43 were of immense importance when taken in connection with those made in other portions of the world about the same date, and at different epochs, where the secular change was known; but enough has since been ascertained to show that considerable changes have been going on in antarctic regions, and until these changes are accurately known by means of extended observation the data for calculation must remain imperfect.”

In the magnetic condition of a place there are secular changes, annual changes, diurnal changes, to be taken into account, and though the unscientific imagination may not be much stirred by questions as to the measurement of the magnetic intensity at this station or the other, nor yet as to the inclination (or dip) of the freely suspended needle, till it becomes quite perpendicular at each magnetic pole, yet the third element—the horizontal direction of the magnetic influence—is of universal interest. Everyone can understand that this last, which is indicated by what is called the declination of the compass, must be of supreme importance to the navigator. If the needle would uniformly point to the North and South Poles, the matter would be simple enough; but it declines or deviates from these to the magnetic poles, and its deviation is subjected to a complicated series of influences, with which it is the business and eager desire of science to become thoroughly acquainted.

In tracing the progress of discovery in the far south we have been forced, by want of space, to omit almost all mention of the moving accidents, the romantic adventures, the quaint stories, with which the various narratives are interwoven; nor have we been able to dwell on the descriptions

of scenery, the topics of natural history, and the expedients and experiments by which health was regained or preserved on the several voyages. For the fascination which all these matters exercise, the reader must be referred to the volumes themselves which have been brought under review.

Although 'the mean temperature of both the air and sea surface south of the parallel of $62\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south is, even in 'summer, at or below the freezing-point of fresh water,' it has been shown by the experiences of Cook and of Ross that a ship's company can be kept in robust health and cheerful spirits even in that refrigerated climate. If Nature there in some of her moods be rather brusque, on the other hand there are no natives to point the poisoned arrow. There are hardships inevitably to be borne, but they need leave no permanent ill effects upon the constitution, if we may judge by the circumstance that Mr. Robert M'Cormick, the surgeon who acted as geologist and zoologist in Ross's explorations, died only last October, in the ninety-first year of his age, and about half a century after the voyage in which he had taken a memorable part.

The time is certainly ripe for another antarctic expedition—one on a great scale, prepared to attack the frigid zone, summer after summer, so that at least one favourable season out of four or five might be confidently reckoned on. A powerful steamer, well fortified for the special service, well provisioned, well equipped with scientific apparatus, carrying sledges for the possibilities of land travel, and captive balloons for the chance of an aerial survey, with a staff of brave and scientific men on board, ought far to outstrip all that has been heretofore accomplished. As Mr. G. S. Griffiths well explained some months ago in Melbourne, there is abundance of valuable work for such an expedition to perform. Besides geographical discoveries and magnetic records, there are pendulum observations to be taken to ascertain how much the globe is flattened at the South Pole, there are nice questions of palæontology to be decided or put in the way towards decision, there are questions of submarine temperature to be settled, there are the courses of currents to be followed up, the periods of winds to be determined, and the caprices of storm and temperature to be explained. Mr. Griffiths himself was of opinion that if, as a result of such an expedition, they could forecast the seasons in Australia, that would in itself outweigh a thousand-fold all necessary expenditure for its proper equipment. So grand a result, indeed, for the weal and wealth of the great

and growing colony may well need many more expeditions than one. They ought not to be grudged. Voyages of exploration seem to have a peculiar faculty of fostering genius, if we may judge by the names of Banks and Darwin and Huxley and Hooker, whose scientific reputations are part of the patrimony of the empire. To place at the service of the world a genius that would otherwise have been dormant, or devoted only to the menial care of building a fortune, would amply repay the expense of the expedition, if it made no other discoveries at all.

* Whoever undertakes the proposed enterprise will deserve applause. Whoever brings home the treasures of the marine fauna, and the rich stores of desired facts which any properly accoutred vessel may be expected certainly to garner, will win honour and gratitude. But it will be an extraordinary thing if Great Britain, occupying as it does the chief points of vantage, by her position at the Cape of Good Hope, at the Falkland Islands, in New Zealand, and in Australia, relinquishes to any other name or nation the privilege of accomplishing within the antarctic regions whatever is able to be accomplished by the wit and energy of man having at his disposal the full resources of the present and the fertile experience of the past.

ART. V.—*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War in America ; being, for the most part, contributions by Union and Confederate Officers.* Based upon 'The "Century" War Series.' Edited by ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON and CLARENCE CLOUGH BUEL, of the Editorial Staff of 'The Century Magazine.' New York : 1890.

THE War of Secession was waged on so vast a scale, employed so large a part of the manhood of both North and South, aroused to such a degree the sympathies of the entire nation, and, in its brilliant achievements both by land and sea, bears such splendid testimony to the energy and fortitude of their race, that in the minds of the American people it has roused an interest which shows no sign of abating. There are few families that did not contribute to swell the rolls of the gigantic armies which stretched in broad line of battle half across the continent ; few homes where the voice of the mourner was not heard ; few cities that cannot point with pride to the deeds of those who were born within their boundaries. It is little wonder, then, that this intense

national interest should have found many channels of expression. The most valuable of these is the stupendous work in course of publication under the authority of the Senate, containing as it does every authentic document connected with even the most trivial incident of the war. This official record, however, is inaccessible to the majority of European readers; and its bulk, as well as the nature of its arrangement, renders it valueless to the general public, military or civilian.

The future historian of the great Transatlantic strife—for, excellent as is the work of the Comte de Paris, we hold that the history of the Civil War has yet to be written—will find in the autobiographies of many of the prominent leaders, and in the memoirs of others, compiled, as a rule, by members of their personal staff, material sufficient to enable him to explain the purpose of each strategic movement, and to ascribe victories and disasters to their true causes. In addition to these sources of information, and to the numerous histories of individual regiments, almost every State has its Historical Society, and the records of their proceedings contain papers on every aspect of the conflict, contributed by men who took part in the events of which they write. These publications, however, are naturally of a more or less private nature, and their circulation limited. It has been left to the enterprise of the 'Century' Company to give to the world the reminiscences thus accumulated, and to present them in the most attractive form. Almost without exception, every single article in the four large volumes edited by Messrs. Johnson and Buel is accompanied by illustrations of the ground over which the actions treated of were fought. These illustrations are of a high order of art; they have been executed, as we have reason to know, with a most exact fidelity to nature; and we are aware of no other method which enables the student to realise so readily the features of the battle-fields. Without incessant practice, few can reproduce in their mind's eye the landscape depicted on a map; and in any case, as military surveyors have lately recognised, sketches of nature, however rough, are most valuable adjuncts both to maps and reconnaissance reports. The authors of the various papers are of every rank, from the commander-in-chief to the private of infantry; and, taken as a whole, we have no hesitation in declaring that, as a picture of war, or as a study in tactical science, these volumes are without an equal.

As moral influences remain longest in the memory, and

leave the most vivid impressions on the minds of those who have experience of service in the field, it is the moral aspect of war which is invariably the more prominent in personal narratives of marches and of battle. It is in this respect that the 'Century' papers have a value exceeding that of the official accounts of the wars of 1866 and 1870-1. No one can fail to remark the frankness with which the American soldiers speak of the vicissitudes of their campaigns. The simplicity with which they refer to the demoralisation of this brigade, the misbehaviour of that, to the neglect of precaution, to straggling on the march, and to skulking on the field, is in marked contrast to the euphemistic paragraphs compiled by the historical section of the German staff. The latter are so worded as to maintain the invincibility of the German army. It is doubtless considered as essential to impress on successive generations of conscripts that their predecessors yielded neither to panic nor irresolution, as it is unnecessary to inform those who are still their foes how often victory trembled in the balance; and, therefore, we hear but half the truth. On the other hand, with full confidence in the well-proved courage of his people, and without formidable enemies to fear, no American soldier feels either shame or hesitation in admitting that the weakness of human nature prevailed at times over courage and goodwill.

'We heard all through the war,' says a New York private, 'that the army was eager to be led against the enemy. It must have been so, for truthful correspondents said so and editors confirmed it; but when you came to hunt for this particular itch it was always the next regiment that had it. The truth is, when bullets are whacking against tree-trunks and solid shot are cracking skulls like egg-shells, the consuming passion in the heart of the average man is to get out of the way. Between the physical fear of going forward and the moral fear of turning back there is a predicament of exceptional awkwardness, from which a hidden hole in the ground would be a wonderfully welcome outlet.'*

It is in these admissions that the lessons contained in the 'Century' series are exceedingly valuable. Let a man know the exact worth of the instrument he uses, the extent to which its temper may be trusted, the conditions under which it may be expected to fail him, and he will be better armed than the man who looks upon it as an instrument which is to be relied upon under any circumstances whatever.

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. ii. p. 662.

The worth of the instrument with which war is waged depends chiefly on the moral influences to which it is subjected. Armies are not machines, but living organisms of intense susceptibility. 'In war,' said Napoleon, 'the moral is to the physical as three to one.' It is the leader who reckons with the human nature of his own troops and of the enemy, rather than with their mere physical attributes, numbers, armament, and the like, who may hope to follow in Napoleon's footsteps. To create physical strength in an army is far more easy than to endow that army with moral superiority. 'Many a man,' says the Spanish proverb, 'can make a guitar; few can make music from it.'

'In the "Century" papers,' writes Colonel Maurice, 'you get a sense of dealing with armies of flesh and blood, and not mere war-game counters, unique in my experience.'* It is the absence of this element that makes the German histories such terribly dry reading, and, in one important particular, so deficient in instruction. It is its presence in the volumes before us that not only teaches the reader to appreciate the truth of Napoleon's maxim, but suggests the methods in which it may be applied.

There are many questions of importance on which much light has been thrown by the events of the Secession war—for instance, the naval operations, mounted infantry, field entrenchments, and the relations of the Government with the leaders of its armies. To these, however, and to other tempting themes we shall make no further allusion. Our present purpose is to examine the history of the war from one aspect only. The great conflict was fought out by unprofessional soldiers, by a national militia, leavened by a sprinkling of regular officers. The armies of both North and South differed little in constitution from an integral portion of our own army of defence. The soldiers were of our own stock. Their experience, therefore, will help us to anticipate the shortcomings likely to occur amongst our own volunteers should they be called upon to take the field, and may enlighten us as to the measures by which these shortcomings may be most readily corrected.

The bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter, which first announced to the world that the Northern and the Southern States of America, in Lincoln's homely but expressive phrase, could 'no longer keep house,' took place in April 1861. The regular forces numbered but 15,500,

* Journal of R. U. S. I., vol. xxxiii. p. 1082.

and the greater part of the troops were far away on the Indian frontier. The men held fast to the Union. The officers took the part of their native States, and, under their supervision, armies of volunteers were immediately mustered by either side. Three months elapsed between the assembly of the troops and their meeting on the field of battle, and by both sides this interval was devoted to the work of drill, discipline, and organisation. Men and officers were, generally speaking, without experience of war; and, with the exception of a small minority, the regular officers utterly ignorant of soldiering. Some few had imbibed a slight knowledge of drill at the military academies which, on the model of West Point, had been established in several of the Southern States. Many had served in the militia and home guards, but these organisations were seldom mustered, and had no more instruction or discipline than was required to quell a riot or take part in a procession.

In the Union States, more intensely democratic than the Confederate, it by no means followed that the more experienced were placed in command. Commissions were given by the suffrages of the men in the ranks, and officers who owed their position to the favour of their former comrades were generally careful not to lose their popularity by the enforcement of an obnoxious discipline. The hold of the officers on their commands was thus of the slightest in the North, and it was but little stronger in the South. The men resented obedience to those who were superior neither in social standing nor professional knowledge to themselves. Of the regular officers available the Confederates made the best use, immediately assigning them to the command of brigades and to posts on the general staff. Nevertheless, despite the presence of these trained instructors, when the two principal armies met at Bull Run, an insignificant stream in Virginia, within thirty miles of Washington, the Union capital, on July 21, they both were weak in discipline; and the event goes far to prove that ninety days of camp life were insufficient to give citizen soldiers more than the outward semblance of a regular army.

As regards the actual fighting qualities of the men, the battle was no discredit to either side. Indiscipline was the cause both of the defeat of the Northerners and of the failure of the Southerners to pursue.

“We had good organisation, good men, but no cohesion, no real discipline, no respect for authority, no real knowledge of war. Both

armies were fairly defeated, and whichever had stood fast the other would have run.*

'The Federals left the field about half-past four. Until then they had fought wonderfully well for raw troops. There were no fresh forces on the field to support or encourage them, and the men seemed to be seized simultaneously by the conviction that it was no use to do anything more and they might as well start home. Cohesion was lost, the organisation being disintegrated, and the men walked quickly off. There was no special excitement except that arising from the frantic efforts of officers to stop men who paid little or no attention to anything that was said.'†

'At four o'clock on the 21st there were more than 12,000 volunteers on the battle-field who had entirely lost their regimental organisation. They could no longer be handled as troops, for the officers and men were not together. Men and officers mingled promiscuously; and it is worthy of remark that this disorganisation did not result from fear.'‡

Nor were their opponents in better plight. It is related that as the Confederate President was riding to the field at about four o'clock on the day of battle,

'he met a stream of panic-stricken rebel soldiers, and heard such direful tidings from the front that his companions were thoroughly convinced that the Confederates had lost the day, and implored him to turn back.'§

Early in the afternoon the Confederates had been driven back by a skilfully conceived movement against their left flank. The generals arrived upon the scene.

'We heard the commanders resolutely stemming the further flight of the routed forces, but vainly endeavouring to restore order, and our own efforts were as futile.

'Every segment of line we succeeded in forming dissolved while another was being formed; more than 2,000 men were shouting each some suggestion to his neighbour, their voices mingling with the noise of the shells hurtling overhead, and all word of command drowned in the confusion and uproar.'||

More noteworthy, perhaps, was the inability of the Federal troops, although they had been exercised for the best part of three months in camp, to perform the very trifling marches necessary to bring them into contact with the enemy in good order and in good time.

* Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, vol. i. pp. 181-2.

† Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. i. p. 191, article by General Fry.

‡ The Outbreak of the Rebellion, Nicolay, pp. 195-6.

§ Ibid. p. 197.

|| Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. i. p. 201, article by General Beauregard.

‘The march preceding the battle demonstrated little else than the general laxity of discipline; for with all my personal efforts I could not prevent the men straggling for water, blackberries, or anything else they fancied.’ *

General McDowell was anxious to reach Centreville on the 17th, and so to fight on the 19th instead of the 21st, but the regiments, who had only marched from Vienna (six miles), were so fatigued that they either could not or would not push on six miles farther the same evening. Their fatigue was partially caused by delays and dawdling, consequent on the ignorance of the rules of marching on the part of the officers, and by the undisciplined state of the troops; and also by the absence of good marching qualities in Americans, and their inability to carry even the slight weights required in light marching order.†

Had the attack been made on the 19th the Northern army would have been opposed by but half the numbers that were present on the 21st.

The disaster of Bull Run roused the Northern States to a truer appreciation of their difficulties, and the President immediately assembled near Washington an army of more than 140,000 men, increased during the winter to 220,000, with 520 guns. In the seven months which elapsed between the first great battle and the second attempt of the North to crush the main army of the Confederates, this force, thanks to the skill and patience of General McClellan, its new commander, gradually assumed the organisation and aspect of a real army. A beneficial change was instituted in the terms of enlistment; the battalions were asked to volunteer for three years or for the duration of the war; and both officers and men set themselves to work more earnestly than their unfortunate predecessors. At the beginning of April 1862, McClellan, selecting the shortest line of invasion, transferred the greater part of his army by sea to Fort Monroe. Richmond, the seat of the Confederate Government, was the objective of the campaign, and so, on the Yorktown peninsula, already historically famous for the surrender of Cornwallis in 1781, began that series of operations which culminated in the ‘Seven Days’ Battles,’ the defeat of the Federals by Lee, and the withdrawal of their troops to Washington. Whether this repulse was due to the shortcomings of the leader or to the interference of the Government is a question with which we have no concern.

* Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, vol. i. p. 181.

† History of the American War, by Lt.-Col. Fletcher, Scots Fusilier Guards, vol. i. pp. 129-30.

The efficiency of the officers and men is the subject of our enquiry, and we may begin by stating that in the desperate fighting round Richmond the troops showed far greater stability and endurance than at Bull Run. At the same time we have no hesitation in asserting that they had not yet attained the consistency and the mobility of professional soldiers. The men had not yet acquired the habit of mechanical obedience, which alone makes an army an effective weapon in the hands of its commander. Where duty became irksome it was neglected. Straggling on the line of march was a conspicuous evil. The details connected with sanitation and the care of equipment were generally overlooked, and the health of the troops and the efficiency of their armament suffered in consequence.

Amongst the critics of the campaign are two experienced European soldiers, the Comte de Paris and Colonel Fletcher. The one served on McClellan's staff during the operations, the other accompanied his army as a spectator. The French prince was prejudiced in favour of the North; the Englishman's sympathies were with the aristocracy of the South; but, divergent as were their predilections, they are at one in pointing out that the bonds of discipline in the Army of the Potomac, as the force commanded by McClellan had come to be called, were weak in the extreme. It is to the pages of these eye-witnesses that we shall appeal for evidence as to the condition of the Northern troops.

One of their most serious shortcomings was that on the field of battle the men were accustomed to conduct themselves in accordance rather with the dictates of their own judgement than with the orders of their superiors. At Cold Harbour, where Lee struck the isolated right wing of the Federals, and compelled McClellan to make his famous change of base from the York to the James river, both sides fought with the greatest courage and persistence, and it was not till after seven hours of battle that 50,000 Confederates drove 35,000 Unionists from their strong position on the left bank of the Chickahominy. General Porter, commanding the Northern troops engaged, had exhausted his reserves some time before his line yielded; but fresh troops had been sent across the river by McClellan, and an orderly retreat might have been easily effected, for the Confederates were in no good trim for further action. As it was—

'when the crash came no one could stop the current of fugitives: large numbers of men without order, with arms in their hands, left the ranks and walked to the rear, officers were intermingled with them, in

some instances leading their companies away from instead of towards the enemy. There was little or no panic; the men said they were weary, had had enough fighting for the day or were in want of ammunition; some squadrons of cavalry attempted to stop the fugitives, the officers threatening them with their revolvers; but all in vain. . . . The regular infantry regiments preserved their discipline better than the volunteers (as they had done at Bull Run), and many, without yielding to the influence of the now widely spread panic, fell, disdaining to fly. As the stream of fugitives, ambulances, and caissons (the guns themselves were abandoned) arrived on the other side of the Chickahominy they were halted and formed into some sort of order by a line of sentries and strong patrols which guarded the bridge.*

Now this retreat from Cold Harbour did not resemble the rout of Bull Run or the *débâcle* of Woerth. It was not the wild rush of a terror-struck mob seeking safety at any price, as at Vittoria or Waterloo. It was not due to lack of courage or to demoralisation, but to defective discipline. But there is something more demanded from soldiers than the struggle for victory; there is the task of preventing defeat degenerating into irretrievable disaster. It was precisely this task that the Federal volunteers were incapable of executing. Men habituated to discipline, when defeat stares them in the face, throng together, for they have imbibed the instinct that only in unity is there safety. They can trust their comrades and their commanders; they have learnt the necessity of mutual support, and the common danger serves but to bind the ranks the closer. But with troops half-disciplined defeat, for a time at least, has the effect of disintegration: order vanishes, and, however great the courage of the individual soldier, a well-trained enemy, vigorous in pursuit, has such an army at his mercy. It is necessary, therefore, that soldiers should be capable of doing more than sustaining the shock of combat. Every battle cannot be a victory, for war is the playground of Fortune. An army must have stamina sufficient to preserve itself from annihilation; and that stamina is given by discipline alone.

Cold Harbour was but the first of the 'Seven Days' 'Battles.' Day after day the Northern army, falling back through swamp and forest, battled with Lee's victorious troops. But there was no further disaster. Under the most adverse and dispiriting circumstances, the Federals fairly held their own until they reached the strong position of Malvern Hill. There McClellan turned at bay, and repulsed with heavy slaughter the disjointed attacks of the Con-

federates. No further fighting took place south of Richmond, and the Army of the Potomac was soon afterwards transferred to the river from which it drew its name. It may fairly be asked how it happened that the Federals, after their defeat at Cold Harbour, found strength to show so bold a front and to administer such sharp blows during the retreat? We have said that an army without the discipline to struggle against defeat is an easy prey to a vigorous foe; but the Confederate pursuit was by no means vigorous. For a whole day Lee was baffled by the change of base.* The cavalry, who might have cut the enemy's line of retreat, had been despatched to break up his original line of supplies upon the York River, and did not arrive till their opportunity had passed. Maps of the country and guides were wanting. Unpractised generals and staff officers failed to accomplish the combined movements ordered by the commander-in-chief; and even Stonewall Jackson for once broke his own famous maxim 'never to "let up" in a pursuit.'

Having relieved Richmond, Lee turned on Pope, who with an inferior army lay between the Southern capital and Washington. Pope was outgeneralled and outmarched, and the second battle of Bull Run was as decisive a victory for the South as its predecessor. Then followed the Confederate invasion of Maryland; the capture of Harper's Ferry; the drawn battle of the Antietam, where Lee with 40,000 men held his ground against the Army of the Potomac, although it had been recruited to twice his strength; his leisurely retreat; and in December, to close a year of many battles, the bloody repulse of the same Army of the Potomac at Fredericksburg in Virginia. During this period, on one occasion only, at Malvern Hill, were the Federals decisively victorious in any considerable engagement; the remainder of the great actions which stand out as landmarks in the history of the time, if not Southern triumphs, were in no wise disasters.

Now if there is one thing more than another apparent to the student of the Civil War, it is that the soldiers on both sides were exceedingly well matched in courage and endurance. It is evident, therefore, that if we would discover the reasons of the superiority of the army of Northern Virginia over the Army of the Potomac we must look further than the temper and spirit of the regimental officers and men. Northern writers have attempted to account for this superiority in a variety of ways. Even Colonel Fletcher has been induced to lend his support to the statement that the

agricultural pursuits; the hunting, the riding, the open-air existence of a majority of the Southerners, were better adapted to produce good fighting material than the sedentary occupations of the New Englanders. But, as the Confederate ranks were composed in part of town-bred men, so in the Union armies not only battalions, but brigades and divisions, were recruited from the backwoodsmen of Wisconsin and Ohio, from the farmers of Pennsylvania and the lumberers of Maine. Moreover, in all soldierly qualities, the contingents furnished by the crowded cities of the eastern seaboard never at any period of the conflict suffered by comparison with the Western pioneers. There are those, too, who allege that whilst the *gaudium certaminis* inflamed the passionate nature of the Southerner, the colder temperament of the Northern citizen shunned rather than sought the arbitrament of battle; others, citing Jackson's remark that 'he could beat anything with a herd of cattle behind it,' would have us believe that the certainty of finding ample supplies in the hostile camps nerved the resolution of a half-starved soldiery. We are of opinion, however, that in order to discover the secret of the Confederate successes there is neither need to search for nice distinctions in races closely akin, nor to appeal to the fact that Lee and his great lieutenant, Jackson, were a head and shoulders above any Union leaders who had as yet appeared. It was not only the genius of its commanders that won the laurels of the Virginian army. Many of its victories were achieved by sheer hard fighting; they were the work of the soldiers themselves; and that the Confederates were able to wrest success from opponents of equal vigour was due to their superior organisation, more accurate shooting, and, above all, to their stronger discipline. As to the first, the Federal Government allowed the pernicious principle of the election of the officers by the rank and file to flourish without restraint; and secondly, the strength of the army was kept up, not by a constant stream of recruits to the seasoned battalions, but by the formation of new regiments. Thus battalions which had served in more than one campaign, and had gained experience and discipline, were soon reduced to the strength of a couple of companies; whilst others, lately raised, boasted a full complement of rifles, but were without officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, capable of instructing or leading their unpractised men. One State, Wisconsin, created no new regiments, but maintained the strength of those she had originally sent into the field; and so—

'we estimated a Wisconsin regiment equal to an ordinary brigade. I believe that five hundred new men added to an old and experienced regiment were more valuable than a thousand men in the form of a new regiment, for the former, by association with good experienced captains, lieutenants, and non-commissioned officers, soon became veterans, whereas the latter was generally unavailable for a year.'*

The Southerners, on the other hand, early adopted the conscription; the superior officers were appointed by the Government, and the recruits sent to fill the vacancies in the ranks. The President was so strong in the unanimity of his people as to be free from the necessity of conciliating party supporters or the governors of individual States. Few 'political' regiments existed in the South; men commanded because they were competent to command, and not because they could influence votes.

Secondly,

'a great advantage in favour of the Confederate troops was their skill as marksmen. Accustomed as many of them were from their boyhood to shooting with ball bears, deer, and other game, their certainty of aim was acquired by instinct.'†

Lastly, as to discipline, whether we agree or not with Colonel Fletcher that the conditions of life in the South were the more favourable to military excellence, we cannot reject his conclusion that 'the rich planter, possessing many slaves entirely dependent on him in regard to food, clothing, medicine, and discipline, acquired habits of command and organisation highly useful to the officers of an army.' Moreover, the population was as distinctly divided into classes as the subjects of a monarchy. The line of demarcation was strictly drawn, and the social precedence of the old colonial families was undisputed. The Confederate States were free from the aggressive independence of the North. Obedience was a quality of which they had previous experience. Throughout their history their people had unreservedly committed their political destinies to the members of their great houses, and they followed them now as loyally in the field. Unfortunately for their cause, neither statesman nor soldier was able to persuade them that, however strongly the presence of trusted leaders may assist discipline, it is devotion to duty alone that makes an army always formidable.

So far as history can tell us, no army, however high the

* *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman*, vol. ii. p. 388.

† *Life in the Confederate Army*, by W. Watson, p. 280.

standard of education, has become really efficient until obedience has become an instinct, and the presence in the ranks of men accustomed to think for themselves, and to reason before acting, however weighty the authority which bids them act, renders the acquirement of such instinct a long process. When soldiers become once imbued with the habit of obedience, then, doubtless, the more intelligent will be the more useful; but enthusiasm and intelligence will not stand the stress of battle and the hardships of campaigning, unless their possessors have learnt to subordinate their reason and inclinations to their duty. It is open to those in whose ears the very name of discipline smacks of slavery to assert that a powerful instinct of obedience dwarfs the intellect, turns the man into a machine, and rusts his power of reasoning; and in this there is a shadow of truth, but it is only a shadow. If a soldier is never permitted to use his intelligence, never placed in a position of responsibility, allowed neither to act nor move except at the word of command, sooner or later he loses all power of initiative, and there are many occasions in the field where a man must be left to his own unaided judgement. But if the soldier's training is what it should be, his education for individual action will go hand in hand with his acquirement of the habit of self-effacement. It may be difficult to combine two such opposite characteristics, but it is not impossible. The officers of any regular army have the same instincts of obedience as their men, and yet their power of initiative, developed by responsibility, is seldom impaired; and again, the skirmishers of the Light division, when they had learnt, on the outpost line of Wellington's army, to use their intelligence, and to act without a corporal at their elbow, proved themselves as skilful and as enterprising as the famous voltigeurs of France, and this without losing their capacity for moving like a wall under heavy fire. We have spoken at some length on this point, for it is unfortunately to be apprehended that few, except professional soldiers, understand the nature or the value of discipline. They were certainly not understood in America before the war. The sovereign people of the Northern States could create mighty armies, could equip those armies as none had ever been equipped before; but it could not create the discipline of habit—that was deemed unworthy of free men—and in its place relied on the discipline of reason and of patriotism.

From the pages of the Comte de Paris we may learn

whether the American product was an efficient substitute for the mechanical subordination of regular troops. Speaking of the sluggishness with which operations were carried on in McClellan's Peninsular campaign, he writes as follows :—

' This sluggishness is in a measure enforced on the generals by the nature of their troops. Those troops are brave, but the bonds of subordination are weak in the extreme. It follows, then, that there is no certainty that what has been commanded will be exactly executed. The will of the individual, capricious as popular majorities, plays far too large a part. The leader is obliged to turn round to see if he is being followed; he has not the assurance that his subordinates are bound to him by ties of discipline and of duty. Hence comes hesitation and conditions unfavourable to daring enterprise.'*

Again :—

' . . . Open to impressions, as are all crowds, the men, accustomed to a complete independence of action, were brought to battle actuated by obedience more reasonable than passive, by a sentiment of duty to the State rather than by the instinct of the disciplined soldier, who forgets his own inclination and draws inspiration from that of his officers alone. So, despite their courage, time was necessary to teach them that on ground where the lines of battle were brought close together it was almost always less dangerous to charge the enemy than to remain exposed to a decimating fire. In default of the mechanism which, in armies well organised, communicates to every man controlling influences as rapidly as do the nerves in the human frame, there were constant failures to transform a first advantage into a decisive success. When certain death awaited the foremost, then it was easy to march slower than the rest—personal courage being by no means equal—it sufficed that only one should hesitate, or be permitted to hesitate with impunity, for that hesitation to become contagious; and so the brave soldier lost his *élan*, the most resolute officer his daring. . . .'

We have already said that an ill-disciplined army lacks mobility. Marching, strange as it may appear to those who have never served with troops in the field or in protracted peace exercises, makes the greatest demands on the subordination of the men and the exertions of the officers. It is no light task to bring a battalion of a thousand bayonets intact on to the field of battle at the proper time. Something more than enthusiasm is required to enable a mass of men to overcome the difficulties of bad weather and bad roads, or the sufferings of fatigue and hunger.

' That the American troops, when they entered on the

* Campagne du Potomac, pp. 144-5.

† Histoire de la Guerre Civile en Amérique, vol. i. pp. 348-4.

Peninsular campaign, had improved in this respect on the holiday soldiers of Bull Run there is no reason to doubt; but it seems that the marching power of neither army was considerable. The slow progress often made during important operations may be in part attributed to the inexperience of the staff, and in part to Napoleon's 'fourth element,' mud; but we are, nevertheless, justified in believing that it was mainly due to the absence of order and regularity on the line of march. Writing of McClellan's advance, Colonel Fletcher states that

'the whole extent of the road for twelve miles from the scene of action to the lines round Yorktown was encumbered and blocked up by the advancing brigades. Artillery, cavalry, infantry, and baggage were intermingled in apparently inextricable confusion. The rain fell in torrents, the roads were deep in mud, and the men straggled, fell out, and halted without orders, so that the column of route of the Federals resembled much more the line of retreat of a defeated than the advance of a successful army.' *

In the papers, not the least entertaining and graphic of the series, contributed to the 'Century' by a gentleman who served as a private in McClellan's army, we find the following:—

'It was a bright day in April—a perfect Virginia day—the grass was green beneath our feet, the buds of the trees were just unrolling into leaves under the warming sun of spring, and in the woods the birds were singing. The march was at first orderly, but under the unaccustomed burden of heavy equipments and knapsacks, and the warmth of the weather, the men straggled along the roads, mingling with the baggage waggons, ambulances, and pontoon trains in seeming (*sic*) confusion. . . . After leaving Big Bethel we began to feel the weight of our knapsacks. Castaway overcoats, blankets, parade coats, and shoes were scattered along the route in reckless profusion.' †

We have stated that the Southerners of the earlier years of the war proved themselves better soldiers than those who served the Union. Both sides showed themselves stubborn on the defensive, but nowhere did the Federals display the dash and energy which characterised the assaults of the Confederates during the Seven Days' Battles. Nor was the superiority of the Southerners less marked upon the line of march. Lee's victories were due as much to sturdy limbs as to stout hearts. But the discipline of his troops was insufficient to prevent straggling. It has been recorded

* History of the American War, vol. i. p. 439.

† Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. ii. p. 191.

that nearly 20,000 men were absent from his ranks at the Antietam. A long series of hard marches and fiercely contested battles, deficiencies of supplies, the want of boots, and the indomitable spirit which induced many wounded and foot-sore men to report themselves as fit for duty when they were incapable of doing a long day's work, had, it is true, a share in creating the great gaps which existed in the muster rolls on the morning of the battle. But Lee's official reports leave no doubt whatever that indiscipline was the real cause of the undue weakness of the army. On September 7, ten days before the Antietam, he reported as follows to the President:—

‘One of the greatest evils, from which many minor ones proceed, is the habit of straggling from the ranks. It has become a habit difficult to correct. With some—the sick and feeble—it results from necessity, but with the greater number from design. The latter do not wish to be with their regiments, nor to share in their hardships and glories. They are the cowards of the army, desert their comrades in times of danger, and fill the homes of the charitable and hospitable on the march.’*

* That this vice was by no means unknown even amongst Jackson's command, which accomplished such remarkable feats of marching as to earn for itself the name of ‘foot cavalry,’ we find convincing testimony. General Taylor, an old regular officer, was promoted early in the war to the command of a brigade, and was ordered to join Jackson on the Shenandoah.

† ‘The end,’ he writes of one of his first marches, ‘drew heavily on the marching capacity, or rather incapacity, of the men. Straggling was then, and continued to be throughout, the vice of Southern armies. . . . When brought into the field the men were as ignorant of the art of marching as babes, and required for their instruction the same patient, unwearied attention. On this and subsequent marches frequent halts were made, to enable stragglers to close up. . . . The men appreciated care and attention, following advice as to the fitting of their shoes, cold bathing of feet, and healing of abrasions, and soon held it a disgrace to fall out of the ranks.’†

Within a month his brigade had acquired discipline and cohesion. When he first reported his arrival to Jackson the latter enquired the road and the distance marched that day. ‘Keazletown road,’ was the reply; ‘six-and-twenty miles.’

* *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, p. 522.

† *Destruction and Reconstruction*, pp. 36–7.

'You seem to have no stragglers.' 'Never allow straggling.'
'You must teach my people; they straggle badly.'*

It is scarcely necessary to refer for confirmation of these statements to General Hazen's 'The School and the Army in Germany;' but we may remark that this officer, who served with much distinction under Grant and Sherman and also accompanied Von Moltke to Versailles, whenever he discusses the relative merits of the Federal and the Prussian soldiery, never hesitates to acknowledge that the average mobility of the latter was by far the greater. That he is compelled to draw a comparison unfavourable to the American troops he attributes rather to the ignorance and indolence of their officers than the indiscipline of the men; but it must not be forgotten that, at the outset of the war, inexperience and physical incapacity were equally destructive of cohesion. To take, for instance, the operations preceding Bull Run: The rank and file of McDowell's army were not all city-bred; many of the battalions were recruited from the lumbering and agricultural districts; many were in great part composed of men of good position and active habits; but want of practice in the mere mechanical action demanded by the orderly progression of a large body of troops neutralised their powers. Now, want of mobility, under any circumstances whatever, is a fatal fault.

In a country like our own, whose limits are small and where railways are as numerous and as closely connected as the threads of a spider's web, it might seem that no more is required than to bring the men up by train and to set them down behind lines of earthworks. But this is an idea which every practical soldier will scout as chimerical. The transit of great masses of troops by rail is, for short distances, less speedy than movement by road, even when everything has been prepared beforehand; the very existence of earthworks will cause the enemy to avoid them, to mask his intentions, and to concentrate his troops at some unexpected point. To meet him at that point the defenders must be capable of rapid and orderly movement. Troops that cannot march are but untrustworthy auxiliaries. They cannot be readily transferred to the threatened point. They cannot be relied upon to execute the counter-stroke, the soul of the defence, involving both expedition and endurance. It is useless to call upon them to pursue. And yet, in the face of this fact, marching has been suffered to become a lost art in

* *Destruction and Reconstruction*, p. 56.

England; and it is beyond question that, although the picked contingents of volunteers which take part in the Easter manœuvres excite admiration by the precision of their movements, and by the ease with which they accomplish long distances in trying weather, there are many men in every regiment who, although manifestly unfit for the fatigues of service, are allowed, for want of a physical test, to take their places in the ranks, and are, therefore, absolute encumbrances to mobility. And these men, be it noted, in case of war would not have had the benefit of eight or ten weeks of camp life, as had the men who failed McDowell at Bull Run. How much the Germans in 1870 owed to their constant practice in marching, to their rigid rejection of weakly men and their sound system of physical training, may be realised from the following instances:— Within three weeks of mobilisation, ‘the troops had already evinced great marching powers; thus the 5th Infantry Division, under a glaring sun and over unfavourable ground, had made marches of over 14 miles on four consecutive days.’* On August 2, part of the 14th Infantry Division traversed 27 miles. The 33rd Regiment, about the same period, completed in three days a march of 69 miles over mountainous country. At the battle of Spicheren the advanced guard of the 13th Division, when it came into action against the left rear of the French, was 25 miles distant from its morning bivouac; and a battalion of the 53rd Regiment took but 13 hours to cover the 27½ miles that separated it from the field. And be it remembered that in every one of these cases more than half of the men, drawn from the reserve, had only just rejoined the ranks.

A little later, after the battle of Gravelotte, but still only a month distant from the date of mobilisation, the six army corps which composed the armies of the Crown Princes of Prussia and of Saxony marched for nine days consecutively in their pursuit of MacMahon, in many instances traversing four-and-twenty miles a day. Stonewall Jackson’s division, both in the Shenandoah Valley and in the campaign against Pope, often covered a greater distance in a single day; but no large army in the first three years of the American war went near rivalling this continuous movement of 220,000 men, encumbered with a huge supply train—for the district was barren—and an enormous mass of artillery. That this gigantic effort stripped the Crown Prince of Saxony of one

* Franco-German War, 1870–I, Part I. vol. i. p. 111.

third of his infantry we know on the authority of Prince Kraft von Hohenlohe.* But the missing men were to be found in ambulance and hospital. Stragglers, in the worst sense of the word, there were none. No abandoned knapsacks marked the route; and the absence of all irregularity on the line of march is constantly remarked by those who witnessed the campaigns in France. Every man who was physically fit answered to his name at the evening bivouac. Every man who could carry his rifle was found in his place when the battle opened. Had an American army of '61 or '62 been opposed by one of the same strength disciplined on the German pattern, a few rough marches would have produced an inequality in numbers greatly in favour of the latter.

In the war of 1870-1 the outpost service of the German armies was carried to a perfection which, we believe, is without parallel in history. In exceedingly few instances were even the smallest detachments surprised; and during the tedious investments of Metz and Paris ample notice was received of every threatening movement. The standard of discipline and efficiency attained by the German army is that which every European army is now striving to reach, and it is by that standard that the volunteers of America must be judged. We have already shown that they fell far short of German perfection in the matter of marching; and we may now add that their enthusiasm and patriotism were by no means proof against the exacting duties of the outposts. Surprises were frequent throughout the war. More than one of the great battles was ushered in by a sudden rush on troops asleep in their tents or in the act of cooking. Many were the instances where the enemy was able to mass almost within rifle shot of the sentries without exciting suspicion of his presence. Little less numerous are the occasions when, of two armies in close proximity, the one withdrew during the night without the other having the slightest knowledge that such a movement was in progress.

It is true that the dense forests which covered the theatre of war were favourable to every kind of secret operation. But the war of 1870 was waged in part in thickly-wooded districts, and there we find not only that the Germans were secure from attack, but, no matter how great the exhaustion of the troops or the danger of the undertaking, that information of the enemy's movements and dispositions was

* *Strategische Briefe*, vol. ii. p. 280.

always forthcoming. Every subaltern in charge of a picket knew his duty. After a forced march or a hard day's fighting no relaxation was allowed. Before the fires of the bivouac were lighted, scouts were moving far to the front. Through the night watches every road and path was traversed at short intervals by patrols; and the earliest light saw stronger parties pushing forward towards the enemy's lines. Had the officers been always as diligent, had the men been sufficiently disciplined to face the fatigues of this arduous service, the American armies would also have been free from the reproach of negligence and surprise.

It is not sufficient for the security of an army that the majority do their duty, as doubtless did the majority of both Federals and Confederates. The carelessness of a few may give the enemy his opportunity. It was the absolute uniformity with which duty was done in the German army that made it so formidable an adversary and so excellent a model.

As to the discipline of the American troops in camp and quarters, in some respects it was decidedly good. Drunkenness was almost unknown, for the men acquiesced without complaint in the orders which forbade the introduction of intoxicating liquors within their lines. Nor was insubordination in the active sense a prevalent crime. But of passive disobedience there was much. The men, in the early days more especially, were accustomed to yield only such obedience as they considered necessary. The officers dared demand no more, and an appeal to the intelligence of the battalions was a far more effective means of rousing them to action than a mere command. At the same time, leaders conspicuous for skill and valour soon won the confidence of the troops, and then their task became an easier one. The soldiers followed the man they trusted without hesitation, and endured the privations he imposed without a murmur. So far their good sense served them; but it did not teach them that instant obedience to orders, no matter by whom they are given or how injudicious they may seem, is more valuable than the obedience which is merely a tribute to superior ability.

'No man but the commander can judge of what is important and what is not. . . . Soldiers must therefore obey in all things. They may, and do, laugh at foolish orders, but they nevertheless obey, not because they are blindly obedient, but because they know that to disobey is to break the backbone of their profession.' *

* 'Remarks on Military Law,' by Sir Charles Napier, p. 18.

It is thus, that individual intelligence is best exercised; in realising and maintaining the important truth that prompt and entire obedience, mechanical if you will, but none the less powerful, is the mainspring of success.

That the intelligence and patriotism of the American soldiers was not sufficient to keep them in the ranks upon the line of march we have said enough to prove; but in yet another respect these qualities, unbacked by discipline, were found wanting. In the supreme moment, in the hour of battle, when it required no greater acumen than is possessed by the most ignorant of plough-boys to comprehend that every rifle was needed at the front, numbers, that in some cases exceeded those of a strong division, were found hastening to the rear. At Seven Pines, McClellan states that when Hooker brought up his division about dark he had been delayed 'by the throng of fugitives, through whom the 'colonel of the leading regiment had to force his way with 'the bayonet.'* At the Antietam, three months later, two Federal army corps, roughly handled in their attack on Lee's left, almost entirely dissolved; and it was reported on the following day that the reduction in one of them was not due only to the casualties of battle, but that a considerable number had withdrawn from the ranks, 'some 'having 'dropped out on the march, many dispersing and leaving 'during the battle.'†

Again, at Shiloh, in the spring of 1862, General Buell, coming up to reinforce Grant, who had been surprised and driven back after a desperate resistance, found a crowd of soldiers, which he estimated at near 15,000 men, about one-third of the whole force, cowering under shelter of the river bluffs. And a careful perusal of the numerous narratives of survivors of the battle reveals that unwillingness to remain under fire was no less conspicuous amongst the Confederates.

However sound the discipline, however efficient the police, there are men in every army whom no earthly consideration—neither habit, nor honour, nor fear of punishment or disgrace—will induce to face death and danger on a hardly-contested field. Long before La Haye Sainte had been carried, and while as yet Napoleon's massive columns had been everywhere beaten back, men galloped through the streets of Brussels crying that all was lost. Crawford's Light division, making its famous march to Talavera, met

* McClellan's Report, pp. 224-5.

† Ibid. p. 401.

'crowds of runaways; not all Spaniards,'* significantly adds the great historian. And when on August 18, 1870, the First German Army reeled back in confusion from Frossard's impregnable position, it required the presence of the King himself to arrest the flight of the panic-stricken mob in Gravelotte village.

At the same time we cannot recall a single incident from the history of any disciplined army to show that leaving the colours before the battle was decided has ever occurred on the same wholesale scale as in many of the great engagements of the American war. Even the insubordinate French regulars of 1870, straggle as they might on the line of march, held staunchly to the eagles in the hour of combat. To find a parallel to the Antietam or to Shiloh we must turn to the operations of Gambetta's levies on the Loire, where whole regiments of cavalry were posted in rear of the line of battle to drive back the fugitives and the laggards.

But there was still another manner in which the vice of insubordination showed itself, a manner characteristic of armies in which the bonds of discipline are frail, and more fruitful of disastrous consequences than the hesitation or misconduct of the soldiery. Insubordination is the most contagious of moral diseases. Let it burst out amongst the lowest, and, if it be not instantly crushed, its poisonous breath will infect the highest. It is no respecter of persons. If the supreme authorities wink at its existence amongst the rank and file, officers even of superior rank will become contaminated. Let men become once accustomed to overlook remissness, and their own respect for discipline relaxes. So it was in France previous to the downfall of the last Napoleon. In 1859 the army had shown symptoms of insubordination. At Solferino the cry had been heard, 'Les épaulettes en avant!'; and when, in July 1870, the Emperor set out on his last campaign, there were those amongst his most trusted subordinates who had lost all sense of duty. Distrust and jealousy reigned in the highest places. *Comradery* was a forgotten word; and the absence of concert, the neglect of the most ordinary precautions, and the indifference of the generals to the action or requirements of their colleagues point to indiscipline of the most pernicious kind.

The great fault of the American soldier in the early part

* Napier's 'History of the War in the Peninsula,' vol. ii. p. 178.

of the war was that the obedience he rendered was based on intelligence rather than on habit. He did not resist authority when he considered its demands were reasonable, but when he thought those demands vexatious or unnecessary he remembered his birthright as the citizen of a free State, and refused compliance. This vice spread upwards. As the soldiery followed with reluctance an untried or unpopular leader, as they did not deem it incumbent on them to obey an officer merely because he was their military superior, so the generals, even those next in rank to the commander-in-chief, were not at all times to be relied upon to render cheerful obedience.

‘The success of our army (of the Potomac) was undoubtedly greatly lessened by jealousy, distrust, and general want of the *entente cordiale*.’ *

Even the influence of Lee, trusted and beloved as he was by his veterans, was insufficient to ensure at all times unhesitating compliance with his orders. Jackson indeed, peerless lieutenant that he was, declared that he would follow him blindfold. But Jackson’s conception of duty was not shared by all. Still, the great Virginian captain had rarely to complain of disobedience or lukewarmness. Nor did McClellan, Jackson, or Grant, when once they had established their reputation, find it difficult to exact submission from their subordinates. But far otherwise was it with those in whom their lieutenants had little confidence, who, like Pope and Burnside, were suddenly raised by the caprice of the President above their fellows, or, like Bragg and Halleck, lacked both tact and fortune. To remain loyal to such men was a severe test, and the discipline of many of their officers lost its hold. We need not comment on the extraordinary means adopted by the Federal Government to ascertain the fitness of the military chiefs, the Congressional committee on the war, before which subordinate generals were examined as to the conduct of their commander, and encouraged to express their opinions on his ability, his strategy and his tactics, with all the freedom that envy could suggest. The ‘Century’ papers teem with instances of disobedience, of argument, and of hostile criticism on plans of battle; and we leave it to the reader of such campaigns as that of Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and Murfreesboro’ to realise for himself the disastrous results of such breaches of discipline in the higher ranks.

* The Antietam and Fredericksburg, General Palfrey, p. 59.

We have written at some length on this question, and for this reason, that, notwithstanding the increased knowledge of war and its requirements, it appears to us likely that in the future the canker of insubordination is likely to manifest its presence in this form. The spirit of indiscipline is abroad; not only the indiscipline that is bred of self-seeking, envy, or disappointed vanity, but indiscipline conscientiously advocated as a rule of life and morals. 'To render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's' is a precept, we are told, that has lost its application. There are those who are unpractical enough to believe with Plato that obedience is of value only when based on reason, and to assert that no man need obey a law the enactment of which has not received his individual sanction. However hurtful to the State, such opinions are a hundredfold more dangerous to the army. Without absolute obedience to the spirit as well as to the letter of the law; without a determination on the part of all to render loyal service and cordial support to every authority, however distasteful such a course may be; without the resolution to forgo and to check criticism of the acts of superiors, skill and courage are of no avail. A great military writer has already recorded in these pages that, notwithstanding their vast superiority in numbers, wealth, and armament, the twenty millions who upheld the Union were powerless to crush five millions of Secessionists until they had introduced into their armies a sterner discipline. Intelligence and enthusiasm had their trial. For three long years the infatuation of the Northern people in favour of individual freedom lasted, and during those three years the national cause made little progress. At length the scales dropped from the eyes of the Government and the troops. A leader was chosen who throughout his military career had been constant in obedience, chary of criticism, and patient under misconception; but unsparing of condemnation when it was deserved, and impatient of insubordination in his lieutenants.

Under Grant, backed by the unreserved support of Lincoln, whose conversion to the new doctrine of unhesitating obedience was whole-hearted, the Army of the Potomac entered on a new phase of existence and of efficiency. On one occasion only—at the second battle of Cold Harbour, where, after having already lost more than forty thousand men within three weeks, the Federal troops were ordered to renew an assault on an entrenched position which had already cost more than ten thousand men—did either officers

or men venture to dispute the judgement of the general in-chief.

Relying on the discipline no less than on the courage of his lieutenants and his soldiery, Grant was able to carry out his policy of wearing out his opponent by incessant attack. The Army of the Potomac was employed as if it was a battering-ram, without consciousness and without feeling. It was a machine, perhaps unskilfully used, but challenging admiration by the manner in which it answered every touch of the manipulator. The lesson had taken long to learn, but it was thoroughly mastered. Brigadiers and colonels forbore to obtrude their advice upon the general commanding. Divisional leaders no longer asked audience of the President to expose the errors of their superior. No leader of an army corps criticised adversely the plan of battle in the hearing of his troops, as Hooker had done before Fredericksburg. The necessity of co-operation and ready support had become apparent; and the truth was at last recognised that even indifferent tactics have a better chance of success where those who carry them out are in accord than more skilful strokes if cordial acquiescence in their expediency is wanting. Those who had held high rank in the regular army obeyed without a sign of mortification men who had been their juniors in the old service, who had retired after a few years, had been again brought in from civil life, and were now promoted above their heads. The commander-in-chief had no longer occasion to complain, with Marshal Joubert in Portugal, that what he wanted was inferior officers who would obey him, and not comrades who thought themselves as good as he was. That knowledge had come to all which at first had seemed the possession of the few, that absolute devotion to duty is a more substantial good than brilliant exploits in the field, and a more enduring glory than the applause of press and populace.

As to the discipline of the troops on the field of battle, we have already quoted the Comte de Paris's statement that on the part of the Federal troops there was a decided disinclination to decide the combat with the bayonet. Over and over again, in the pages of the 'Century' volumes, we read of the line of battle approaching within a hundred, and in some cases within even fifty, paces of the enemy, and there stopping short; not, however, preparatory to retreat, but to seeking cover, and maintaining a fire-fight more fruitful in casualties to itself than a determined advance.

That the battalions were capable of maintaining their

position under such circumstances is in itself a proof of fine courage. The Germans impress on their infantry the maxim that, when such close quarters were reached, 'if you don't go away the enemy will;' but here were soldiers who refused to move, and who could be depended on to hold out to the last extremity. The Confederates, on the other hand, successful in so many offensive battles, were manifestly capable of the supreme effort necessary to cross the narrow intervening space between the lines, to carry out decisive assaults, and to pierce their adversaries' front.

Mutual confidence is the force that drives a charge home; and this quality is the fruit of discipline alone, for in almost every campaign it is the better-disciplined troops who have displayed the greatest vigour in assault. In the war of 1870 the *furia Francese* appears to have passed over to the men of Brandenburg and Bavaria, and, in place of the impetuous advance of the long lines of bayonets which made the battle of Napoleon like 'the swell and dash of a mighty wave,' were the isolated counter-strokes of a few brave men whose daring but served to accentuate the irresolution of the mass. Very early in the War of Secession, the Federal commanders, recognising their enemy's disposition to bring matters to a speedy issue, made use of earthworks and entrenchments; the Confederates, at a later period, when the desperate assaults on the Fredericksburg heights taught them that the Northern battalions had at length learnt to follow their officers to certain death, gave up their trust in broken ground and sheltering coverts, and adopted the same means of stiffening the defence.

In 1863, the third year of the war, both armies became equally formidable on the offensive, and—we have it on the authority of officers who took part in the campaigns—the confusion of the earlier fields of battle was no longer seen. After a charge or a repulse the troops rallied quickly to their colours; there was little intermixture of units; and constant practice on the drill-ground enabled the battalions to reform after a hot fight in an exceedingly short time, to take up the pursuit without delay, or to oppose a counter-stroke with unbroken front. Fire discipline, on the other hand, did not exist. Occasionally, when protected by unusually strong defences, the leaders were able to induce their men to reserve their fire to close range, but, as a general rule, whether defending or attacking, the men used their rifles at will.

'The officers were never sufficiently masters of their soldiers to prevent them, when bullets were whistling past, from immediately answering the enemy's fire. In the best Confederate regiments, in the midst of a conflict, the ardent and burning inclination of the soldiers was obeyed rather than the commands of the officers.'*

* That the fire of infantry should be under the same control as that of artillery is now recognised as the most vital principle of battle tactics; and it is instructive to note that the American volunteers were incapable, at any period of the war, of answering the very trifling demands made by the discipline of an age which rated fire of less value than the bayonet. The official reports of Gettysburg are significant. Amongst 24,000 loaded rifles picked up on the field only a quarter were properly loaded; 12,000 contained two charges each (both sides were armed with muzzle-loaders), and the other quarter from three to ten.

It has been stated by Lord Wolseley, speaking with the authority of one who is an earnest student of Lee's campaign, and who accompanied the Confederate army in the operations succeeding the Antietam, that at any time during the war a single army corps of regular troops would have turned the scale in favour of either side.† This assertion, as we understand it, implies a conviction that 30,000 regulars would, by their superior mobility and cohesion, have given the leader who controlled them the power of assembling superior numbers at the decisive point; in fact—and their own commanders were fully conscious that such was the case—that even at a late period of the war the armies lacked the attributes of regular organisations. Now the military experience of the combatants was large, their goodwill remarkable; the military code existed in full force, and officers of proved capacity had little difficulty in securing prompt obedience. How was it, then, that not until the war was drawing to a close did discipline become firmly established, and mobility and cohesion characteristic of the troops? The answer is not far to seek. Both Lord Wolseley and Colonel Fletcher have alluded to the extraordinary difficulties thrown in the path of the commanders by the inefficiency of the regimental officers and the staff, but we prefer to appeal to evidence more direct.

'The great difficulty, I find,' wrote Lee to the Confederate President in March 1863, 'is in causing orders and regulations to be obeyed.'

* Life of General Lee, by C. Lee Childe, p. 46.

† Macmillan's Magazine, vol. lv. p. 328.

This arises not from a spirit of disobedience, but from ignorance. We have therefore need of a corps of officers to teach others their duty, see to the observance of orders and to the regularity and precision of all movements. This is accomplished in the French service by their staff corps.' Enumerating then the various appointments necessary, he adds, 'If you can fill those positions with proper officers . . . you might hope to have the finest army in the world.' *

'When I compare the 41st Ohio,' says General Hazen, 'with other regiments which worried the patience by their snail-like and uncertain movements, I am strongly impressed with the immense loss which our country sustained in consequence of the indolence, ignorance, and shiftlessness of its officers.' †

One of the first acts of McClellan, on assuming command of the Union forces in 1861, and also of Grant, on his promotion to the same office in 1864, was to weed the commissioned ranks; the first by a system of examination, the second by the unsparing exercise of his powers as commander-in-chief. During the *régime* of those able administrators several hundred officers were dismissed the service. These facts speak for themselves. There is no need to produce further testimony. At the beginning of the war, in both the Federal and Confederate armies, well-trained officers; staff and regimental, were largely wanting. There were few who understood the careful preparations necessary for manœuvre and movement, few who could enforce the discipline or carry out the details essential to their execution. At a later period many had been suffered to fill the frequent vacancies who had, no doubt, a large acquaintance with warfare, acquired in the ranks, but had not received the training necessary for those who aspire to command. As regards the staff, the number of officers in the regular army of the United States, including those who had retired, did not exceed 2,000; of these, many on the Northern side remained with their own regiments; on both sides many were detailed to command the larger units. Of those that remained available for staff duties few had received special training, and it was some time before they became fitted for their onerous positions. At the outset, the sovereign people, deeming a staff but an ornamental appendage, objected to its formation. McDowell was accompanied by only two aides-de-camp at Bull Run; and when the scanty number employed was at length allowed to be recruited from the volunteers, the majority had yet to learn the very rudiments

* Memoirs of Robert E. Lee, p. 619.

† The School and the Army in Germany, p. 221.

of their business. And so, throughout the earlier campaigns, the generals were compelled to work single-handed. They were without 'the hundred voices, the 'hundred eyes, 'the hundred ears' which alone make possible the skilful direction of the movements of large armies. They had no means of knowing that their orders had been executed as they wished, or even executed at all. They had no assistance in framing the multifarious instructions which the troops required. The thousand details which must be attended to during every hour of a campaign, if not supervised by the general himself, were altogether neglected.

Those familiar with the campaigns of 1866 and 1870 know how deeply the principle of co-operation has penetrated the spirit of German generalship, with what extraordinary effect it was put into practice, and how the lucidity of the orders issued by the various head-quarters simplified its application. But both in Lee's and McClellan's armies the means of ensuring concerted action were defective, and lack of combination was consequently the great tactical fault of almost every battle. The commanders were without the slightest practical experience of the movements of great masses of troops, such as is imparted to the officers of Continental armies in the autumn manœuvres. Their military life had been passed in the scattered forts along the Indian frontier, where, like General Ewell, a Confederate brigadier at Bull Run and an officer of nearly twenty years' service, they 'had learned all about commanding fifty 'United States dragoons and had forgotten everything else.'*

When we read the orders issued by the Confederate head-quarters for the assault of the formidable position of Malvern Hill, we cease to wonder at the failure to arrest the Federal retreat from the Chickahominy to the James. The staff who considered the following production sufficient to ensure a combined attack in a wooded country must have been utterly incapable of directing the intricate movements devised by Lee to ensnare McClellan :—

'Batteries have been established to act upon the enemy's line. If it is broken, as is probable, Armistead, who can witness the effect of the fire, has been ordered to charge with a yell. Do the same.'†

Unfortunately the enemy's line was not broken. Armistead's division did not charge. But three of his regiments became involved in action, and, so far as we can ascertain,

* Destruction and Reconstruction, p. 88.

† Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. ii. p. 392.

their shouts were construed as the signal. Two divisions attacked at different times. They were unsupported, and lost 5,000 men without shaking the enemy's hold on his position. It may be admitted that co-operation, when in contact with the enemy, is no easy matter to bring about, especially in a country covered by swamp and forest. There are, however, three means of overcoming the difficulty—the first, constant communication between the units; the second, thorough reconnaissance of the ground over which movements are to be made; the third, clear and well-considered orders. Now, in both the Federal and Confederate armies of 1862 these three points, as a general rule, were disregarded. The staff was possibly too small to attend to the first, too inexperienced to carry out the second, and insufficiently trained to produce the third. When time is pressing and quick decision essential, when an infinite variety of details has to be considered and provision made for numerous contingencies, the framing of orders is a task that demands not only a wide acquaintance with war, but constant practice. It constitutes a special branch in the education of the general staff, and, in our opinion, should find a prominent place in the training of all officers, for the power of explaining his intentions so that none can fail to comprehend is as necessary to the subaltern in charge of a patrol as to the leader of an army corps.

Several of the most important battles of the Secession war would, in all probability, have assumed a different aspect had not 'misunderstanding of orders'—a phrase with which the reader of the 'Century' papers soon finds himself familiar, and which is in itself a proof of an ill-trained staff—so frequently occurred. Nor can we fail to remark the inability of even the supreme commanders to inform themselves of the situation of affairs at the front or on the wings. This arose from the fact that 'the general staff did not and could not assist the commander as he should have been assisted. . . . There was not a large personal staff of experienced and talented officers capable of keeping the general fully informed of the operations of his corps.*' The battle of Williamsburg, fought in May 1862, began at seven in the morning. Although he had sent aides-de-camp to the front for the express purpose of reporting, it was one o'clock before McClellan was made aware that his troops were in contact with the enemy. At Seven Pines,

* The Peninsula, General Webb, p. 183.

June 30, 1862, Johnston, the Confederate leader, remained for several hours in ignorance that a division had taken the wrong road, and that the attack he had ordered had not been made. At Gettysburg, in July 1863, as we shall hereafter notice, exactly the same error was repeated. With every allowance for the close and wooded nature of the country, such a state of things is as inconceivable in an army possessing a well-trained staff as that, although Jackson's flank movement round Pope, in August 1862, was seen and reported by the Federal signallers, not a single cavalry regiment, nor even a single scout, was sent out to ascertain the direction of his march; or that Longstreet's division at Seven Pines, ordered to begin the attack, should have crossed a stream by an improvised bridge in single file, when, in the words of one of his brigadiers—

'if the division commander had given orders for the men to sling their cartridge boxes, haversacks, &c., on their muskets and wade without breaking formation, they could have crossed by fours at least, with water up to their waists, . . . and hours would have been saved.' *

Lack of reconnaissance was a fruitful source of indecisive successes and of unnecessary loss. Movements were projected and carried out without previous exploration of the ground or selection of the most effective line of advance. Little care was taken to discover the weak points of the enemy's position. The influence of topography upon tactics was unappreciated, and the Confederate divisions attacked exactly where the adversary wished them to attack, instead of being directed by staff officers, who, riding with the advanced scouts, had already made themselves acquainted with the ground, to the approaches most favourable to the assailant. We may also notice that, owing to the simple expedient of placing fingerposts at cross-roads, or leaving an orderly to point out the route, being neglected, on several occasions—amongst others at Cold Harbour, South Mountain, and Gettysburg—the Confederate brigades came into action either at wide intervals from the rest of their division, when the opportunity had passed, or in some cases not at all.

During the strategic movements designed to bring the army to such a position and in such formation that it can readily exert its whole strength against the enemy, the duties of the staff are no less important than on the field of action. Few but those who have witnessed or studied the

* Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. ii. p. 229.

operations of large masses of troops can realise the nice arrangements, the constant supervision, the tact, training, and experience necessary to the successful execution of such movements. For all these operations intervention of the staff is needed, but chaos and confusion are likely to ensue if the officers composing it are but novices.

In more than one respect the Confederate staff was superior to that of the Union army. The intelligence department was exceedingly well organised. The hunters of the South took kindly to scouting and patrol; and the certainty with which, in the dense Virginian woodlands, the Confederate generals received early warning of their enemy's every movement is proof of the priceless service that may be rendered by bold and enterprising horsemen working in their own country. To train volunteer cavalry to move in mass with the speed, the unity, and the precision essential to effective action in the shock of battle is impossible, but the audacity of the Southern troopers, their adventurous and at the same time useful rides within the enemy's outposts, indicate that such troops can still fill an important rôle, especially in a close country, where individual daring and intelligence, as well as superior horsemanship, have free play.

Again, in the earlier campaigns the Confederates were the better marchers. Jackson, in the movement round Pope's right in July 1862, traversed fifty-six miles in two days; Longstreet was little less expeditious. And although the Southern army was unencumbered by the same superfluity of baggage and supplies as the Federal—the troops depending for subsistence on the fields of Indian corn or apple orchards through which they passed, and the train consisting of a few ambulances and the ammunition carts—for this rapid advance due credit must be given to the staff. At the same time, as regards combinations for battle, the reconnaissance and mapping of the country over which the army was to move, the supply of guides capable of directing the divisions through the swamps and forests—and this in the midst of a friendly population—the arrangements were deplorably deficient.

General Lee's letter, already quoted, conclusively proves that in 1863, two years after the outbreak of the war, the staff had still much to learn. His suggestions for its improvement were, however, unheeded—they were perhaps impracticable, for staff officers cannot be made in a month or two—and Gettysburg was the result. The greatest

conflict of the war was the most prolific of blunders. The story of the second of the three days' battle presents a picture of mismanagement that is almost without parallel. On the second day Longstreet, commanding the Confederate right wing, had been ordered to attack at an early hour. The famous position was as yet but thinly occupied, and Lee hoped to crush his enemy in detail.

* At 9 o'clock the general had been expecting to hear of the opening of the attack on the right, and was by no means satisfied with the delay. . . . About 10 A.M. . . . he received a message that Longstreet was advancing. This appeared to relieve his anxiety, and he proceeded to the point where he expected the arrival of the corps. Here he waited for some time, during which interval he observed that the enemy had occupied the peach orchard which formed a portion of the ground that was to have been occupied by Longstreet. . . . On perceiving this he again expressed his impatience, and renewed his search for Longstreet. It was now about 1 o'clock P.M. After going some distance to the rear he discovered Hood's division (of Longstreet's corps) at a halt, while McLaws' division was yet at some distance on the Fairfield road, having taken a wrong direction. Longstreet was present, and, with General Lee, exerted himself to correct the error, but before the corps could be brought into its designated position it was 4 o'clock. . . . The opportunity which the early morning had presented was lost. The entire Army of the Potomac was before us! '*

Moreover, the fighting which ensued showed that the mechanism for securing co-operation was still deficient. 'The whole affair,' writes Lee's adjutant-general, 'was disjointed. There was an utter absence of accord in the movements of the several commands.'† Now, we are well aware that the difficulties in the way of a double attack are very great. As at Gettysburg, the failure of one wing or the other to move out at the appointed time may be due to the action of its immediate commander; and there are those who will argue that want of co-operation should be charged to the general rather than to the staff. We may also be reminded that in the campaigns of 1866 and 1870, notwithstanding the excellence of the Prussian staff, isolated attacks were by no means unfrequent. But we are unable to discover any reason why, if the advance of one column is unavoidably delayed, the circumstance should not be immediately reported to the other; and we may remark that the isolated attacks at Spicheren, Woerth, and Gravelotte were, in every instance, initiated by generals who had full knowledge of the

* *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, pp. 281-2

† *Ibid.* p. 286.

situation, and assumed the sole responsibility of advancing without support. There was no failure of co-operation, for it was deliberately rejected. In the American battles, on the other hand, the generals who sent their troops forward, to what seems wanton destruction did so in expectation of support, and in ignorance that support had become impracticable. This ignorance was due to the want of communication between the different units; and the establishment and maintaining of such communication is the duty of the staff. Whilst the American offensive, therefore, during the first phase of the war, was a series of spasmodic efforts, the German offensive of 1866 and 1870 resembles nothing so much as the resistless sweep of a flowing tide, wave after wave hurrying from beyond the far horizon to break in close succession on the shore; and the singleness of purpose, the untiring energy, which were then displayed were due to the training of Von Moltke's pupils, the officers of the general staff. Never was Napoleon's golden rule, 'marcher au canon,' more zealously obeyed. Superficial students have indeed pointed out that to construe the words of the great soldier so literally as did the Germans is fraught with danger; but they have failed to discern that when the Germans adopted this principle they took care to provide a means of applying it without risk. They understood Napoleon better than their critics. They were well aware that their ancient enemy advocated no blind and reckless rush to the first sound of conflict, but that he held it a matter of course that every general, whether of army corps, division, or brigade, kept himself by means of his staff officers informed of the situation at the front, and was thus able to fix the exact point where his presence was most needed. The staff recognised this linking together of the various units amongst the most important of their duties; it had become a matter of routine at the annual manœuvres and peace-exercises; and if the rashness or the ambition of the subordinate leaders sometimes led to irregularity, still the means of assuring co-operation, so deficient at Gettysburg, were always there; and, save when they were wilfully neglected, never failed to bring about the unity of action so essential to success.

We have often thought that the night marches of both Confederates and Federals through the tangled thickets and over the indifferent roads of the Virginian wilderness in May 1864, as well as the ease with which the troops were handled in the many terrible battles that those marches led to, are remarkable instances of the way in which all obstacles

disappear before the skill of an experienced staff. There can be no question that the future historian of the war will find little to criticise as regards the interior control of either army in the later campaigns. But, to show the necessity of the members of the general staff being trained to an average pitch of efficiency, we will refer to the last effort of Lee's heroic army to prolong the struggle. After resisting for nearly nine months, with much inferior forces, every effort of the Union commander to breach the long lines of earthworks which covered Petersburg and Richmond, the Confederates, on April 2, 1865, were compelled to abandon their defences. It was still possible to save the army by a movement past the enemy's front, and Lee was able to gain some hours' start. Grant followed quickly, hoping to intercept him. The Confederates were well-nigh starving, and—

Lee pressed on as rapidly as possible to Amelia Court House, where he ordered supplies to be deposited for the use of his troops on their arrival. This forethought was highly necessary, in consequence of the scanty supply of rations provided at the commencement of the retreat. The hope of finding a supply of food at this point, which had done much to buoy up the spirits of the men, was destined to be cruelly dispelled. Through an unfortunate error or misapprehension of orders the provision train had been taken on to Richmond, without unloading its stores at Amelia Court House. Not a single ration was found to be provided for the hungry troops.*

Some one had blundered, and the result was the dispersion of a great part of the army and the subsequent surrender of the rest.

The question of the general staff is one of special importance to States who depend for their defence on an army which is not permanently organised for war. It may be possible to assemble armed men in vast numbers, and, if precise arrangements have previously been made, even to concentrate them at a given rendezvous; but to give them mobility—that is, the capacity for moving in full strength and speedily to any quarter of the theatre of war—to enable each unit to take its part in battle, and to secure the co-operation of the whole, a large contingent of specially trained officers is absolutely necessary. Regimental officers, however efficient in their own line, however familiar with war, are necessarily ignorant of the duties of the staff. We would draw attention to the fact that, notwithstanding the existence of the regular army as a source of supply, two years of actual service had elapsed

* *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, p. 412.

before either the Confederate or Federal Staff could be classed as trustworthy; and we would remind our readers that the German staff owes its perfection not only to a long course of theoretical education under the best soldiers of the day, but to the practical experience of the movements of great masses of troops, acquired at the annual manœuvres.

We have already pointed out that national characteristics opposed great obstacles to the acquirement of discipline by the American troops; and we are prepared to hear that, these characteristics being peculiar to America, the lessons of the war do not apply to our own volunteers. But we have also pointed out, and have produced unanswerable testimony in support, that the indiscipline which was the primary cause of the comparative inefficiency of the American armies was mainly due to the shortcomings of the regimental officers.

‘The men,’ says General Palfrey, ‘were such soldiers as their officers made them.’* Whilst we are ready, therefore, to admit that on this side of the Atlantic indiscipline would find less genial soil, we cannot blink the fact that here, too, the means of checking its growth is wanting.

We do not wish to imply that, had the American officers been well trained, the troops they commanded would have at once assumed the bearing of veterans. To impart to men unbroken to restraint the instinctive subordination which is the life-blood of armies is the work of time, however efficient the officers; but, as we have seen, with intelligent men, confidence in the ability of their leaders supplies the place of mechanical discipline with extraordinary effect. And even if it be asserted that the individual intelligence and patriotism of our volunteers are sufficient of themselves to prevent the recurrence of the faults and disorders of the Americans, it is not difficult to show that their officers must needs be thoroughly competent. In the Secession War nothing more than discipline was required to give either belligerent an easy triumph. The leading on both sides being equal, the side which possessed the greater mobility and cohesion would have won by weight of numbers at the decisive point. Now the volunteer officers of England and her colonies have a task five-hundredfold more difficult than had Confederate or Federal. To create and to maintain discipline is not in itself sufficient. Their fellow citizens demand of them that they should be capable of opposing with hope

of success, not unprofessional soldiers, but armies led by officers, both staff and regimental, trained to that perfection of efficiency which Prussia was the first to establish and the first to profit by. By those who understand war in the new aspect given to it by German thoroughness the old idea that a man of ordinary courage, intelligence, and activity needed but the habit of command and an acquaintance with drill to make an excellent officer has long since been repudiated. To lead men in battle is a profession, demanding careful education and thorough training. That the country at large is very far from realising this truth is evident from the reluctance of Parliament to vote the sum necessary for even the most limited field manœuvres, although, in the opinion of every professional soldier without exception, these practical exercises are the only means of educating its officers. But if our professional soldiers at home lack the opportunities of learning their work that are afforded to the soldiers of every Continental nation, however poor, the volunteers are in still more evil case. Brigade camps, Easter manœuvres, and schools of instruction are certainly, so far as they go, valuable means of education; but the last teach only the habit of command, and the five or six days, at most, of practical instruction in the business of a campaign afforded by the former are a very poor substitute for the sixty or eighty days devoted annually in every battalion of the French and German armies to tactical exercises. It may, however, be argued that, by passing a professional examination, volunteer officers prove themselves at least sufficiently well trained to secure the confidence, and thus to establish the discipline of those they command. Of examinations in military subjects we are no blind admirers; they are by no means fair tests of comparative efficiency.

But we acknowledge that examinations are necessary. If the study which they impose does not always lead a man to think, it at least gives or revives a knowledge of useful details. More than all, the attainment of the required standard proves earnestness, and earnestness goes a long way towards winning the confidence of others. Now, the examinations which volunteer officers are called upon to pass before promotion are of so perfunctory a nature, and the standard to be attained is so very low, that they neither compel reflection nor teach details; and so small is the medium of study and practice they demand that even the most indolent and indifferent are not deterred from facing the ordeal. The

examination in tactics is a severer test, a tax on leisure and on application; but it is noteworthy that by no means a large proportion avail themselves of the opportunity of learning something of the science of fighting, and of earning an increased pecuniary grant for their corps. The truth is—and it is time that it was fairly faced—that the weak point of the volunteer forces is the dearth of well-trained officers. No practical soldier who has experience of our citizen troops, either at home or in the colonies, will be found to deny that these troops suffer from the same deficiency which, in their earlier campaigns, rendered the American armies, brave and intelligent as they were, inferior to the European armies of to-day. Yet we are far from believing that the possible efficiency of the Volunteer force has been exhausted. On the contrary, we are firmly convinced that, if a higher standard of military training were exacted, a large proportion of both officers and men would welcome its introduction. It is possible that increased demands would thin the ranks; but, even if their numbers were reduced by a third, with a corresponding increase of efficiency, few thinking soldiers would deplore the loss of those whose lack of leisure, inclination, strength, or energy now act but as dead weight on the zeal of the remainder. If their discipline and leading be defective, Providence seldom sides with the big battalions.

In the preceding pages we have said little of the good qualities of the American soldiers. We are none the less convinced that in some respects they were superior, as every army of volunteers will always be, to the conscript levies of European States; and we are of opinion that only sounder training is required to make our own citizen soldiers fully equal to the troops of any possible invader. This is a bold assertion, we are aware. But if a strict system of rejection were to eliminate from the ranks all, whether officers or men, whom indolence, indifference, or physical incapacity render unfit to bear arms, leaving only men of the same stamp as those who now, whether at schools of instruction, brigade camps, Easter manœuvres and the meetings of tactical societies, seize every opportunity to increase their knowledge, we might endure without anxiety even the absence of a large part of the regular army beyond the seas. The zest with which good volunteer officers undertake their duties is in itself sufficient to ensure the rapid mastery of these duties. With work which is half a pastime, wherein they find relief from the routine of their ordinary avocations, monotony has no

place. The very freshness of their obligations is attractive of zeal and industry. Nor are they burdened with the thousand details of interior economy which occupy so largely the time and energy of the professional soldier. They can give almost every hour which they devote to their military duties to preparing themselves for the business of a campaign. They can bestow their whole attention on what is assuredly the most interesting, as it is the most important, part of the profession of arms, the leading of troops on the field of battle. The Volunteer force, as at present constituted, is an excellent school of physical training. But this is scarcely the purpose for which it is maintained. Give it capable officers, trained company leaders and an educated staff, raise the standard of efficiency, exact a physical test, and it will become the strong arm of a free people, a safeguard against invasion, and an efficient substitute for conscription.

ART. VI.—1. *Reports of Her Majesty's High Commissioners for the Years 1878–1889.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1880–1890.

2. *Correspondence and Papers relating to the Administrations, Affairs, and Finances of Cyprus, 1878–1890.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

3. *Cyprus.* By R. HAMILTON LANG. London: 1878.

4. *Cyprus, as I saw it in 1879.* By Sir SAMUEL WHITE BAKER, F.R.S. London: 1879.

WITHIN a few weeks after the publication to an astonished Europe of that Anglo-Turkish Convention which we considered, and still consider, to have been unfortunate both in its policy and in its language, we adverted in this Journal to the very doubtful advantages, whether to England or to Europe, or even to the Ottoman Empire, that might be expected to follow from that singular agreement. But as far as the occupation of Cyprus was concerned, we thought, as we still think, that nothing remained but to make the best of it, and we hoped that this best would have been made. Our expectations even to this modest extent have, however, been signally disappointed. Fearful to pay, and yet ashamed to fly, successive British Administrations have done but little either for the Cypriotes or for the Turks, or even for the

English; and the history of our twelve years' occupation of the island is a record of wasted opportunities, of disappointed hopes, of loss of prestige, of loss of self-respect, and of loss of that power to do good which is the proudest privilege of a great nation. We went to Cyprus to revolutionise Western Asia, to reform the Ottoman Empire, and to offer an example of good government and liberal administration to the whole of the Levant. Eastern Europe, as well as Western Asia, was to marvel and rejoice at the spectacle of the green pastures and the golden crops, the industrial enterprise and the commercial activity, which were to follow the supplanting of the banner of the Crescent by the standard of St. George in the Island of Richard Cœur de Lion. Imperialism and the regeneration of islands may be a very noble if not always a very prudent policy, and it has many honest admirers; but an enlargement of territory with a curtailment of responsibilities, an increase of acreage with a restriction of cultivation, an assumption of protectorates and a withdrawal of protection, constitute but a cheap and pinch-beck imperialism that does honour neither to suzerain nor to subject, and can be admired by none but the enemies of England.

Of the spirit in which the English Government and the English people accepted the welcome burden of Cyprus in 1878 there can be no doubt whatever. The island, we were told, had been shamefully governed, oppressed, secluded, and starved by the Turks. It was to be handsomely administered, enriched, and thrown open to the world by the English. Harbours were to be built, roads made, trees planted, capital attracted, and 'oppressive taxes remitted.' Cyprus, according to no less a personage than Sir Stafford Northcote, speaking as Chancellor of the Exchequer in August 1878, was to be 'a burden to England.' And it was stated in Parliament, not once, but repeatedly, that our own interests, no less than our duties to the Cypriotes whom we had bound ourselves to benefit, and to the Turks whom we had bound ourselves to reform, made it not only necessary, but even agreeable, that we should bear the burden cheerfully, loyally, and fruitfully. 'The developement of the country which has been confided to our care,' said the 'Times,'* was 'not merely a task for the Government, but for the people; and Englishmen will not prove inadequate to it.' . . . 'Dover must wait for her port till Famagusta'

* July 22, 1878, p. 9.

'has hers!' *Prave 'ords* indeed! But they represented the ideal of 1878. It is pitiable to turn to the reality of 1890, when Lord Knutsford, 'desiring to place the High Commissioner in possession of the views of Her Majesty's Government on the various questions raised by the memorial of 'the Christian inhabitants of Cyprus and by the Cypriote 'deputation that visited England in 1889,' sums up a very long correspondence as follows: *—

'The principal demands of the Memorial and of the Deputation are based upon a *deterioration in the economical condition* of Cyprus which is supposed to have taken place since the British occupation. In the opinion of the Deputation that condition is *appreciably worse than under the Turkish administration*, and is likely to end in the final ruin of the community, owing to the decrease of its products, the pressure of taxation, and the drain on metallic currency; and they have adduced many facts and arguments which they regard as supporting their contention. You, on the other hand, have controverted these facts and arguments in many particulars, and disputed the inferences drawn from them, contending, as I understand, that the condition of the island is on the whole better than it was formerly, and that *there is no evidence of permanent retrogression*.'

This is certainly faint praise! Condemnation could scarcely be so severe. But the roads, the harbours, the barracks, the irrigation works, the improved husbandry, the foreign capital, the enriched Cypriotes—where are they? They are not even in the Blue Books. They certainly have no existence in fact.

After twelve years of English administration, Nicosia, the capital city, and Limassol, the principal seaport and the only permanent station for British troops, are still unconnected by a road. The total distance between the two towns is fifty-nine English miles. The Government engineer of Cyprus has recently stated officially that 'only 'sixteen miles' of this road 'now remain to be *formed*,' and he somewhat plaintively adds that for about 6,000*l.* 'the 'main lines of communication connecting Nicosia with each 'of the district towns and the district towns with each 'other might be completed.' Six thousand pounds is a sum that might be considered by some people as not entirely beyond the resources of the British Empire; and had it been economically divided into twelve equal parts, and an extra expenditure of 500*l.* a year incurred in each of the twelve years of the British occupation, the Cyprus district towns

* Correspondence, &c., March 22, 1890.

might apparently now be approachable by road without any serious disorganisation of the finances.

When this is the condition of the internal communications in the country, it could hardly be expected that the ocean highways, or the maintenance of relations, commercial and otherwise, between the island and the rest of the world should be much considered or cultivated. Immediately after the occupation, in the golden age of 1878 a service of British steamers was established for the conveyance of the mails weekly between Alexandria and the southern ports of Cyprus. The contract expired in 1885. It would have cost a few hundred pounds a year to renew it. It was not renewed. The service was discontinued; the regular despatch and receipt of mails ceased; the letters from Europe were left to arrive at uncertain intervals of about a fortnight in French and Austrian coasting steamers or private yachts; and the 'return of post' from London to Nicosia and back was officially estimated by the island postmaster at forty-two days; passengers and goods came and went as best they could by slow and devious routes. With no direct communication either with England, or even with Egypt, it is not surprising that commerce languished, and that what trade there was tended to 'follow the flag' of other nations, and was lost to the British Empire. The Chief Collector of Customs accordingly had to inform us in 1889 that 'a marked feature in the import trade has been the decline in the value of imports from Great Britain since the discontinuance of the weekly mail service from Alexandria.' 'The trade with the United Kingdom, which had risen to 31·2 per cent. of the whole trade of the island in 1884, fell to 30·9 per cent. in 1885, to 28·8 per cent. in 1886, and to 21·9 per cent. in 1888—or a fall of nearly one-third of its volume in the three years (1885–8).' 'The incidence of harbour dues,' we are told in another place, 'discourages steamers from touching at Cyprus ports;' and yet, as regards the construction of a commercial harbour, we have done absolutely nothing.

Lord Brassey, who is probably as fair and as competent a witness as could be found, visited the island in 1878, and wrote from his yacht 'Sunbeam': 'With little expenditure Famagusta might be supplied with facilities for coaling a fleet at least equal to those which exist at Gibraltar.' The harbour which was to have precedence of Dover was surveyed by Staff-Commander Millard in the same year, and elaborate plans and estimates for its restoration were prepared by that officer in 1879. In January 1880, again, an expert engineer,

Mr. Ormiston made a new survey, and reported most highly not only on the great capabilities of the harbour, but as to the ease with which it could be restored, supporting his recommendations by new maps, plans, and estimates for three alternative schemes. And lastly, Mr. Samuel Brown, who had been appointed Government engineer in Cyprus, principally on account of his great special experience in the construction of the new harbour at Alexandria, made a third report, favourably comparing the capabilities of Famagusta with those of Alexandria in many important particulars. Mr. Brown made new maps and new plans, and (November 30, 1881) proposed three schemes involving, respectively, a small, a moderate, and a considerable outlay upon the harbour. For 49,000*l.* the Government engineer would have constructed an inner basin of nine acres in extent, with a minimum depth at the entrance of twenty-six feet of water, and a good commercial harbour with the surroundings and approaches by sea and land restored and repaired. For 138,000*l.*, larger and more important restorations could have been effected, while for 340,000*l.* Mr. Brown would have completed an inner and an outer basin of great extent, a mole, and quays capable of berthing twelve ships, each 400 feet long, with buildings appropriate to a first-rate naval and commercial harbour. Mr. Brown's plans and estimates were published in a Blue Book, were compared no doubt with those of Commander Millard and Mr. Ormiston, and the whole collection was then cast into the official wastepaper basket in Downing Street.

Another matter referred to by Lord Brassey in 1878 was the repair and construction of irrigation works throughout the country, a subject upon which Sir Samuel Baker, writing just a year later, dwells with even greater insistence and in much fuller detail. Sir Samuel was of opinion 'that the 'antient prosperity of Cyprus must have been due to artificial irrigation, and that it was incumbent on the Government *as an act of self-preservation* to take such steps of precaution as would render certain the supply of water, which was all that was required to ensure the average produce of the soil and thereby to sustain the revenue.' Yet nothing whatever has been done. Nor has the famine of 1887 brought with it any lessons, nor indeed any fruitful regrets, nor led our Government to do anything more statesmanlike or more scientific than to find fault with the uncertainty of the seasons, the poverty of the Cypriotes, and the general perverseness of land which refuses to grow crops

without water. How accurately Sir Samuel foresaw the possibilities of the future may be judged from what took place in 1887; and here we will present the reality in the High Commissioner's own apologetic words:—

'It was a year of misfortune and depression. A long and persistent drought was followed by a bad harvest throughout the island, and in some parts by a more or less complete failure of the harvest. The Government was obliged at an early date to go to the assistance of the people of the Carpas, who, by the failure of their crops, were placed in a state of great distress and want.

'The people were forced to part with nearly all their stock and with property of different kinds at prices which, in consequence of the bad times, were ruinously low.

'In several other parts of the island, though there was no such extremity of distress as in the Carpas, numbers of animals died for want of grass and food, and the people were obliged to sell, at what prices they could get, oxen, camels, horses, mules, and donkeys, a great number of which were exported from the island, to the future as well as the immediate loss of the island.'

The entire Report indeed is a dreary tale of poverty, of failure, and of decay.

Nor is the language of the Report published somewhat late in 1890 any more encouraging:—

'The results of the year now under review, though they lightened to some extent the weight of the prevailing depression, were not such as to remove the effects of the failure of the preceding year.

'Trade was dull. There was a general complaint of the want of money, the circumstances of the people at large were everywhere straitened, and there was a large amount of indebtedness. Forced sales of immovable property for payment of debt, which had been prevalent in 1887 in consequence of the refusal of merchants and moneylenders to extend the credit of their clients, continued, and owing to the want of money and the indisposition or inability of the people to buy land, the value of the property sold in this way was injuriously affected, the prices obtained being often far below the proper value. Numbers of people, in order to get through the winter, were obliged to part with a great portion of their movable property, whilst others were only too glad to be able to pledge their crops of the next harvest for an advance from merchants or moneylenders.

'The value of the imports was lower than it had been in any year since 1878, the return showing a decrease in quantity and value, says the Chief Collector of Customs, of almost every article of importation. The value of the exports also was lower than it had been in any year since 1880, with the exception of the year of failure 1887-8.'

But why should these things be? Why is the British occupation, to say the least, a failure? The reasons are neither

far to seek nor hard to understand, and they are well worthy of consideration.

In an unhappy moment, some two years after we landed at Larnaca, the administration of Cyprus was transferred from the Department of Foreign Affairs to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, although the full measure of the evil was not immediately felt. Cyprus, unfortunately, is not a colony, and a good many of the mistakes that have been committed during the last ten years may be traced to the confusion of thought engendered by the administration of an island acquired for very special purposes, and occupied under very exceptional conditions, according to the strictest traditions of Downing Street. For the Colonial Office is a department of Government little qualified by either tradition or temper to deal at once sympathetically and effectually with a situation so anomalous and so absolutely non-colonial as that in which Cyprus has been placed by our conventions and conversions.

* In an article in this Journal,* to which we have already taken occasion to refer, we expressed ourselves unwilling to accept the ordinary explanation of the fact that so many of the finest islands in the Mediterranean, renowned in antiquity for fertility, civilisation, population, and wealth, should have sunk in modern times into sterility, malaria, barbarism, and brigandage. The ordinary explanation is that their deplorable condition is merely the result of bad government. But the changes that have taken place in the material conditions of these countries appeared to us to be quite as important a factor in their decay as the vices of political government, and, above all, and most especially as regards Cyprus, we placed 'the destruction of the natural growth of wood and forest,' and said plainly that 'our first care should be to set about the work' of the re-afforesting of the island. And our views have received a striking justification in the history of the last twelve years. Among the bad governments of the world Turkey is proverbially considered to stand very low. Among the good governments of the world England deservedly takes a very high, if not the highest, place. And yet, twelve years after the substitution of the very good for the very bad, we find Cyprus scarcely more prosperous than she was before the change. And the reason of this most disappointing result is mainly that the warnings to which we gave expression were completely disregarded,

* 'Edinburgh Review,' ccciv. p. 588.

and cheap and commonplace theories have been suffered to prevail. Material considerations have been ignored. The island remains treeless, waterless, harbourless. The face of the country is unchanged. We have given Cyprus a just government, but we have given it nothing else; and the land is as unfruitful, the population is as poor, and the country is as ill developed as it was under the Turk. Indeed, while Larnaca, under the best government in the world, is a decaying city, Beyrout, not sixty miles across the sea, and still under the rule of the unspeakable Turk, is progressing and flourishing and advancing in prosperity. For money has been spent at Beyrout, and Larnaca has enjoyed nothing but government.

Let us turn our eyes for a moment still farther eastward. The successful work of the Forest department in British India is a source at once of pride and of profit to the Supreme Government, and is not the least substantial of the many benefits that British rule has conferred upon the country. But in Cyprus, where for many reasons the re-forestation of the island is relatively more essentially necessary than any forest operations in India, little or nothing has been done. Neither our own good example nor our own financial success has been sufficient to move us to action. The condition of Cyprus, as regards its forests, may be stated in a few words. The Turks cut down, and the English have not planted. In years long gone by the island was covered with woods of valuable timber; but even before the Turkish occupation the forests had lost much of their former glory. Tree planting is not an Oriental virtue. It was feudal aristocracy alone that, in Western Europe, preserved the woods from the ravages of woodmen and waste, of wandering shepherds and fitful cultivation. It was feudal aristocracy alone that not only preserved and cared for existing woods, but planted trees in every direction, with a view to sport, to profit, and to personal dignity. A manor house would be but a grange without its surrounding woods; a park would be but a field without its stately trees; and many a field in England possesses finer timber than is to be found in the entire plain country of Cyprus. But the Western Asiatic planted nothing, nor the Persian, nor the Syrian, least of all the Ottoman Turk. So, at a time when Western kings were establishing royal forests, and earls and barons were planting woods and copses near their feudal castles, Eastern sovereigns and Eastern subjects were felling and burning and wasting the vast forests with which boun-

teous Oriental nature had covered their country. And no one, from the Commander of the Faithful downwards, ever dreamed of moderating this destruction, still less of providing for the wants of future generations. So it is not surprising that timber is rare in the East. Cyprus, it is true, was only under Turkish rule for some three hundred years, and its fertile mountains are not yet actually denuded of the magnificent timber with which they were once covered. But nothing has been accomplished, in the way of planting, to repair the waste and destruction of ancient and of modern times.

Immediately after the British occupation, indeed, Sir Garnet Wolseley, seeing clearly the importance of the subject, prevailed upon the English Government to obtain the services of an able and experienced superintendent, an expert in forestry, who was permitted by the French Government to enter our service. A good deal was attempted and more was proposed by M. Madon; but finding himself deprived of the means of carrying out even necessary operations, and greatly discouraged by the attitude of both the Imperial and the local governments, he returned to France, leaving behind him, for the benefit of his successors, a vigorous and plainly worded report upon the re-afforesting of Cyprus and the work of his department generally. 'Without a complete change of policy, as regards the Cyprus forests,' said M. Madon, in a happy epigram, 'the Mediterranean will soon count one island less and one rock more.' The only change of policy since M. Madon's departure has been a steady *decrease* in the expenditure on the forests from 1881, when 7,270*l.* was allocated by the island government, down to 1888, when the entire amount proposed to be spent upon delimitation and tree planting—290*l.*—was struck out of the Estimates by order of the Treasury in London.*

In 1884 the High Commissioner, unable apparently either to plant new woods or to check the destruction of the old, prepared an admirable minute on the subject, which set forth in plain language the gravity of the situation. M. Madon's report has never been published, but Sir Robert Biddulph's minute was printed in the Cyprus 'Blue Book' of 1886 as an 'Annex to the High Commissioner's Report for 1884,'† and it is in itself a tremendous indictment against the administration of Cyprus.

'It is not necessary,' says the High Commissioner, 'to state at any length the injury, that has been inflicted on Cyprus by the indiscrimi-

* Correspondence, &c., 1888, p. 105.

† Cyprus Report, 1886, pp. 7 and 12-14.

nate destruction of forests, a destruction which threatens to reduce the mountains to barren rocks, thereby destroying the sources of fertility of the plains and valleys. The damage done to the forests by reckless and wasteful felling and tapping of trees is not, however, the only source of destruction which has been apparent, even within the memory of living inhabitants. A far more serious injury has been inflicted by the indiscriminate pasturage of goats within the forests. The animals devour the young seedlings, and after a lapse of some years their ravages suddenly became apparent by the total disappearance of the forests.'

This took place, it seems, in St. Helena between 1710 and 1724, when the forests disappeared almost suddenly, and the climatic disturbance caused to the island was very great and mischievous. Finally, says Sir Robert Biddulph, the goats in St. Helena were destroyed, 'but too late, as is always the case.' That the goats should be destroyed, or even discouraged, in Cyprus, while there was yet time, does not seem to have occurred to the Government, notwithstanding that, as long ago as December 1880, M. Madon had reported that 'unless goats be discouraged by taxation, tree planting will be perfectly useless.' But although the Cyprus goats were left to roam over the Cyprus hills undisturbed by the Cyprus Government, the High Commissioner wound up his lengthy minute with an appeal to their owners, not one of whom could read or write, 'to aid the Government in preserving the forests for the use of the inhabitants and of their children who will come after them.' But neither the goat-herds nor the goats were moved by these admonitions, nor were the High Commissioner's very cogent arguments and his very just conclusions followed by any action, still less by any expenditure, on the part of the Government. It is not, alas! by Minutes that barren islands are re-afforested.

One of the most remarkable, and certainly one of the most discouraging, results of British government in Cyprus is the great increase in crime, more especially of serious crime, since the occupation. When we landed in the island, in 1878, the Cypriotes were considered to be a particularly amenable, quiet, and well-behaved people; and during the early days of our occupation the courts of law were only called upon to deal with a moderate amount of crime, and with nothing of a very serious character. But how far this happy state of things has changed of late years may be best shown in the words of the acting Chief Justice of Cyprus in his report for 1889:—

'The most lamentable state of circumstances presents itself. The number of persons committed for trial has risen from 556 last year to

875 this. As the Chief Justice pointed out in his report last year, that 556 represented an increase over the number in the preceding year of 78 per cent., but this year's figures indicate an increase of 46 per cent. over those of last year, and about 180 per cent. over those of 1885-6. The state of things thus disclosed is little short of appalling, and is deserving of the most serious attention. In every class of offence, with the solitary exception of robbery with violence, there has been a decided increase. The number of homicides, including those classed as murder and manslaughter, has risen from 20 to 31, attempts to murder from 6 to 31, the number of charges of rape has almost doubled, the number of unnatural offences is six times as great, and the cases of animal stealing are considerably more than twice the number of the preceding year. That serious crime should prevail to the extent indicated by these returns, in an island with a purely agricultural population, is a very remarkable circumstance.*

The poverty of the islanders, no doubt, may count for something; and the poverty of the administration which has cut down the number of the police so low that a *saptieh* is rarely seen out of one of the six district towns, may also be to blame. The want of gaol accommodation is disastrous, and it is impossible to provide hard labour, or, indeed, labour of any kind, for more than a small portion of the convicts, who are confined and guarded as well as may be in old Turkish *khans* patched and barred for the occasion. The central prison at Nicosia is still an old caravanserai, which was condemned in no measured language in 1879 as a 'temporary prison, unfit even to be repaired.'

The villagers in the Limassol district have their own remedies to suggest for what is acknowledged on all hands to be a discreditable state of affairs. According to Mr. Michell, the Commissioner,

'these remedies are twofold, and they never vary: they desire the respected Government to pounce down upon and imprison the bad characters of the village, of which they generally have six or seven, and of which they (i.e. the particular complainants) can give a list certified and sealed by themselves and their mukhtar. As to the other remedy (surprising, perhaps, but true), they desire to see revived the Turkish practice according to which the officer or non-commissioned officer in charge of a regular patrol, on entering the village took note of recent offences, and then and there made summary example by soundly thrashing the offenders. Many mukhtars and many townspeople have expressed their opinion that a return to this wholesome practice would be the most speedy and the most effectual means of reducing thefts and other crimes.'

‘Unfortunately,’ as Mr. Michell says of these remedies, ‘the application is not for these times or places.’ But our own system of criminal procedure has not at least been so successful as to induce the Cypriotes to alter their opinion. And this is all the more to be deplored, inasmuch as one of the greatest and most practical boons that we have conferred upon the island is an excellent English judiciary and a judicial system, combining in general many of the best features of both Ottoman and English law, and which, at least as far as the civil courts are concerned, has been crowned with the most complete success, and has commanded and retained the respect and admiration of all classes, creeds, and interests in Cyprus. No greater or more striking change, indeed, has taken place in the administration of the island since Turkish times than is to be found in the courts of justice; and the change is one of which every Englishman may be proud—for which every Cypriote is, as he ought to be, grateful. But the criminal procedure adopted by the new courts, and the vigorous impartiality which is necessarily found in English criminal judges, is scarcely appreciated by the population; and it is so much in advance of the general condition of the country as to be out of proportion, if not out of place, in Cyprus.

Perhaps the adoption of some modification of the Anglo-Indian practice of calling upon *Budmashes*, or known bad characters in certain villages, to give security for good behaviour, with the alternative of being lodged in the district gaol, might be attended with good results in Cyprus. The system, albeit opposed to the traditions of Westminster Hall or the procedure of Her Majesty’s judges of assize in England, has worked well and successfully under British rule to the east of Bombay.

Of the various works on Cyprus that were published about the time of the British occupation, that by Mr. Hamilton Lang is undoubtedly the most valuable. Mr. Lang had acted as manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Larnaca and as British Vice-Consul and Consul from 1861 to 1878, and was intimately and practically acquainted with the country. His post was necessarily abolished by the arrival of the English in Cyprus; and we believe that, on leaving the island, he obtained congenial and lucrative employment in Egypt. It would have been better if his services could have been retained in Cyprus. His practical experience as a farmer, his knowledge as a consul, and his financial skill as a banker, would have been of more benefit to the new

administration than a legion of the most brilliant and devoted artillery officers that ever laid a gun. Mr. Lang, as a writer, can lay no claim to the dramatic skill of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, or the varied experiences of Sir Samuel Baker, to the picturesque gossip of Mrs. Stevenson, or the poetic rhapsody of Mr. Mallock; but he knew more about Cyprus in 1878 than any living Englishman, and he said what he had to say modestly, clearly, and well.

Of manufacturing industries, Cyprus neither possesses nor possessed, within Mr. Lang's experience, a single one. The population is a population of rustics, a commonwealth of cultivators. The country has no natural pastures worthy of the name, and is thus ill adapted for the raising of cattle. Nor has the smallest attention been paid for generations to the breeding of stock of any kind; and England, with all her pedigree beasts, has not sent a bull or a ram to improve the breeds in the island. When we arrived in Cyprus in 1878, beef, as an article of food, was practically unknown. But of late years it is regularly sold in the market, and eaten, not only by the English, but by the Cypriotes. Even in Cyprus a fair supply follows a fair demand. Yet still, in 1890, all the beef provided by the British commissariat for the use of the troops is imported from Odessa. It is a pity that the Cypriotes should not be encouraged by the War Office authorities to rear fat cattle; and it is certainly strange, considering the avowed objects of the treaty under which Cyprus is occupied, that our English soldiers should depend for their rations upon Russia.

The principal crop of the island, and for many years the chief article of export, was corn; and Cyprus has suffered more severely, perhaps, than any other country from the great fall in the price of cereals during the last few years. Thus, partly owing to reduced prices and partly to reduced cultivation, the value of the corn exported has fallen from 80,000*l.* in 1881, and 74,000*l.* in 1882, to 27,000*l.* in 1889. Wheat is still of course largely cultivated for home consumption, as well as barley, which, in the absence of either oats or hay, forms an important article of food, both in the blade and in the ear, for horses and cattle. But caroubs, or locust beans, constitute at the present day the most important article of export, the amount having increased from a value of 85,000*l.* in 1879 to 103,000*l.* in 1886.* Wine

* Unfortunately this fell in 1888 to 55,000*l.*, and in 1889 to 57,000*l.*

comes next; and here, too, "an increase, all the more gratifying inasmuch as it is the direct result of fiscal reform, is to be noticed, the value of the amount exported in 1887 being no less than 80,000*l.*, as against 32,000*l.* in 1879, and 46,000*l.* in 1880.* The cultivation of tobacco, unfortunately, is still burdened with vexatious fiscal restrictions, and the amount produced is still trifling, less than 2,000 lbs. in the course of a year. The production of silk, which some twenty years ago was one of the most important in the island, and amounted to some seventy thousand pounds of reeled silk in each year, had fallen soon after the British occupation to practically nothing. Thanks to the unaided—nay, discouraged—exertions of a young English Government commissioner, Mr. Thompson, of Papho (whose modest and exceedingly interesting report is well worthy of study by all who admire individual energy, as well as those who take an interest in the cultivation of silk), the industry seems to be reviving.

But the field of agricultural enterprise is by no means restricted. It is, on the contrary, immense. Cotton might easily be made an important crop, as it is in Egypt, and the cultivation has increased within the last few years. The native staple, unfortunately, is of inferior quality and value, and although American seed imported and sown in the country has produced very good results, it appears that the cotton falls out of the pods at maturity more easily in the case of the American plant than in that of the cotton grown from native seed; and as this peculiarity necessitates daily and somewhat careful picking, and as moreover it is more difficult to assess the tithe on the American cotton, the old-fashioned variety is naturally preferred. But there is no doubt that with intelligent cultivation, and especially with the adoption of irrigation, the cotton crop may be made one of great value to the country. At present the amount exported is quite insignificant, or significant only of what may be done in the future.

It was towards the close of the year 1881 that the people of Cyprus became fully aware that they were dissatisfied with English rule; and yet they had seen us at our best. From the date of Lord Kimberley's minute of July 18, 1881, practically announcing the complete abandonment of the policy of what may be called recognition of responsibility—

* The value of the wine exported fell in 1888 to 43,000*l.*, and in 1889 to 46,000*l.*

a policy which had indeed been all too fitfully carried out, even up to that time—there was little to be hoped for from the British Government in the way of any national assistance to the Cypriotes in the developement or regeneration of the island. And the Cypriotes seem to have felt, if they did not completely realise, the hopelessness of their position. Dissatisfied with the lamentable difference which already existed between the promises and performances of their new masters, and the still greater difference between their own exaggerated expectations and the realities of British rule, the intelligent Cypriotes were not likely to have derived much comfort from the perusal of Lord Kimberley's official announcement of future policy. A Great National Petition was accordingly prepared, which was signed by the archbishop and bishops and all the leading Christian merchants in the island, calling attention to certain administrative shortcomings in the past and setting forward their wishes and hopes for the future at considerable length. In spite of some defects of form, of the betrayal of certain quite superfluous Hellenic aspirations, and of the expression of many noble sentiments not always germane to the point at issue, this document was a reasonable and a sensible production, and deserved far more attention at the hands of the home Government than it apparently received. The Cypriotes asked for material help in the establishment of (1) schools of agriculture and the introduction into the island of new seeds, plants, stock, and agricultural machinery; (2) an agricultural bank; (3) irrigation works; (4) the replanting of trees in the forests; (5) the encouragement of the growth of tobacco by the removal of certain fiscal restrictions of an admittedly oppressive character; and (6) the abolition of the tithe.

The petition was forwarded to Government in January 1882; yet up to January 1891 no schools of agriculture have been established, nor has a seed or a plant been introduced, not a bull nor a ram nor a stallion, not a model oil press nor a model silk winder; not a well has been sunk nor a dam constructed. Scarce a tree has been planted, scarce a road metalled. Tobacco is still discouraged. Produce is still subject to tithe, and no bank, agricultural or otherwise, has been established or encouraged by Government. On the contrary, the Anglo-Egyptian Bank has closed its branch establishments in the island. Yet the Great National Petition of 1881 did not remain without response from Downing Street. Various boons had been

asked, a boon should be accorded: and the boon was—a Constitution.

It is no doubt a matter of honest belief with many respectable politicians that the endowment of any and every country with a parliament, modelled as closely as may be upon the British House of Commons, is a necessary condition to political, moral, and material welfare. British India has so far happily escaped this rage for constitution making, and we have not heard that it has as yet been proposed to grant parliamentary government to Matabeleland or to the Protectorate of the Niger. In Gibraltar, too, there is no parliament of any kind, our interests on the Rock are manifestly too serious for such fancies; and although in the Fiji Islands there is a legislative assembly, there are no electors or elected, for the so-called non-official members, as well as the officials, are nominated by the governor direct, without the intervention of a single enfranchised Fijian.

But in Cyprus it was presumed in 1881 that the experiment might be safely made of granting to the people parliamentary institutions. It would probably not even then have been thought of had it not been that we did not want to give them anything else, and that the experiment at all events would cost us nothing. On the contrary, it was very foolishly supposed that by giving the people of Cyprus a constitution we should be able to relieve ourselves from any further responsibility in respect of the island, with which we had decided that we would in the future have as little to do as possible. When a British colony is endowed with representative institutions, it manages its own affairs, pays its own bills, and gives no trouble in Downing Street. Cyprus should become a second New Zealand. But Cyprus is not and, as we have already pointed out, never can be, a British colony, and the mere gift of a toy parliament will not enable it to pay our bills as well as its own. But of this more hereafter. The Cyprus constitution was a sham gift. The giver gave nothing. The recipient received that which he did not want, and was unable to put to any good use. And the gift has had the fate of all shams. It has made the giver contemptible and the receiver ungrateful. Cyprus in 1881 had asked for bread, and we gave her, in response to her petition, not a stone—nothing so substantial—but a very feather, a plume of finery to stick into her poor and ragged turban. The Cypriote is as hungry, nay, hungrier, than ever for the bread that might satisfy him; and when he looks at the valueless and inappropriate ornament

that flutters uselessly over his head, he feels not only hungry but ridiculous.

On March 10, 1882, Lord Kimberley made his official announcement that a constitution would be granted to Cyprus; and he indicated the character of the legislative assembly to which the fortunes of the island were to be entrusted. The announcement was promptly followed by despairing and respectfully indignant petitions from the Moslems in Cyprus, and vigorous protests by the Porte and the Turkish ambassador in London, against the proposed treatment of the Ottoman population in the legislative assembly. But all to no purpose. The Order in Council was promulgated on November 30, 1882, and the first elections were fixed for the following spring. The assembly was to consist of nineteen members, the High Commissioner as speaker or president, six official or 'non-elective' members, government office holders in the island, and twelve elected members, 'three to be elected by the Mohammedan' and nine by the "non-Mohammedan" voters in three 'electoral divisions in Cyprus.'

This religious or racial distinction, quite as much as the proportion distinguished, was at first felt to be deeply humiliating by all educated Osmanlis, and their dissatisfaction would have been both more acute and more enduring, had it not soon been apparent that no one in the island, Mohammedan or 'non-Mohammedan,' took the least interest in the new constitution: no one, that is to say, except a very few of those who in every country prefer talk to work and the manufacture of grievances to the growing of blades of grass, and who imagine that out of any and every change they may secure for themselves an increase of the piastres, pice, or pence, in which they are usually deficient. "Ολοι κλέφτες! * an old Cypriote peasant said when he heard the names of the candidates for whom he might vote at the first election, so he turned on his heel and went back to his vineyard without having 'exercised the franchise.'

All Cypriotes of full age, who are assessed for direct taxation (*verghi*), and whose taxes are not in arrear, are entitled to a vote; but, in spite of all the efforts of the candidates for parliamentary honours, who naturally wish to magnify their own importance, not more than 10 per cent. of the registered voters can be induced to come up to the polling booths. Nine 'non-Mohammedans,' seven English,

* All thieves.

and three Turks, seems rather an arbitrary division of the ideal 'House'; but it was supposed that the elected Moslems would vote with the English and official members, so that, even if the Greek Cypriotes, in whose favour this strange assembly had been created, were to vote 'solid' against the Government, a working majority of *one* could be obtained by the casting vote of the High Commissioner!

The forecast as regards the Greek members was accurate enough. After the first elections they at once formed themselves into a compact and pertinacious opposition, and so continue to this day. But the Turks, disgusted with what they conceived to be our breach of faith in subordinating them in their own island so abjectly to their former subjects, joined their forces with those of the Greeks, and they have thus placed the administration in the ridiculous position of a government with six votes in the House of Assembly carrying on, or pretending to carry on, the business of the country in the face of a regular opposition of twelve!

But the most important factor in the fortunes of Cyprus is that which is incorrectly and delusively called the Turkish Tribute. This unhappy financial question, thorny as it was from the moment of the signature of the final Convention in 1878, and unsatisfactory from almost every point of view, as we pointed out in this Journal over twelve years ago, has been rendered more thorny and more complicated than could have been anticipated by the most unfavourable critic, by the perverse and procrastinating policy of those who were to receive the annuity, and the ignoble conduct of those who were to pay it. And the matter has come to be regarded, like the Eastern question, as one which every well-educated Englishman is supposed not to be able to understand. Undisciplined persons are sometimes found to make inquiries. But the official figures or explanations that are supplied from time to time, either in Parliamentary Blue Books or in the form of answers to questions in the House of Commons, are invariably of the kind calculated to give the smallest possible amount of information and to cast the smallest amount of light upon the subject, consistent with the avoidance of positive falsehood. For even the depraved political conscience of an under secretary cannot fail to perceive that the position is one discreditable to this country. And it is judged, and rightly judged, that very few people will have the patience, even if they have the opportunity, to unravel a complicated financial question for the sake of a few peaceable and powerless

Ottoman islanders off the coast of Asia Minor. So the least that can be said, above all the least that can be made known, the better. But the tangled skein is worth unravelling; and the question, when fairly presented, is not by any means as hard to be understood as official explanations may suggest.

By the 'Convention of Defensive Alliance between Great Britain and Turkey,' commonly known as the Anglo-Turkish Convention, which was signed on June 4, 1878, it was agreed that 'in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement [i.e. to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending his territories by force of arms] His Imperial Majesty consents that Cyprus 'is to be occupied and administered by England.' The entire treaty or convention consists of but one article of two paragraphs. Not a word was said about the revenues of Cyprus or of any payment to the Porte. But by the Annex, which was 'done at Constantinople' some three weeks later, on July 1, 1878, it was further provided (Article III.) that 'England will pay to the Porte whatever 'is the present excess of revenue over expenditure in the 'island; this excess to be calculated upon and determined 'by the average of the last five years, stated to be 22,936 'purses, to be duly verified hereafter . . .' The due verification of this amount led naturally to endless negotiation and interminable trouble. Colonel Biddulph, a staff officer of distinction, afterwards High Commissioner of Cyprus, was sent from Nicosia to Constantinople to endeavour to arrive at some conclusion. But Colonel Biddulph remained for months on the Bosphorus, and nothing was or could be settled. Turkish accounts, kept partly by island tithe farmers, and partly by island officials at salaries of a few shillings a month, were not likely to be very plain, even to a Turkish accountant at Stamboul. And as Colonel Biddulph could neither speak the Turkish language nor even read the Turkish figures, and as it would have been contrary to all the traditions of Turkish diplomacy to make plain to him even so much of the accounts as might have been intelligible to the Constantinople Treasury clerks, it is not surprising that, after many months of 'verification' and vexation, Colonel Biddulph should have left Constantinople without having verified anything beyond the fact that an English artillery officer is no match for a Turkish *defterdar*.

The negotiations were continued by letter from Cyprus and from London, and when the number of purses or piastres that might be taken to represent the surplus

revenue of Cyprus was approximately agreed upon, a further question arose as to the rate of exchange at which the number of pounds sterling to be paid by England to Turkey under the convention should be calculated. The currency of Cyprus at the time of the occupation consisted of *cáimeh* or inconvertible paper money, *métalliques* or silver coins, and copper piastres. Silver and gold coins were rare, and were not current in the usual acceptation of the term, but were purchaseable by a certain number of paper, nickel, or copper piastres at rates of exchange varying widely from day to day. A pound sterling might cost, say on January 1, 1879, 250 piastres *cáimé*, 120 piastres *métalliques*, or 160 piastres in copper. As a matter of fact, within three months from that date copper had risen to 134, while *cáimé* had fallen in Constantinople to 600, and in Cyprus to 480 to the pound sterling. Assuming, then, that the number of piastres of any kind payable by England to Turkey to have been arrived at, which might be assumed rather 'for the purpose of argument,' how many pounds sterling was the English Chancellor of the Exchequer to be called on to pay to Turkey? Sir Robert Peel's celebrated question, 'What is a pound?' which perplexed the financiers of 1844, was one simple and easy of solution compared with that which was propounded by the Porte in 1879, 'What is a piastre?' And the answer was somewhat roughly given.*

The British negotiators, if they were puzzled, could at least afford to take their time. The Porte was immoveable, and, for once, the Turk suffered directly from his procrastinating and impracticable diplomacy. He refused to accept what we offered in 1879. He refused to accept what we offered in 1880. He refused again in 1881, and once more in 1882. And although we did not, after the fashion of her who offered the Sibylline books to the Roman monarch, propose smaller and smaller sums in each successive year,

* It was most unfortunate that our English administrators did not take advantage of the opportunity to abolish piastres in Cyprus altogether, and endow the island with an English currency of pounds, shillings, and pence, instead of the hybrid and most complicated system that was then introduced of English pounds, English shillings, and non-descript piastres valued at $\frac{1}{180}$ of the pound sterling. Twelve copper pieces to a shilling, whether called pence or piastres, would have been familiar to Englishmen. The old Turkish piastre would have been familiar to the Cypriote. Ten piastres to the shilling would have greatly simplified calculation, and would have confused nobody; but an English copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{333}$ of a penny is absurd.

we adopted a still more heroic treatment; for we informed the Turk in November 1882 that he should have nothing at all, that we had seized the entire amount to his credit in the Cyprus treasury—some 187,000*l.*—and that, having fixed the amount that we considered ourselves theoretically bound to pay him at 92,686*l.* a year, we would order the Government of Cyprus to pay that sum with exemplary punctuality, not into the *Khaziniálieh* at Stamboul, but into the Bank of England in London, for the benefit of the English and French bondholders of the 1855 loan!

This was sharp practice, no doubt, and a course never surely contemplated by English or Ottoman at the time of the Anglo-Turkish Convention; but it was not positively unjust. And a great many things had happened since July 1878, and even since April 1880. For the matter stood thus: the annual interest payable on the Turkish Crimean War Loan of 1855, guaranteed by England and France jointly, amounted in 1881 to nearly 155,000*l.* a year, on account of which 72,000*l.* was annually stopped out of the Egyptian tribute to Turkey and paid into the Bank of England, leaving about 83,000*l.* to be extracted, with more or less difficulty, from Turkey direct by the guaranteeing Powers—in practice, by England. It is not clear how soon after July 1878 it suggested itself to the British Treasury or the British Foreign Office that it would be very convenient if, instead of paying 93,000*l.* a year to Turkey on account of Cyprus, and getting 83,000*l.* back again on account of the English and French bondholders, we could make Cyprus hand over the 93,000*l.* to the Paymaster-General, leaving him to pay the bondholders and account for the odd 10,000*l.* a year to Turkey as and when he might feel disposed. The scheme at all events was fully matured before 1882; and, as by this diversion or conversion of the sum we had covenanted to pay for Cyprus, we relieved the French Treasury as well as our own from any obligation or risk on account of the guarantee of the 1855 loan. The arrangement was no doubt taken in Paris and even in London to be very equitable as well as very convenient. It was not, indeed, so regarded at Stamboul; and although, all things fairly considered, the Turk had no very solid ground of complaint, our conduct, if not chivalrous, was not positively dishonest. But it certainly savoured more of the moneylender than of the political patron. And it did not by any means tend to increase our influence at the Sublime Porte or to add to our prestige in the Levant.

‘The strengthening of the Empire of Turkey, materially and morally,’* the regeneration of Asia Minor, the reform of Asiatic Turkey, the defence of Armenia, the developement of Mesopotamia—all these things were cast aside. The Anglo-Turkish Convention, with its noble possibilities and its vague and dangerous responsibilities, was practically torn up and resolved into a declaration that England would do nothing for Turkey, Christian or Moslem, at Stamboul or at Aleppo, on the Tigris, on the Orontes, or on Lake Van; that we would neither reform the Turk, nor protect the Christian, nor defend the Empire; but that we would keep Cyprus, and pay our bondholders as far as we could out of its revenues. The policy was simple; it was even cynical; and, if it was unworthy of England, it is just possible that Turkey at least is none the worse for our tergiversation.

But the case was far different as regards Cyprus, whose interests were consulted neither in 1878 nor in 1882. If the island was occupied for the benefit of England, and if its possession was supposed to have been of any political, military, or commercial advantage to this country, then, of course, it was and is just and right that England should pay something for the enjoyment of the right of occupation. And this was no doubt the view of those who negotiated the Convention of 1878, and who saw in Cyprus a ‘place of arms, a coign of vantage, and an imperial outpost’ of extraordinary value to England. And had the amount of quit rent been fixed at some certain sum, say 50,000*l.* or even 100,000*l.* a year, or whatever could have been agreed upon, then the British taxpayer would have known the extent of his liabilities, and no one would have thought of suggesting in after years that those liabilities should be evaded or diminished or transferred. But haste was the order of the day in 1878, and the future would seem to have been entirely disregarded in the intoxication of the present.

In the first instance, at all events, we set to work vigorously to make the best of our bargain. Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed High Commissioner. An abundant and capable staff, both civil and military, went out to report, to administer, to develope, to reform. A brilliant Indian financier estimated in September 1878 ‘that the current revenue ‘will not only cover the annual payment to the Porte and ‘the expenses of administration, but also provide for a fair

* Hansard, ccxlii. p. 1113. Sir Stafford Northcote on the Anglo-Turkish Convention, August 2, 1878.

'outlay for roads and sanitary improvements.' * Sir George Kellner's estimates have certainly been falsified by the result. He has himself, no doubt, been at least equally disappointed at the character of our administration of the country.

Sir Thomas Brassey, writing only two months later, took a juster view of the situation. 'It is impossible,' says he, 'that the condition of Cyprus can materially improve so long as it remains subject to an annual tribute to the Ottoman Empire. England should pay the tribute, remit all injurious taxes, and make Cyprus a free port, and the Hong Kong and Singapore of the Eastern Mediterranean.'† But even in July 1879 the English Government, whatever may have been their intentions in July 1878, had considerably cooled in regard to Cyprus. There were larger and more burning questions abroad, and it came gradually to be assumed that, as England would have to pay a tribute to Turkey, Cyprus must pay a tribute to England. Which of these two payments is meant by those who now talk glibly of the '*Turkish tribute*' it would frequently be interesting to learn. But the burden has been laid upon Cyprus, a legacy, no doubt, of Turkish times; and by whatever name the impost is known, it is, as Lord Brassey foresaw and foretold, a burden too heavy to be borne. By the beginning of 1880 the officials in the island realised this clearly enough, if they had not done so earlier, and Sir Robert Biddulph, the High Commissioner, writing in June 1880, allowed himself to 'trust that some measure may be devised for lightening the burden that weighs upon the Revenue of Cyprus.' But the High Commissioner trusted in vain, and his discreetly worded suggestion that England should discharge her own treaty obligations met with no response from Downing Street.

The average revenue of Cyprus during the last five years has been about 170,000*l.* It has fallen as low (1888) as 145,000*l.*‡ It has never exceeded, and under present circumstances is not likely to exceed, 195,000*l.* It needs no argument to show that an annual payment of nearly 93,000*l.* as tribute to Turkey is an amount entirely incommensurate with the resources of the island. And, as a matter of fact, in no one year since the occupation of Cyprus have the island

* Correspondence, &c., Cyprus, 1879, p. 59.

† Times, December 26, 1878, p. 4.

‡ The revenue for 1890 was 149,000*l.* The amount for 1891 is officially estimated at 184,000*l.*, and the expenditure in the island at 109,350*l.*

revenues sufficed to pay the tribute in full. The payment has only been made possible by the somewhat cumbrous and entirely misleading expedient of what is called the 'Grant in Aid.' Instead of paying Turkey as we contracted, whether it be in cash or in coupons, and leaving Cyprus to make the best of her own resources (in which case, as will be seen from the following table, the island budget would show a considerable annual surplus), we officially affect to consider that Cyprus can, and does, pay the amount of our liability to Turkey; and we make an annual display of fictitious generosity in voting a small sum in each successive session of Parliament 'in aid' of the so-called deficiency in the island revenues. The actual revenue and expenditure of Cyprus for the last ten years is officially returned as follows:

Revenue		Expenditure	Real Surplus
£		£	£
1879	140,000	48,000	92,000
1880	149,000	117,000	32,000
1881	156,000	119,000	37,000
1882	164,000	157,000	7,000
1883	189,000	120,000	69,000
1884	194,000	111,000	83,000
1885	172,000	112,000	60,000
1886	172,000	111,000	61,000
1887	187,000	110,000	77,000
1888	145,000	113,000	32,000
1889	149,000	110,000	39,000

Were it not for a somewhat decreasing revenue—not, all things considered, to be marvelled at—this state of things would be satisfactory enough to a Cypriote chancellor of the exchequer; but it ceases to be so when the whole of his surplus, and generally something more, 'on account,' is year by year swept away and carried off to London by the bigger man at the British Treasury. It would, perhaps, be hard for the wit of man to devise a financial system more certain to ruin any country, or better calculated to dishearten both tax payers and tax collectors, the governors and the governed, or to undo as much as possible the good results that necessarily follow an honest, a zealous, and a capable administration. For the more successfully the finances of Cyprus are administered, and the more prosperous the country may be in any one year, the worse is its

real position. For, while the amount spent in the country is actually a decreasing quantity as expenditure is cut down, the amount sent out of and lost to the country is increased with the surplus of revenue over expenditure, so that the ideal budget of Cyprus in the eyes of an honest and patriotic Cypriote, as things are now arranged for him, would be one in which taxation and expenditure were so nicely balanced as to show a *deficit* of exactly 92,686*l.* a year.

In the ten years 1879–1889, the amount paid by Cyprus as Turkish tribute was 934,187*l.*, while the amount of the ‘Grant in Aid,’ paid, or rather credited, to Cyprus by England was 296,000*l.*, showing a balance of 638,187*l.*, or nearly 64,000*l.* a year net in the shape of interest on the Turkish loan, which, however, is shared by France. And yet, because this 64,000*l.* a year cannot be increased by parsimony to 93,000*l.* a year, Cyprus is commonly taken to be a burden upon the English Exchequer.

That the revenues of Cyprus cannot be increased by giving another turn to the screw in the way of taxation, we may take as certain on the authority of Lord Kimberley, who, writing on July 18, 1881, after detailing the twenty-four existing classes of impost, went on to state that they ‘included nearly every known device for raising revenue, from the simplest and most ancient, namely a poll tax and a tithe, to the most modern, namely, an income tax and stamps on the written transactions of daily life.’* What would have been difficult in 1881 is doubtless completely impossible in 1891, for the condition of the country is certainly less satisfactory than it was eight years ago.

Our successful administration of Egypt during the last five years, which is known to the world at large, has happily, and most justly, added so much to our reputation in the Levant, that our poor and paltry policy in Cyprus, which is known but to a few interested persons, living for the most part in a small world of their own, has passed almost unobserved. So much the worse for Cyprus, and so much the better for England, if it is ever better, or indeed good, for nations, governments, or individuals to do wrong without let or hindrance. A just retribution is too often only deferred, and rarely loses intensity by delay.

Various schemes ‘for the reduction of the burden of the Turkish tribute’ have of late been put forward by well-intentioned persons, who see the hardship of the Cypriote’s

* Quoted in Mr. Fairfield’s Report, 1883, p. 3.

position, but who forget that the payment with which they propose to deal—so strangely has our treatment of the question confused their perception of *meum* and *tuum*—is one that England has bound herself to make to Turkey. If the Four per Cent. Guaranteed Loan of 1855 could be paid off by England,* says one of the most ingenious of these financiers, with money borrowed on English credit at three per cent., 115,000*l.* instead of 155,000*l.* a year would suffice to pay the interest; and as we have got the 72,000*l.* from the Egyptian tribute, the Cyprus tribute might be reduced from 93,000*l.* to 43,000*l.* a year, which would be a great relief to the island. No doubt it would. . But these amateur financiers forget that, whatever Cyprus may pay to England, and whatever Turkey may owe to anyone else, England is bound to pay Turkey 93,000*l.* a year as long as we remain in Cyprus. We might, no doubt, purchase the island now, as we might have done in 1878, for a good round sum. But nobody in England wants it, and no Government would ask Parliament for two or three millions sterling to pay for it. Cyprus, of course, might raise a loan, and purchase her own independence from the Porte; but she would certainly need English assistance, which England would as certainly not give; and as the purchase money, even if obtainable, would not necessarily be devoted by Turkey to paying off the guaranteed loan of 1855, France, as one of the guaranteeing Powers, would strenuously object to the abolition of the English tribute, which now relieves her of all responsibility to the bondholders, French and English, who duly receive their half-yearly interest out of the payment by Cyprus into the Bank of England, augmented by a grant in aid provided exclusively by the British taxpayer.

The simplest solution of the more modern and more real difficulty is undoubtedly to recognise the fact that Cyprus, under present conditions, cannot afford to pay any of our rent or tribute to Turkey, and that the island government, in case we choose to discharge our own treaty obligations, need never ask us for a penny of subvention or 'grant in aid.' West of Holyhead, the utmost boon that is asked for Cyprus would be taken as very scant justice. But a straightforward admission of what is a plain fact east of Cape Arnauti would cost us but a few thousands a year and would remove an immense amount of friction between the Treasury, the Colonial Office, and the island authorities; would at once make Cyprus self-supporting, loyal, prosperous; and would enable the country, under able and

sufficient English administration, to develop its own resources, to the greater glory of the British Empire, out of its own revenues. It would be liberal treatment, no doubt; but, above all things, it would be honest, and as such it would carry its own reward.

To look a disagreeable situation in the face is never easy; to admit a mistake is perhaps still more difficult. But it is sometimes well to do so. To maintain, on the other hand, that a full quart of liquor does, must, and shall come out of an ordinary pint pot is ever fascinating to those who habitually deal with figures rather than with facts. But it is not statesmanship. Poor, ignorant, and docile as the Cypriotes are and have ever been, our conduct has not passed without protest in the island. The protests have not always been very wise, the statements not very exact, the attitude of those who protested not very imposing. For the agitator has been encouraged by our policy, and he is one of the worst fruits that our policy has borne; and to him, as to more experienced agitators in more experienced societies, the good that we have done is less palatable by far than the neglect we have displayed and the opportunities that we have wasted in Cyprus.

Yet it must in fairness be stated that in every department of government, wherever and whenever money was not essential to the operation, we have done a great deal for the country that we have occupied, and we have done it well. And if we have not regenerated, we have at least improved Ottoman Cyprus, as the following particulars will show. An accurate and admirable map of the island has been prepared by two English engineer officers, and published by Messrs. Stanford, in London. A census of the population has been taken, vital statistics compiled, meteorological observations recorded. If the administration of the criminal law is not successful in preventing crime, no one thinks of quoting Publius Syrus, and the judges are, at least, able, high-minded, impartial, and painstaking, and as such they are universally respected; while by the civil courts justice as well as law is brought within the reach of everyone. In the case of British subjects and of all foreigners dwelling in the island, English law is administered; but to the Cypriotes and other Ottoman subjects the Ottoman code is applied in its integrity. And a very excellent and admirable code of laws it is. But the procedure and practice in all cases is English, not Turkish. And in place of the old *Dáavi* and *Temyz* Courts, indolent, ignorant, dilatory, and corrupt, there are independent tri-

bunals, presided over by English barristers with Christian and Moslem assessors, administering expeditious and even-handed justice to all. The collection of the taxes, even of the unhappy tithe, is at once more certain, more equal, and probably, on the whole, less oppressive than under the Turk. An efficient postal service within the island has been established. The Eastern Telegraph Company affords telegraphic communication at reasonable rates and with exemplary punctuality both within the island and with the outside world. A small but excellent force of police has been organised. It is well disciplined, well manned, well dressed, and well disposed; and the island *zaptieh*, whenever he is seen, is now feared only by evildoers, and is everywhere respected by all. The destruction of locusts has been reduced to a system, and the system has been zealously and victoriously carried out. Education has been extended. The making of wine has been encouraged by the substitution of a tax for a tithe. Roads have been made by convict labour in the neighbourhood of the larger towns.

But these slender results make a very poor show when compared with what might have been expected from the grand and generous policy which suggested an 'expenditure' in the developement of the island of not less than a 'million a year for five years, with a return at best indirect! 'Great Britain was to do for Cyprus what she had never done for any of her own colonies in the execution of public works.* The administration was to be 'costly.' The work of developement 'arduous.' These were the expectations of 1878. The reality of 1891 we have, to some extent, set forth in this article. The catalogue of what we have done is short. A list of what we have failed to do might be made very long. But to say that we have done nothing is as absurd as to say that we have done enough.

The spectacle of capable and high-minded British officers performing their duties day by day without fear or favour, the good influence of their home life and the presence of refined and cultivated English ladies in the country, the very sports and pastimes of this new governing class,—these things have already borne fruit in many parts of the island. And the raising of the standard of excellence in many and various directions is proceeding slowly, but surely, as English ways become better understood and English manners better appreciated. In the early days of the occupation there

* Edinburgh Review, ccxiv. pp. 583, 584.

was some little friction between the new rulers and the Christian Cypriotes. The officials were in almost every instance able, zealous, active, and honest; but they were, as a rule, military men, ignorant of the languages and of the conditions of the country. They were very hard worked, they had very small pay, they were without many of the conveniences of life in Europe, and they enjoyed none of the luxuries of life in India; and they, like the Cypriotes, were somewhat disappointed. They were not allowed to improve the country, so they did what they could to improve the people. And the people did not like it. A greatly exercised Cypriote, in answer to one who would have reassured him by extolling the merits of a somewhat over-zealous military civilian, and more particularly his great experience in India, expressed a good deal in his reply, 'Mais nous ne sommes pas des 'Zoulous!'

The officials had no money placed at their disposal by the Government; but everything that could be done with little or no expenditure they were permitted to do, and they did it with zeal. They were not allowed to pave the streets, but they compelled the inhabitants to clean them; they were not allowed to remit taxation, but they collected what was due with a vigour and an impartiality that were alike offensive; they were not allowed to replant the forests, but they shaved a priest who cut down a tree; they made new ordinances about matters of importance and new rules about trifles; they imposed fines on law-breakers of the highest respectability and pounced rudely upon small offenders; they galloped about the country at an entirely unusual rate of speed; and, above all, they cared for no man, and refused to show the smallest favour to the most dignified of Turks or the most pertinacious of Greeks. And the Cypriotes, more especially the Christians, were entirely unable to understand them. The orthodox bishops had been systematically respected by the Ottoman Government, which had always placed a number of *zuptiehs* at their disposal to assist them in the collection of their dues; and the contributions of the Christian faithful had ever been quickened by means not unknown to the humbler agents of all Mohammedan Powers. But not only was this favour at once withdrawn by the British authorities, but a well-known bishop was fined for some breach of the land laws in his own diocese. *Hinc plurimæ lacrymæ!* Telegrams were constantly despatched from Larnaca and Limassol to members of Her Majesty's Government and their political opponents in London, com-

plaining of the 'tyranny' of these English officials, whose chief offence was in reality their impartial, if over-zealous, administration of the law, and their treatment of rich and religious men as if they were common peasants.

The Turks indeed, high and low, accepted their altered position with great dignity, and, as they could not have expected much from our occupation in the way of advantage to themselves, they were at least not disappointed. But with the Christians it was otherwise. They had expected impossibilities, and they were annoyed, not only with us, but with themselves, when they found themselves undeceived. 'Turkish times' became the 'good old days.' The English were *Othomanis ipsis othomaniores*. All this has now completely changed. The English officials are perhaps less zealous; they are certainly more experienced. They are better able to understand the inhabitants, and, in their turn, they are better understood. And it is safe to say that they command almost to a man the respect and even the confidence of every reasonable Cypriote. The agitator has, no doubt, been encouraged by the existence of a toy parliament; but neither he nor his parliament are regarded very seriously in the island, nor is their presence productive of any very serious injury to anyone.

The Cypriotes have unfortunately had but few facilities afforded to them of learning the English language, yet they are taking advantage to the utmost of such opportunities as are within their reach; and, as the English officials are learning Greek, free intercourse between the governors and the governed, and the elimination of that curse of the Levant, the interpreter, is daily becoming more and more possible, though Cyprus, embarrassed with two native languages, is even now far from having reached the Indian standard of excellence in this respect. But, in the *personnel* of her local administration, Cyprus has been eminently fortunate; and it is to these local administrators, and to them alone, that the Cypriotes have reason to be grateful for such benefits as we may have conferred on the island. It is by their devotion and self-sacrifice that England is able to administer an impoverished and disappointed country, if not actually with credit, at least without disgrace.

We have seen that England has failed to regenerate Cyprus, partly because English statesmen have preferred theories of government to practical assistance or generous recognition of responsibilities. But, after all, the most true, as well as the most strange, explanation of the unsatisfactory

condition of Cyprus at the present day, is that, in spite of its brand-new constitution, in spite of doctrinaires and dispatches, in spite of secretaries of state and blue books and reports and statistics, Cyprus is the worst-governed island in the British dominions. For Cyprus is ruled neither by its own Legislative Council, nor by the High Commissioner, nor even by the Colonial Office. Each one of these would take a more or less intelligent interest in the ultimate as well as the immediate welfare of the country.

It is not self-governed like Canada, nor autocratically governed like India, nor governed by the Colonial Secretary of State. It is governed solely by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury at Whitehall. My lords know nothing and care nothing about Cyprus. It is scarcely their business to do so; it is certainly not their pleasure. Their business, as understood or interpreted by themselves, is, year by year and without a thought for the future, to screw the very last piastre out of the islanders on account of the 'tribute.' If the Legislative Council desire the endowment of a new school; if the High Commissioner proposes the construction of a new bridge; if the Colonial Secretary suggests the renewal of a postal contract, it is all one. My lords say No, and nothing is done. When Cyprus was actually suffering from famine; when the last bullock from the wooden plough and the last donkey from the mud stable were being sent out of the island, sold for a fifth of their value, to buy food for the day's necessities, my lords sent back the Estimates of the Cyprus Government for revision. Taxation was, if possible, 'to be made more productive;' expenditure, whether possible or not, to be reduced; debt, if necessary, to be incurred; but the tribute was to be paid in full, and no increase was to be expected in the Grant in Aid. The Treasury was not, indeed, entirely insensible to the sufferings of the people. On May 23, 1887, my lords wrote 'expressing regret' at the 'distress caused by the drought,' and sanctioning an 'extraordinary expenditure of 50% in relieving 'destitute women and children'—a practical display of humanity to 186,000 people that would scarcely have offended the late 'somewhat parsimonious' Mr. Elwes.

But it is not only to the Cypriotes that the Home Government behaves so scurvily in Cyprus. In February 1888 the tithe, or tenth part of nothing, having been in many places disappointing as an item of revenue, my lords suggested that among the various 'economical arrangements' by which 'financial equilibrium'—in other words, the due pay-

ment of the tribute into the Bank of England—may be ensured, is ‘the abatement of a percentage from all salaries ‘over a certain sum (afterwards fixed at an abatement of ten ‘per cent. on all salaries of 200*l.* a year and upwards).’ This mode of raising money was not perhaps unknown in unregenerate Turkey, but is characterised by my lords with happy and most Christian discrimination as ‘rather an ‘abatement of expenditure than an addition to income!’

In a subsequent communication† my lords ‘would observe, ‘in view of possible protest by the English officials in ‘Cyprus, that if a temporary reduction of salary be viewed ‘as taxation, it is a liability incidental to all service under ‘the State, whether in Cyprus or elsewhere.’ The apology offered for this wretched expedient of ‘raising the wind’ is in itself so extraordinary that it deserves to be repeated *ipsissimis verbis* :—

‘The Secretary of State considers that such a reduction would in many cases be a breach of faith; but a State, like an individual, ought to restrict its expenditure to its income, and if the income does not suffice for existing charges, existing charges must be reduced; “breach of faith” in such circumstances is an argument which can only be effectively pleaded in a rich, or at all events a solvent, country.’

The position so solemnly advanced by so high a financial authority as my lords of the Treasury, that it is only the rich who need pay their debts, is one of which the legal is quite on a par with the moral value, and would seem rather a dangerous, not to say revolutionary, doctrine for so respectable a body to propound at any time. Let us suppose that the argument were pushed just a little farther, and in no more important a place than Cyprus. What are the existing charges for which the income of Cyprus does not suffice? What is the greatest, the most striking, of existing charges? The only one from which Cyprus derives no benefit whatever? Suppose that the tribute were reduced, as a charge on Cyprus, to nothing? And is it a happy feature of our regeneration of our Turkish island that we should seek and ensue the repudiation of financial engagements? Perhaps if the tribute were still paid only to the Turk an ‘abatement of expenditure’ might be enjoined with regard to that ‘existing charge,’ and 80,000*l.* a year, instead of 90,000*l.* a year, remitted to Constantinople. But as the

* Cyprus Correspondence, &c., 1888, p. 93.

† Ibid. p. 106.

tribute is payable in London, and not at Stamboul, an entirely different code of ethics must be held to prevail.

The Cypriote is neither independent nor bold; not even fraudulent. He need not be feared. He is neither a voter nor a revolutionist. He may safely be neglected. He is ignorant, unenterprising, submissive. His bread and olives do not form a very stimulating food. He detests fighting. He as yet has shown but little aptitude for agitation, and he is content, as a rule, to pay his tithes and his taxes, to pacify his usurer, and to make the best of his poor fortunes. But this is scarcely a reason why England should be careless of her national interests in this part of the world, where momentous political events may one day arise, or that she should be neglectful of the welfare of a population which she has agreed to administer and protect.

Had Cyprus fallen into the hands of some other Power not more richly endowed than Great Britain, and with far inferior maritime interests, we know what efforts and sacrifices would have been made to convert the island into a naval stronghold, commanding the Levantine sea, and the adjacent coasts of Syria and Egypt, and to open it to the trade and traffic of the world. With a little more foresight, and a little more liberality, Cyprus might become a possession not inferior in value to Malta, and superior to Corfu. England alone has chosen to leave the work undone.

ART. VII.—*ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ*. *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens*. Edited by F. G. KENYON, M.A. London and Oxford: 1891.

SIXTY years ago, Neumann, editing the fragments of Aristotle's *Πολιτεῖαι*, spoke of the whole work as lost beyond hope of recovery, unless it should turn up in the form of a palimpsest. That the whole of it should be so recovered was scarcely to be looked for. An account of the constitutions of nearly 160 cities or states must, even in the hands of the most concise of writers, stretch to great if not to vast length, and it was no less a task than this which Aristotle set to himself as the justification of the arguments and conclusions propounded in his more formal treatise on 'Politics.' We cannot even say positively that this task was ever completed, or determine the scale on which the several descriptions were written, or whether he wrote, or intended to write, them all himself. In not a few cases the process

of tracing the political history, or examining the constitutional forms, even of Greek cities, would bring little either of instruction or of profit; and these sketches, like the rough work of the sculptor, or the painter, might be left to pupils, subject to the revision of the master. The share which each may have had in the work would have to be determined by patient scrutiny, and sometimes we may not be able to determine it at all. But there was one state on which the attention of Aristotle would be fixed with a peculiar interest, as presenting a multitude of problems not easily solved, even by a mind so profound and penetrating as his own, and this state could only be Athens. It was likely, therefore, that this portion of his great work would be most diligently read and most frequently copied. One of the copies made of it, on the reverse side of a papyrus, has found its way into the British Museum; and to a certain extent the hope against hope expressed by Neumann has been realised, we may say, in the shape in which alone he thought that it could be looked for.

The recovery of this manuscript is an event as happy as it is important. The treatise itself is of the highest intrinsic value, and the fact that it has come from Egypt is also most encouraging. The eyes of scholars have long been turned to that country as one which may be expected to yield up some few of the treasures in which it was at one time so marvellously rich, and already the result is considerable. Papyri containing parts of the 'Iliad,' fragments of Thucydides, Plato, Euripides, Alcman, and other writers, together with some orations of Hyperides, may, with this newly found treatise of Aristotle, be fairly looked upon as the earnest of a richer harvest in the future. Of the mode or place of its discovery nothing is said. The preface states simply that the treatise has been transcribed from the unique text in the British Museum papyrus cxxxi., and it is scarcely necessary to say that there are good reasons for a reticence which no impartial and unprejudiced critics will misunderstand. To add to difficulties already sufficiently great in the search for manuscripts which may still be preserved in Egypt or elsewhere would be indiscreet indeed. In the present case assuredly there is no need for so doing.

The success of the trustees of the British Museum in securing this great treasure for the national library is a matter for sincere congratulation. The skill and judgement which they have shown will, we do not doubt, be more abundantly rewarded, and although at present they have

nothing to lay before the world which equals in importance the Constitution of the Athenians; they promise us early publications from other papyri recently acquired, containing further fragments of the Homeric poems, of Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Hyperides, together with some of the lost poems of the iambographer Herodas. We should not, indeed, have ventured to speak in terms of congratulation had we any ground for questioning the results thus far attained. The idea of the recovery of ancient manuscripts is inseparably associated with that of forgery; but in the present instance the question can be brought at the very outset within an extremely narrow compass. It is much to know that at all events we are not dealing here with a modern forgery. No one will suppose that the authorities and expert scholars of the British Museum could, as a body, be deceived as to the age of a MS. which, professing to be written in the first century of our era, belonged really to the nineteenth. The mere circumstances of its acquisition set this point at rest most completely. Forgers put forth their productions as the genuine works which they pretend to be. In this case neither seller nor buyer had any notion of the value of the papyrus offered for sale. In fact, nothing was known, even in the British Museum, as to the contents of these rolls at the time of their acquisition; and the idea that a modern forger would allow such a work as this Aristotelian treatise to pass out of his hands without an adequate consideration is not to be entertained for a moment.

But if it be not a modern forgery, it may be a forgery of the middle ages, or of some earlier century. To this plea the condition of the manuscript itself appears to us to afford a peremptory answer. It has been reproduced, in its actual state, by one of the modern processes of photography, and a copy of it, for which we are indebted to the trustees of the British Museum, now lies before us. The scholars and critics of the whole world may therefore exercise their ingenuity upon it, as if the original text was in their hands. But it is impossible to doubt that it is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, manuscript of a work of classical antiquity which has come down to our times.

This material evidence is confirmed in a striking manner by the numerous references to the work in ancient authors, all of which coincide with the manuscript text now before us. We have not the least doubt that this is a work of the age of Aristotle, and the only concession which we can be

called upon to make is that possibly it may not be the work of Aristotle himself, or of Aristotle alone. Whether it came from Aristotle himself, or not, it was well known and well studied from the first. In the words of Mr. Kenyon's able Introduction:—

'It is quoted by Plutarch in the first century of the Christian era; it was largely used by Pollux in the second; its name occurs in a catalogue of a library in the third; in the fourth it is repeatedly cited by Harpocration; in the sixth we know, on the evidence of Photius, that it was used by the rhetorician Sopater. On the other hand, Photius himself, three centuries afterwards, does not seem to have known the work otherwise than in quotations by early writers; and any references to it in grammarians and compilers of later date are probably made at secondhand. Between the sixth and ninth century it disappeared, and was seen no more until in this nineteenth century it has once more been brought to light' (p. ix).

The work, in short, was used as a quarry by later grammarians and lexicographers, and in this fact we have an amount of evidence for the authenticity of this treatise which is irresistible. From Polybius we learn that Timæus referred to the 'Politeiai' as genuine writings of Aristotle, and this brings us to a time separated only by two generations from that of Aristotle himself. But the whole question connected with the extant fragments of this work is so important that we give Mr. Kenyon's account of it without curtailment:—

'The last edition of Rose's Collection contains ninety-one fragments, which are ascribed with more or less certainty to the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, in fifty-eight of which the work is referred to by name. Of these fifty-eight, fifty-five occur in the MS. now before us: one (No. 347) belongs to the beginning of the book, which is wanting in the MS.; one (No. 423) belongs to the latter portion of it, which is imperfect; while one alone (No. 407) differs distinctly from a passage on the same subject occurring in the text. Of the thirty-three fragments in which the work is not named, though in most of them Aristotle is referred to as the author, twenty-three occur in one MS.; four (Nos. 343, 344, 346, 348) come from the lost beginning, though as to at least one of them it may be doubted whether it belongs to this work at all; four (Nos. 354, 361, 364, 376) probably do not belong to this work, being merely incidental references, which might occur by way of illustration in any other writing, as well as in a professedly historical one; one (No. 416) belongs to the mutilated section on the law courts, if it is for this work at all; while one (No. 358) is either a misquotation of a passage in the MS. or a reference to some other writing of Aristotle's. Thus of the total number of ninety-one fragments (of which eighty-five or eighty-six are probably genuine references to this work), seventy-

eight are found in the MS. in its present condition, and all the rest, with two possible exceptions, are satisfactorily accounted for' (p. xvi).

But so far as we have gone, we have not ascertained the date either of the MS. or of the original work. Happily we may do both without any difficulty. Were we left to the writing alone, the paucity of dates in the palæography of the earlier centuries of our era would leave us in uncertainty. Here we have a date which we may confidently accept as settling the age of the MS. within the range of a very few years. The text of the Athenian Polity is written on the reverse of the papyrus; in other words, the papyrus has been used for the second time, the *recto*, or side on which the fibres are laid horizontally, being always chosen for the first writing, as allowing the pen to move across the material with greater ease and comfort. The document thus written on the *recto* of the papyrus, and in the contrary direction to that of the Aristotle, begins with the words Ετους ενδεκατου αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος Ουεσπασιανου Σεβαστου αργυρικος λογος Επιμαχου Πολυδευκουσ λημματων και αναλωματων των δι εμου Διδυμου Ασπασιου χειριζομενων ων ειθαι λημμ' του μηνος Σεβαστου. The month here named Sebastos, or August, no doubt in honour of Vespasian, is the Egyptian month Athur. In Mr. Kenyon's words—

'As to the year named, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria in July 69 A.D. The Egyptian year began with Thouth, and, according to the usual mode of dating in that country, his second year would be reckoned to begin with the Thouth next following his proclamation—i.e. at the end of August in the same year 69 A.D. His eleventh year would therefore be that which began in August 78 A.D., and in the following June he died. The entries of the present document extend to the preceding month, Pachon in the Egyptian calendar beginning on April 26. The writing on the *recto* of the papyrus consequently belongs to 78-79 A.D.' (p. xiv).

Such evidence as this is indisputable for the age of the document so attested. It is, further, quite certain that the *verso* would not be used for a second writing so long as any interest or value adhered to the writing on the *recto*. But we may safely say that the entries would have lost all their importance within five-and-twenty years, and probably much sooner; and, still more, that the papyrus would not be allowed to remain much longer unused or undestroyed. We may therefore assign the transcription of the text of the 'Politeia' to the end of the first century, or at latest to the beginning of the second. The date of the original work can be settled with almost equal accuracy. For the author

of the treatise the Athenian tribes are always ten in number; but two more were added in 307 B.C. The work, therefore belongs to a time preceding that date. Again, he speaks of the two sacred triremes as the Paralian and the Ammonian; but the Salaminian trireme was re-named in honour of Alexander the Great, who claimed to be son of Ammon. Mr. Kenyon is thus brought to the conclusion that this treatise was 'written, or at least revised,' at the earliest in the last seven years of Aristotle's life, and at the latest in the fifteen years after his death (p. xvii).

Without going further we may express our conviction that we have three facts in reference to this treatise which are established on incontestable evidence. It is not a modern forgery—it is not a forgery belonging to any century of our era; and, whether it be the work of Aristotle himself or not, it is the work which is quoted by grammarians, and all other later writers, as the composition of Aristotle under the title which it now bears. This fact may in its turn be regarded with confidence as proving that it was at least carefully revised by the great master himself, and thus that it carried the full weight of his authority and his judgement. This is probably the safest conclusion which it may be possible to reach, and it is enough. The several statements made in it may be taken as coming virtually from himself, and as furnishing the last commentary which we are likely to obtain from ancient sources on the subjects with which they deal. Substantially we may say that we have before us the Aristotelian treatise on the polity of the Athenians; but the assertion cannot be made without some qualifications. The manuscript of the papyrus cxxxi. is by no means perfect, and may perhaps be not altogether trustworthy. Mr. Kenyon has minutely described its condition. The opening sentences or chapters of the book are wanting, and, in fact, were never written down in this manuscript. Before the first column of writing a blank space has been left to receive the lacking portions, the only doubtful point, as Mr. Kenyon tells us, being whether a larger space was left blank to receive the commencement of the work than now remains. The amount of matter missing is in all likelihood not great. The first lines of the writing belong to an account of the conspiracy of Kylon (Cylon), which the author seems to have regarded as belonging to a time earlier than the reforms or legislation (whatever they may have been) of Dracon. It is not likely that Aristotle would have much to say about Athens and Attica in times earlier still;

but, apart from this, the blank space on the papyrus is a matter of some importance. It shows that the missing sentences or paragraphs were wanting, or had become illegible on the manuscript from which this copy was made, and that the owner was unable to find the missing or lost matter elsewhere. The older MS. could not therefore have belonged to a great library like that of Alexandria. We can scarcely suppose that a document thus imperfect would have been allowed to remain in this magnificent storehouse of the world's literature. It must therefore have been preserved probably among the rolls of a small and perhaps poor private collection—it may be in some remote part of the country; and the first of the four hands who have been at work on the copy now in the Museum seems to have been that of the owner, who wished to possess the work for himself.

This hand, in Mr. Kenyon's opinion, is not that of a professional scribe, but is on the whole very correct and easy to read, wherever the papyrus has not been badly rubbed. Having written twelve columns, varying in width from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 inches, and containing from 43 to 48 lines of close writing, he transferred the task of transcription to some one who was neither a scholar nor a man of good education. The ungraceful writing of this second scribe, disfigured by a multitude of mis-spellings and mistakes, has been revised, and to some extent corrected, by the writer of the first hand. The scribe or slave so employed wrote from the thirteenth to the twentieth column, each column containing from 44 to 51 lines, and measuring only from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width. To the third hand, which is semicursive and much larger and more straggling than the first, belongs the second half of the twentieth column, with the whole of the next four columns. The fourth hand, closely resembling the first, has written the six columns of the third roll. It is probable that the four lengths of the papyrus brought to the Museum were originally separate rolls; but the first of these lengths, which measured 7 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, has been, for convenience of mounting, divided into two pieces measuring respectively 4 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 3 feet. This roll contains eleven broad columns of writing, the later ones being well preserved, while the earlier ones are badly rubbed, and often very difficult to decipher. The second roll, measuring 5 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, contains thirteen much narrower columns, all in fair condition. The third, 3 feet in length, and containing six broad columns, has been put together from a large number of fragments, one of these being very imperfect. The fourth

is merely fragmentary, and of little use, the writing being miserably defaced, and in many places quite illegible. The last two lengths may have been united in a single roll, which would then have been about the same size as the other two; but in this case the pieces must have been artificially joined, and the fact that the fourth roll is less in height by one inch than the other three tells against this supposition.

Enough has been said to show that Mr. Kenyon and the colleagues who have aided him have had no easy task in the transcription of a manuscript which, to say the least, is very far from perfect. Much, indeed, has been done towards the restoration of the text as it came from the author, and has been done on the whole in a way which will win the confidence of the readers.* The amount of evidence in favour of such emendations as are more or less conjectural has in each case been carefully given in the notes, while in an Appendix we have a list of all the fragments of the treatise which were previously known from quotations in other authors, and were brought together in the collection of Valentine Rose. The quotation of the fragment is given in full, when the fragment does not occur in the MS. now submitted to the public. In all other cases a reference is given to the chapter in which it is found, and to the note which deals specially with it. In short, the reader is in every case enabled to form his own judgement on every line in the text as he goes along.

'Square brackets,' Mr. Kenyon informs us, 'have been used to mark words or letters which have been supplied where the manuscript is illegible, and words which appear to have been accidentally omitted in the MS. are supplied between angular brackets. The few cases in which the reading of the MS. has not been followed in the text are recorded in the notes, while passages in which the MS. reading

* The publication of this text has called forth from many quarters a shower of suggestions for its emendation or restoration. Some of these are happy. In page 116, line 8, we find *δεκαρχαιρείας*, a word not met with elsewhere. Mr. Sandys remarks that it is preceded by the conjunctions *δὲ καὶ*, of which the first syllable is probably a careless repetition. The excision of this syllable leaves us with the usual *ἀρχαιρείας*. In page 145, line 6, the words *καὶ ὑπαίθριοι*, referring to the proceedings of the Areopagus in cases of homicide, are preceded by a word, now lost, ending in *αι[ο]ι*. Mr. Sandys suggests *σκοταῖοι*. There can be no doubt that he is right. From Lucian, and from him only, we had learnt that such cases were tried not only in the open air, but at night. If the reading suggested be correct, we have now the authority (in this case conclusive) of Aristotle for this impressive fact.

appears to be corrupt, but which have not been altered in the text, are marked by asterisks' (p. li).

That the treatise as now published is the quarry from which Harpocration and others drew their materials there can be, and there is, not the faintest doubt; but whether the text as we have it is on the whole in the condition in which the author left it, it is not so easy to determine. It would be a wonderful thing if no words or sentences in it showed the handiwork of the interpolator; and we cannot say that all such signs are absent. It is, we think, impossible that Aristotle could have written the thirty-seventh chapter as it now stands. The writer here gives the two laws or enactments by which the Thirty ensured the downfall of Theramenes, and then, having mentioned his execution, he goes on to say that after his death they disarmed all citizens whose names were not found on the list of the Three Thousand, and indulged in excesses of cruelty against the people generally. We then read that 'having sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon ' they accused Theramenes and demanded their aid. Hearing 'of which things the Lacedæmonians sent Callibios as ' Harmost with some seven hundred men who came and 'garrisoned the Acropolis.' There is no connexion whatever between the first of these sentences and those which go before them; and the coming of Callibios preceded the final measures taken against Theramenes. The writer may have been quite aware of the true order of events, but he has not given it; or, to put it otherwise, the words telling us of the embassy to Sparta have been first written on the margin of one manuscript and then introduced into the text of another. But it is not the habit of Aristotle to state things twice or to invert the order in which incidents have occurred. Hence we think that the words which end the fourth chapter must be rejected as an interpolation. He had already said in the second chapter that the Athenian constitution before Solon's time was oligarchical to the core; that the poor, with their wives and children, were the slaves of the powerful; that the whole land was in the hands of a few; that if the tillers did not pay their rent, they and their children might be sold into slavery; and that they were bound in their persons to those who lent them money. Then, after having described at some length the polity which he ascribes to Dracon and the functions of the Areopagus in the administration of justice, he adds, 'And they were bound in their 'bodies, as has been said, and the country was in the hands 'of a few.' The statement is quite superfluous; the conjunc-

tion does not link it with the preceding sentence, which is concerned with a wholly different subject, and the form 'as has been said' shows clearly that it is a marginal comment made by some one who wished to impress the fact on his memory.

We have a similar form in the seventh chapter, where we are told that Dracon ranged the citizens in four classes according to their property, *καθάπερ διήρητο καὶ πρότερον*, the reference clearly being to the fourth chapter, in which the distinctions of Pentacosiomedimnians, Hippeis, and Zeugitai are spoken of as older than the time of Dracon. Harpocration, who cites this passage, gives it without these parenthetical words. By Plutarch this division is ascribed directly to Solon, and by Aristotle* Solon is connected with these classes, although he is not said distinctly to have created them. Hence Mr. Kenyon says that, if the present passage stood alone, the suspicion that the words were interpolated would be very strong. If the text as we have it was also the text before Harpocration, it might be thought that the latter assigned no weight to the statement of Aristotle on this point; but Mr. Kenyon also speaks of it as possible that the interpolation (if it be one) is due to some one who noticed the mention of the property classes in the description of the Draconian constitution, so that while the fact of the pre-existence of the classes remains the same, the mention of it in this particular sentence would disappear. 'This,' he thinks, 'would relieve Harpocration from the charge of inaccurate or garbled quotation; but, in view of the fact that the MS. is certainly much earlier than the date of Harpocration, this does not seem to be a very safe explanation' (p. 19). It is, of course, true that the age of Vespasian precedes that of Harpocration by two centuries; but it is possible, and even likely, that in the MS. used by the latter the words may not have been found.

We approach more difficult ground when we meddle with considerations of style in reference to the genuineness of any given work. We can point out likeness, and assign due weight to the fact. We can also point out unlikeness; but we may easily go astray, if we attempt to enforce positive conclusions from such premisses. All students of Aristotle in such of his extant works as we may confidently accept as genuine will have a very definite idea of his modes of judgement and forms of expression. They will have their opinion of his discern-

* Polit. ii. 12.

ment and his powers of comparison and distinction, of the clearness of his thought and the strength which often imparts dignity and even solemnity to his language. But they will not ascribe to him much of the fancy or the ardour or the enthusiasm of the poet, and very little of the imagination and vehemence of the orator. Still less will they attribute to him the diffuseness and repetitions which are the stumbling-blocks of poorer minds. But these impressions are far from harmonising with the expressions of one whom we might suppose to be so good a judge as Cicero. The great Latin orator, whose language, if the term can be applied to the utterances of mortal man, may be spoken of as wellnigh faultless, attributes to that of Aristotle a charm falling little short of his own. To what books, we are tempted to ask, could he be referring when he speaks of the style of Aristotle as *flumen orationis aureum*, and of Aristotle himself as endowed with *incredibili quadam quum copia tum etiam suavitate dicendi*? Not much splendour and grace of language is to be found in the treatise now before us. All, perhaps, that may be safely said is that the style of this book is less severe and more flowing than that of any portions, for instance, of the 'Ethics' or the 'Politics,' and that it betrays a tendency to run into details when these details are even insignificant and sometimes almost irrelevant. In Mr. Kenyon's judgement, 'the style of this treatise 'is in sufficient accordance with that of Aristotle as we 'know him elsewhere and supports the belief that it is a 'genuine work of his' (p. xvii). There is no need to question this conclusion. We have already expressed our assurance that this is the work referred to by Plutarch and Harpocration as coming from Aristotle; and if it be not in every part his handiwork, we do not doubt that in every part it has his sanction and fully expresses his mind.

What then should be our attitude towards such a book as this? The authority of Aristotle is great, but he dealt with what we may call a universe of facts, and had to set in order an appalling and almost boundless mass of materials. So far as he was able to carry out his designs, he has treated every subject with consummate fitness, and it is for his readers to form their judgement as to the truth or the error of his conclusions. To take any other course would be mere servility; and to none would servility be more abhorrent than to Aristotle himself. The weight which his name must carry in the world of thinkers is a thing wholly different from the authority which is to be assigned to his

separate statements. These have to be examined and judged in reference to the particular matters with which he is dealing; and in the region of history the value of his utterances must depend wholly on the nature and extent of the evidence at his command and the use which he may make of his materials. The most marvellous natural powers, the most determined industry in the use of them, and the most conscientious resolution to get at the truth in all things, will not make a man independent of the conditions under which he is compelled to work. The lifetime of Aristotle belongs to the age of the Macedonian Philip and his great son Alexander, of Demosthenes and Timoleon. For his own age and that immediately preceding it his authority would carry weight precisely in proportion to the proof which his writings might furnish that he had carefully looked into the matters of which he undertook to treat; and for something like a hundred and fifty years preceding his own time he would have the guidance of a written literature and of contemporary historians. But for nearly the whole of this time he would (speaking roughly) have access to no materials which were not also at the command of men like Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. With the first two of these writers he would, in all that belongs to the early political history, whether of Athens or any other Hellenic city, stand at a manifest disadvantage, as being nearly two centuries more distant from many of the events of which he speaks. But neither they nor he had for still earlier times any written literature to appeal to or to build upon. For Aristotle, as for Herodotus and Thucydides, the story of these earlier ages could be got in the last resort only from oral tradition; and for the means of making himself acquainted with the fortunes and the character of the Pisistratids, for example, it would be absurd to place Aristotle and Thucydides on a level. Thucydides may be regarded as their contemporary; and it is clear that he stood in a close personal relation to the family. His sympathies were largely on their side; and his scrutiny of all the information which he could get about them was of the most searching kind. From his words we infer that he subjected his informants (and he sought out all who were forthcoming) to the most searching scrutiny. It was obviously out of the power of Aristotle to do anything of the kind; and there is no reason for supposing that he had for the age of Solon or Cleisthenes any documents or any evidence which was inaccessible to Thucydides. Of these two statesmen, Solon

was born about a century and a half before the battle of Marathon; and even at the time of the battle of Marathon the written literature of the Greeks was almost in its earliest infancy. If on the supposed acts or measures of either of these men Aristotle expresses a judgement at variance with that of Thucydides, if he inverts or alters the order of facts stated by him, it is hard to see how we can avoid giving the greater weight to the words of the historian. For any new facts which Aristotle may bring to our notice we must have the evidence on which they rest; for differences of opinion we must have the grounds on which the conclusions of the later writer are to be preferred to those of the earlier. But there are other reasons, not less cogent, which should render us extremely cautious in committing ourselves unhesitatingly to the utterances of either. A man who wrote in sympathy with Sparta, or, we may say, with the Dorian mind (if Sparta may be regarded as a fair representative of all the cities of the Dorian world), could not possibly write in sympathy with Athens, except in so far as Athens was oligarchic. Such a writer would in fact find no satisfaction in the Athens of Aristides and Themistocles, of Ephialtes and Pericles, and would begin to breathe freely only when he came to dwell on the action of the oligarchical clubs after the disaster of Syracuse.

It is obvious, therefore, that for the age of Pisistratus and the times which preceded it there was no evidence accessible to Aristotle beyond that which had been reduced to writing by men like Herodotus and Thucydides, or which had been subjected for a long series of generations to the varying influences and modifications of oral tradition. Such evidence would have lost much or all of its original value. But if Aristotle does not mention these traditions, we are scarcely justified in assuming their existence, nor can we put out of sight some other causes which would probably affect the value of his judgement on the political conditions of times anterior to the battle of Marathon. To Solon, for example, the great Athenian orators ascribed a number of institutions and measures with which he can have had nothing to do; and in describing these institutions terms were used the connotations of which had been largely modified during the interval which separated the Persian wars from the days of the Macedonian Philip. We may readily understand that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for an orator like Demosthenes to keep constantly fixed in his mind the fact that the meaning of words like

debt, credit, interest, slavery, freedom, boundary, landmark, mortgage, had become modified during the last two or three centuries immediately preceding his own. In short, we cannot fail to see that the accounts of Solonian legislation given by the Attic orators cannot be received without hesitation, unless they are borne out by something like contemporary testimony. It cannot be otherwise with the statements even of so keen a critic and so sagacious a judge as Aristotle.

It thus becomes a matter of the utmost importance to determine, so far as it may be practicable to do so, both the amount of the new information imparted to us in the present treatise and also its weight. Mr. Kenyon is fully aware of the gravity of these two considerations, and in his introduction he makes an effort to answer these questions, which we should have welcomed more heartily had it been more self-consistent. As we read it, it is difficult to understand how far he means to confine himself to a simple recapitulation of the utterances of Aristotle, or how far he purposes to express his own judgement or opinion on the several matters here treated of. We hear much of the authority of Aristotle, of his impartiality in the use of his materials, and of the rashness of going counter to his conclusions. To all these propositions we at once assent. But we must, at all events, know the sources of his information, and the trustworthiness of his informants; and when we have done this, we shall have to ascertain whether, and how far, there were any causes which might affect the impartiality or the truth of his judgements without the possibility of his being conscious of the fact. Aristotle is indisputably great as a thinker, in the fullest and highest sense of the word; but he himself would have been the last to wish that any should follow him blindly. After some remarks on the later phases of Athenian polity, which it is not altogether easy to understand, Mr. Kenyon says that 'the only point which concerns us here is that the evidence of Aristotle on such a matter is no unimportant addition to our knowledge of the subject' (p. xlix). In the same page he says again that 'on the merits of Aristotle as an authority it is not necessary to dwell.' But whatever his authority may be, it is clear that, if we are to measure it for ourselves, we must know something of the materials or evidence on which each of his judgements was founded. In point of fact they are largely questioned, and in some instances altogether set aside, by Mr. Kenyon himself, while

of the materials employed by Aristotle he confesses not seldom that he knows nothing. The following is one of many passages which tend to show that, if we speak strictly of the constitutional history of Athens, the newly recovered treatise leaves us pretty much where we were before:—

‘Of the authorities used in his task he tells us little, almost nothing. It is certain that he was acquainted with both Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus he quotes by name, and in another passage he mentions for the purpose of correction a narrative which is identical with that of Thucydides (ch. 18). For the period of Solon he evidently used Solon's own writings, from which he makes considerable quotations. But for the rest there seems to be nothing to show what his sources were. Only from the detailed way in which he describes the constitution of Draco or Cleisthenes, from the precise dates which are so frequently given in his narrative (which enable us to fix several events with an exactness hitherto impossible), it is clear that he did not rest upon tradition alone, but was making use of written records of some kind or another. Fortunately it is not of so much importance to identify his actual sources as in the case of such an author as Plutarch. Aristotle took care to sift his evidence for himself instead of leaving it to be done by posterity; and when he clearly and positively states a fact his statement is not lightly to be put aside’ (p. 1).

These are perplexing words. There may be no wish to set aside his statements at all; but because Aristotle was a dispassionate and impartial critic, it is surely rash to assume the existence of written works of which he makes no mention, and of which no one else knew anything. To be of the least value these works must have been older than the days of Herodotus and Thucydides; and yet there is no trace of them in these pages or anywhere else. If, again, Aristotle mentions only for correction a narrative which is given by Thucydides, this is proof that he did not regard that historian as one to be followed implicitly; and yet in the preceding page Mr. Kenyon speaks of the authority of Thucydides as beyond suspicion (p. xlix). Abundance of detail, again, in a narrative is no sort of proof that the narrative is either genuine or trustworthy. It may be a record of actual fact; it may be mere fiction, as not a few such narratives in the early history of Rome most assuredly are.

It is, therefore, no disparagement to the genius and wisdom, the learning or impartiality of Aristotle, if we allow the possibility that in such a work as this some of his statements may even mislead us; and we have to remember that although the book is undoubtedly Aristotelian, we are scarcely justified in asserting that it is, throughout, the

composition of Aristotle himself, or has more than his general approval and sanction. Of mere details of the Athenian constitution we had already no lack, and the additions here made to them are not overwhelmingly large. What we desire to understand more clearly and fully is the position of Athens in the Hellenic world, the real points of difference between its constitution and that of other Ionian and still more of the Dorian cities. We wish to see the real nature of the struggle between Athens and Sparta, and again between the Hektemorians and their masters, brought out in a complete picture by one who lived at the time, or had immediate access to contemporary material. We doubt whether Aristotle had access to such materials; indeed, we feel sure that he had not, and with the great Athenian statesmen he had not the sympathy without which it was impossible for him even to understand their motives and their aims. Mr. Kenyon himself admits that 'Aristotle 'is only describing the mechanism of government. What 'we miss throughout the treatise, and especially in the 'second part of it, is any discussion of the spirit and principles of the Athenian constitution' (p. xlvii). A formidable demand is nevertheless made on us when in another passage we are invited to regard this work, so far as it has been recovered for us, 'as an assistance to the 'reconstruction of the history of a country in which we are 'so deeply interested as Athens' (p. xlix). Perhaps Mr. Kenyon may not attach to the word *reconstruction* the usual meaning, which would imply that the historians of ancient and modern times who have dealt with Athenian constitutional history have hitherto dealt with it to little purpose, or have been hopelessly at sea. It seems a hard thing to say or to imply this of such work as Mr. Grote's. But in truth we fail to reconcile the statements of Mr. Kenyon in one page with his own statements made elsewhere. Thus we are told that

' With the fall of the Areopagus the last check on the autocratic rule of the democracy was removed, and from this moment Aristotle dates the deterioration of the tone of Athenian politics. It is marked by the rise of the demagogues—men who depended for the retention of their power on their ability to please the varying tastes of the popular assembly. As soon as it became necessary for statesmen to think, not what is best for the interests of the State, but what will be popular with the majority, the character of politics and of public life must be lowered. The decline was hastened by the drain on the best material of Athens caused by the constantly recurring foreign wars

and expeditions, in which, according to Aristotle, the incapacity of generals of excellent family but no military experience led to the loss every time of two or three thousand of the flower of the army' (p. xxxix).

The period of which Mr. Kenyon is speaking is clearly the interval which separates the Persian war from the oligarchical revival which followed the great disaster at Syracuse. By the fall of the Areopagus is meant not less clearly the final curtailment of its powers by the reforms which bear the name of Ephialtes; and yet it is not easy to see of what events the last sentence which we have quoted is meant to be a picture. The words represent with sufficient exactness the meaning of the statements made in the twenty-sixth chapter of the treatise. It is enough to say that here, as elsewhere, Aristotle tells us nothing as to his authority for these statements, that from the events of which he speaks he was separated by about a century and a half, and that his account is absolutely irreconcilable with that of Thucydides. From the latter we have, it is true, only a sketch of the history of this time; but instead of a long catalogue of continuous disasters caused by inefficient commanders, the record of this time, so far as it is given to us by Thucydides, exhibits in its rush of events and its startling changes a picture of astonishing and almost preternatural energy. But indeed it can scarcely be said that Aristotle in this treatise dates the deterioration of Athenian political life from the moment of the fall of the Areopagus. Among the various constitutional changes or developements of which he gives the series in chapter 41, he mentions the period between the reforms of Ephialtes and the establishment of the Four Hundred after the Sicilian expedition as one in which the city under the influence of the 'demagogues' made many serious mistakes in the effort to maintain its supremacy at sea (p. 106). But this verdict is directly contradicted by Aristotle himself in the twenty-third chapter, where we are told that after the overthrow of Xerxes the internal administration of Athens was good and admirably suited to the time; that their military experience won for them a high reputation throughout the Hellenic world; and that they were enabled to establish their maritime supremacy in spite of the Lacedæmonians (p. 66). Having said this, the writer, be it Aristotle or one of his pupils, goes on to tell us that the Athenians at this time were guided by Aristeides and Themistokles, the latter being not only illustrious as a statesman but with a reputation for integrity far beyond that of his contemporaries

generally. We are not concerned to account for these inconsistencies; we simply point them out.

But again Mr. Kenyon speaks of Aristotle as saying that the time of the so-called fall of the Areopagus was 'marked by the rise of the demagogues'—in other words, that up to this time there were no demagogues, and that Athens was not thus far plagued with men 'who depended for the retention of their power on their ability to please the varying tastes of the popular assembly,' and still more clearly as declaring that Pericles was 'the first of the demagogues to whom Athens owed her ruin' (p. xl). The author of this treatise does not say so. What he tells us is that as long as the public life of Pericles lasted, the constitutional administration of Athens was fairly good, but that it changed for the worse after his death, the reason given for this being not a mistaken maritime policy, but simply the fact that the demagogue who came after him was a man not admitted to the society of gentlemen. This may be a reference to Kleon; but if it be, Mr. Kenyon's words are strangely inapplicable to him. We are, however, emphatically told, not only that Pericles was not the first Demagogos, but that from the earliest times the Demagogoi had been invariably gentlemen. We know no other word which may adequately describe the *ἐπιεικεῖς*; but we have especially to note that Solon and Pisistratos, Cleisthenes, Xanthippos, and Miltiades, Themistocles and Aristeides, Ephialtes and Kimon are with Pericles placed together in the one class of *ἐπιεικεῖς*, in spite of the intensity of the political differences which distinguished them through life (ch. xxviii. p. 77). But whatever these demagogues may have been, is it possible to speak of any of them as deliberately setting themselves to please the varying tastes of the popular assembly? Could it be said of Pericles, whose whole political life may rather be described as a prolonged effort to induce the Athenians to do their duty, when to do their duty was the most irksome and repulsive task that could be forced upon them? Can it be said of Kleon, coarse and brutal as he may have been, when in all that is told us of him he appears rather as bullying and browbeating the Demos than pandering to their tastes and whims? Can it be said even of Nikias, although he is often charged with bringing about the great enterprise which fatally jeopardised the strength and even the life of the city? The charge is not true. Ill-judged though he was, and disastrously superstitious though he may have been, he honestly thought that the

expedition was a folly, if not a crime, and he plainly told the people so. It was only their insistence which led him so to expand the scale of the undertaking as to make failure, if there should be failure, overwhelming. Indeed, there has seldom been a charge urged against a whole body of men with so little of force and truth. It is not true even of Cleophon, for whose judicial murder the oligarchs or Eupatrids were responsible, although the writer of this treatise speaks of him as cajoling the people to secure a momentary gratification (ch. xxviii. p. 79). On the strength of this statement Mr. Kenyon speaks of the 'criminally 'light-hearted ecclesia' as voting the refusal of the Spartan offer of peace in obedience to his 'drunken braggadocio.' For this charge he has to a certain extent the authority of the writer of the present treatise, who tells us that Cleophon went to the assembly drunk and in his corslet, and there spoke against the peace unless the Spartans should surrender all cities taken from Athens. But it is singular that Aristotle, if it be Aristotle, places this incident after the battle of Arginusæ instead of after the battle of Kyzikos. In an excellent note (p. 92) Mr. Kenyon contends that Aristotle is right, and we have no wish to gainsay his words; but in the same chapter he has to charge Aristotle with serious inaccuracy in speaking of ten generals as being executed after the battle of Arginusæ, instead of six. But mere justice compels the admission that, whenever the incident spoken of by Aristotle may have taken place, Cleophon with all his faults does not deserve this treatment. If the embassy from Sparta be that of Endios (and it can scarcely have been any other), he was perfectly justified in denying the assurance of the envoy that Sparta was not much hurt or distressed by the war. The intercepted despatch of Hippocrates was sufficient proof to the contrary. But it was also well known that if Sparta would accept terms herself, she was quite unable to coerce her allies. These fears were real; but as for the assertion that Cleophon as a demagogue belonged to a class which made a profit of the troubles of the people, this had been a libel in the days of Kleon, and was an absurdity now. Athens was no longer receiving the riches of other lands; her reserved fund had long since been exhausted; her revenues by revolt after revolt had dwindled almost to nothing, and her fleets were able to carry on the war only by a system which had become little better than organised piracy. We have no wish to defend Cleophon. If he

felt bound to oppose the offers of Endios, he was bound to state clearly the basis on which Athens might treat for peace without indignity. Not doing so, he signally failed of his duty.

But Cleophon was not an Eupatrid; and Mr. Kenyon seems scarcely to see that, although Aristotle was beyond doubt perfectly convinced of the truth of all his utterances, he had not the smallest sympathy with, and therefore could not possibly understand, the nature of the influences which had given shape to the polity of Athens from the days of Solon downwards. The course taken by all the Athenian reformers without exception was one which, if it had not been resisted, would in the end have ensured the growth of a Greek nation, in our sense of the word. But it was resisted with all the fierce vehemence of which a highborn nobility taking its stand on religious sanctions was capable. The spirit of the Athenian polity offended the fundamental instincts of the ancient oligarchy in every city. Hence many of those institutions, which were absolutely necessary for the development and efficiency of this polity, appeared to him mere blots or mistakes or abuses still more reprehensible. It is clear that in this light Aristotle regarded the disbursement of public moneys in return for services done to the state. He does not say it in so many words; but all his language implies that Athens was little better than a hive of lazy drones who lived in comfort on incomes obtained from the public purse; and Mr. Kenyon seems to give his countenance to those representations. It was, however, an Eupatrid with a keen sense of the dignity of his lineage, who seems to be in Mr. Kenyon's eyes among the worst offenders in promoting this state of things. It was his counsel, as the author of this treatise asserts (ch. xxiv. p. 67), that the people should become what possibly we may call absentee landlords by leaving their country houses and crowding into the city, where they would find themselves the masters of the state,

'while they could count on making their living by the payments given for service in the army, or in garrisons, or for other public duties. This was the beginning of that system of living on the public purse which was carried to such lengths by the later demagogues in their competition for popular favour, whereby, even before payment was introduced for service in the Ecclesia, upwards of twenty thousand persons were receiving money from the public treasury' (p. xxxvii).

It is perfectly true that in the text Aristotle makes use of the word *τρέφεισθαι*, which seems to warrant Mr. Kenyon's

phrase 'living on the public purse,' in the sense seemingly that they had no other income than that which they thus received. But of these 20,000 persons, according to Aristotle himself, all except six thousand dicasts, or jurymen, and the Council of Five Hundred, were heavy-armed soldiers, archers, cavalry, troops garrisoning the docks or the city, men on frontier duty, crews of guardships or of the vessels which collected the tribute of the allied cities of the Confederation, together with jailers and other city officials. What is there in all this to warrant the sweeping language of Mr. Kenyon?

'The populace subsisted now [after the death of Pericles] on the public purse. Pericles had instituted payment for service in the law-courts, and when the Peloponnesian invasions drove all the inhabitants of Attica within the walls of the capital, and everyone was receiving pay either as juror or as soldier or as magistrate, the control of the state fell into the hands of the least capable but numerically largest section of the democracy, and of those who were best able to tickle its fancies or gratify its greed. The Athens of the early days of the Confederacy of Delos, in which the aristocratic and democratic elements were not unequally blended in the constitution, was capable of empire: but the Athens of the unmitigated democracy was not' (p. xli).

But the Athens of which Aristotle is speaking in this passage as feeding or maintaining 20,000 of her citizens was actually the Athens of the early days of the Confederacy, and the fact of her so keeping them could not be the cause of her incapacity for empire at a later time. We are sorry to be compelled to take exception to so many of Mr. Kenyon's statements; but we should be glad to know who were the statesmen who made a habit of tickling the fancies of the people or of gratifying its greed. It is really necessary to know their names, and to have instances of the faults or crimes thus imputed to them. We know neither their names nor their deeds; nor, indeed, does Aristotle in this treatise tell us that there were any such. But still more seriously must we ask whether, and how far, the system of payment, thus reflected upon by Aristotle, was and is wrong. On what principle are soldiers and sailors to be called out for active service, to be used and dismissed without pay? Whether this pay was too small or too great is another matter, and one into which we cannot enter here. But, in fact, English soldiers and sailors, English judges and jurors, English jailers and witnesses, are all paid, inadequately it may be, but paid in some degree nevertheless. Nor were Athenian citizens called upon to sit every day in the law

courts, or every day to attend the assembly, and when their attendance was not needed they were not paid. Why then is Athens to be blamed for the system itself, unless Great Britain is to be blamed also? The numbers employed in each or all of these services may have been too many or too few, and their pay may have been excessive or inadequate. These are matters of detail. But what grounds have we for quarrelling with the principle? It seems a hard thing to pronounce Athenians unfit to rule, and unfit to govern themselves, because they acted upon a principle recognised and carried out by every state in Christendom.

We have said enough to show that this treatise on Athenian polity is one which must be handled with great care and caution. It abounds with details; but the details are most full often where they seem to be least needed. A long section (chapters xxix. xxx.) is devoted to the description of a constitution drawn up after the suppression of the Council of Four Hundred, but not acted upon. The terms of the convention made after the deposition of the Thirty are given with unnecessary minuteness, and this remark applies in a greater degree to the whole narrative of the Pisistratid usurpation and tyranny. It is clear that the subject had a special interest for the writer, and his account of this time runs into anecdotes which cannot be regarded as essential to a description of the polity of Athens. Thus we have the story of Phylê, on the first restoration of Pisistratos, given in apparent unconsciousness of its absurdity, and the personal characteristics of Pisistratos himself are dwelt upon with manifest satisfaction. Whence did Aristotle obtain such information as we had not possessed about this time before the discovery of this treatise? All that we can say is that the friendly feeling of Thucydides for the family of Pisistratos is more marked even than his own; that the age of the Pisistratids preceded that of Aristotle by more than two centuries; that Thucydides had no written records before him, but obtained his knowledge by carefully sifting the oral testimony of those who professed to be acquainted with the story; and therefore that in this respect Aristotle could have no advantage over the historian. Distance of time places him still more at a disadvantage when he comes to deal with the work of Solon. The changes ascribed to the latter are beyond doubt the most momentous in the constitutional history of the Athenian people; but it cannot, we think, be said that this treatise helps us to understand them more

clearly. We remain, indeed, after reading it, much where we were before. He tells us that before Solon's time the polity was oligarchical in every respect, that the poor (*πένητες*) were, with their wives and children, slaves to the rich, and were called *Pelatai*, or *Hektemoroi*; that they tilled the land of their masters for a rent of one-sixth, and in case of failure to pay might with their families be sold into slavery; that they were bound to those who lent them money on the security of their bodies, and that in political life they had no share whatever (ch. ii. p. 3); that Solon put a stop to the practice of lending on this security; that he made laws and cuttings off of debts, both public and private, which they call the *Seisachtheia*, as having shaken off the burden' (ch. vi. p. 15), and that he subsequently carried out the work of increasing (*αὐξήσιν*) the weights, the measures, and the coinage (ch. x. p. 27). As to most of these points he had the contemporary testimony of Solon himself; but can we conclude that Aristotle and Solon say the same thing, and in substance agree together? The former speaks not only of peasants and their masters, but of persons who lent money on the bodies of these peasants, the latter being therefore bound to pay the rent due to their masters, and also the money advanced by lenders, the security for both being the same. He does not say in terms that the masters and the lenders were the same, but Plutarch, who also quotes the lines of Solon, speaks of *Daneistai* who lent money which they knew could not be repaid, and which they counted on recovering with large profits by the sale of the debtor and his family. Is this credible? Is it intelligible? According to Aristotle the tillers of the ground, with their families, were in bondage to their masters, who could sell them in the event of their failing as *Hektemoroi*. Whether their liability was for one-sixth or five-sixths of the produce we cannot positively determine; but what is quite certain is that the masters would never have allowed their own security to be tampered with or infringed. The idea of their suffering any one else, on pretence of loans, to come in and seize their property is a sheer absurdity. The hypothesis of a class of usurers or lenders distinct from the landowners is, therefore, scattered to the winds; nor is the notion of mortgage on land, backed by the security of the bodies of the borrowers, less ridiculous. The bodies of the borrowers were already the property of the landowners, and except by the owners land cannot be mortgaged. In mortgaging land the free tenant has no more right of action than the slave. With this state

of things it is hard to connect or reconcile what Aristotle says of the Seisachtheia, or the cutting off of debts, public and private. What he says about the *αὐξήσις*, or increasing of the coinage and the weights and measures, has seemingly nothing at all to do with it. With later writers the increasing of the coinage became a debasing of the currency; but why or to what purpose the coinage should be debased, if all debts of whatsoever kind had been wiped out, it is quite impossible to understand. Indeed, the abolition of all indebtedness, of every class, at the same moment, is not a whit less unintelligible. Mr. Kenyon seems to speak confidently of the fact that 'all debts, public and private, were 'cancelled' (p. xxv). Elsewhere he says that 'the aristocracy' (i.e., the masters or owners of the enslaved people) dreaded 'the loss of whatever money they had out on loan 'at the time of the Seisachtheia' (p. xxvii). But if this was all that they had cause to fear, then the Seisachtheia was not a cancelling of all debts, public and private, but simply the nullifying of certain contracts on the ground of their illegality or their iniquity.

But of all this Solon himself says nothing; and it is clearly impossible to comprehend the condition of things with which he had to deal, if we fail to understand what he, the reformer and lawgiver, had to say about his own work. His description unquestionably brings before us a state of profound misery. Those who were in power were violent robbers, and of the tillers of the land many were sold into foreign slavery or kept in chains. Then in an indignant appeal he calls the Black Earth to bear witness to what he had done. He declares that he had found the earth itself enslaved, and that he had made her free by taking away the landmarks (*ὄροι*), which had been fixed up in every direction. It is indispensably necessary to know what these *ὄροι* were, and what their abolition meant. That they can have been mortgage marks, as some have supposed, with the amount of the loan inscribed upon them, is, of course, under the circumstances detailed by Solon, altogether impossible. If the tillers of the land received any loans, they received them from their masters whose property they were; and that the owner should publish particulars relating to these loans for the benefit of passers-by, it is ludicrous to suppose. Whatever the word *ὄρος* may mean here, it must have the same meaning when Solon speaks of himself as a *Horos* between two contending armies,—a landmark not to be touched or thrown over. The testimony of Solon taken by itself is perfectly clear. These boundary stones were the

marks of the religious ownership of the Eupatrids. In theory none but those who belonged to the family (*γένος* or gens), who shared its sacrifices, and in whose veins ran the blood of the founder whom they revered as their god, could venture to pass them; and there is no doubt that in the earliest times the practice was as strict as the theory. All who did not belong to the *γένος* or family were, of necessity, excluded also from the Phratría or the collection of houses (the clan), from the Phylê or tribe, the group of the clans with their houses, and finally also from the Polis, the gathering of the tribes. Thus without the link of blood none could have any political rights, not even any personal freedom or any appeal to law. The bond throughout was religious; and the outsiders could be rescued from their slavery only by giving them an interest in the land on which they lived, and by devising or re-adapting a classification of the whole people which should not affect the religious distinctions of the Eupatrids. The Solonian legislation notoriously did not touch the existing tribes, phratries, and houses, as such. But neither did that of Cleisthenes. In the Solonian state the wealthiest Pentacosiomedimnos remained ineligible for all offices, unless he also belonged to a tribe. The only change was that the most highborn Eupatrid became likewise ineligible to office if his property failed to reach a certain standard. As to Cleisthenes, all that he did was to establish a set of new tribes which were to be independent of the old tribes and their organisation. But the old religious order was never done away with; and the religious feeling of the Phratries was fearfully and fatally roused after the battle of Arginusæ. Within these limits the work of Solon seems to have been confined; but later writers, naturally enough, attached to the terms used in describing it meanings which the words had come to bear in their own day, and so ascribed to Solon enactments of which he says nothing and seems to know nothing.

We must forbear from going further into this question, or to enter on the multitude of subjects with which this newly recovered treatise deals. They must all be examined minutely and dispassionately. Whatever the results may be they must have a high value. The work itself is one of the deepest interest, and will be heartily welcomed by all historical scholars. We have attempted here only to measure the degree of authority which statements of Aristotle ought to carry in the field of Athenian constitutional history. It would be premature at present to attempt anything more.

- ART. VIII.—1. *A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.* With a Reprint of Christopher Bagshaw's 'True Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbech,' and Illustrative Documents. By THOMAS GRAVES LAW, Librarian, Signet Library. London: 1889.
2. *Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws.* Chiefly from the Archives of the See of Westminster. Edited by Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory. 4to. London: (Vol. I.) 1878, (Vol. II.) 1882.
3. *Dodd's Church History of England, from the Commencement of the 16th Century to the Revolution in 1688.* With Notes, Additions, and Continuation by the Rev. M. A. TIERNEY, F.S.A. London: (Vol. III.) 1840, (Vol. IV.) 1841.
4. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England.* Including the Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, Envoy from Rome to the English Court in 1643, 1644, and 1645. . . . By the Rev. JOSEPH BERINGTON. 8vo. London: 1813.

ON the chart of English history there are some conspicuous blanks. They represent periods concerning which we have almost no contemporary records to appeal to, as is the case with the nineteen miserable years of Stephen's reign, or where the records are obviously defective and have probably been intentionally destroyed, as appears to be true of the reign of Queen Mary; or they indicate that, however voluminous may be the documentary sources at our disposal, historians have as yet failed to avail themselves of the material ready to their hands. In all these instances we are left comparatively in the dark, and have to content ourselves as best we can with flimsy and half traditional narratives of events whose importance we cannot estimate until fresh light has been thrown upon them. In the meantime we have to submit to be ignorant for a while of the meaning of great movements which, if we could trace their source and follow them to their results, might help us to the solution of many important problems.

Among these blanks, these unexplored areas, not the least noticeable is that which covers the last ten or twelve years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The history of those years remains still unwritten, not because the materials are

inaccessible or meagre, but simply because the man has not yet appeared to gather up the many clues and to weave them into a harmonious whole. Hence our knowledge of these years is fragmentary and incomplete. The Irish rebellion; the last great naval expedition to the West, in which Drake and Hawkins perished; the Cadiz and the Island voyages; the rise and progress of Puritanism; not to speak of the immense developement of our commerce,—these things have been left to writers of monographs and partisans to deal with after their fashion; and, all things considered, such writers have not spared themselves trouble, or handled their several briefs without skill or without success. But the man of genius with something more than a faculty for research, the historian gifted with philosophic breadth of view and the power of correlating the forces which sway the moral world; the historian who can track events to their causes and detect the laws at work to which phenomena are to be referred, and can discern the tortuous currents which ripple and eddy and help to determine the direction and the rate at which the main stream flows along,—such an historian, qualified to deal with the later years of the sixteenth century, has not yet arisen. We have still to wait.

Meanwhile it startles and puzzles those who are ignorant of what was going on in the generation that grew up after the wrecking of the Armada, to find James I. in the very first year of his reign confronted by a House of Commons determined to stand upon their privileges; pestered by a host of self-asserting clergy with their Millenary Petition in their hands, and threatened, almost frightened, by conspiracies and intrigues among the Romanists such as culminated in the ghastly Gunpowder Plot. No student or scholar of the calibre of Hallam or the Bishop of Oxford has seriously set himself to trace the developement of those ideas, sentiments, and convictions which had begun to operate upon our forefathers since the great upheavals which the despotism of Henry VIII. had occasioned, or to show how they acted from within under new conditions, and how the England of the Tudors grew so rapidly into the England which the Stuarts were called upon to govern and with which they knew not how to deal. This much, however, is plain enough to us: that things had been moving steadily along in one direction, tending always towards the great bourne of Freedom—freedom of labour, freedom of trade, freedom of worship, freedom of thought. That way the great flood was setting. Only one fantastic

current was being mechanically forced along to turn, if possible, the main stream backward. Rome had set herself to stem the resistless waves of progress. How futile the attempt was, and how incomparably stupid were the methods employed, we in England have only lately thought it worth our while to enquire, and are only now beginning to understand.

It is hardly more than eighteen years since Father Morris issued the first of that remarkable series of volumes which appeared under the title of 'The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers.' The narratives of exciting adventure, of heroic self-sacrifice, of romantic incidents, hairbreadth escapes, of hideous tortures inflicted and savage cruelty endured in the prisons or at the scaffold, could not fail to attract attention and stimulate curiosity. Father Morris's book came upon most readers as a new revelation. It was not to be wondered at that a great change passed over many minds. Sympathy was awakened for the devoted emissaries of the 'old religion' who had persisted in their propagandism, holding their lives in their hands with such stubborn courage; and the conviction grew that these Jesuit fathers were not so bad as they had been painted. Nay, they deserved to be held in honour as devoted confessors and martyrs for the faith which they laboured to resuscitate or to keep alive. While the 'Troubles' were coming out in quick succession, another labourer in the same field was at work. Mr. Foley's first volume of 'Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus' appeared in 1877. It increased our surprise; that surprise was not lessened as this series went on growing in bulk, and showed us how much there was to know about the labours of the Jesuits among us in the perilous times, and how considerable had been the success which they had met with among some classes of the community. The impression produced by these books upon the reading public was, however, a false one. People had learnt that the Jesuit fathers who came over to England had exercised a great influence and had done a great deal, and they came to the conclusion that the Jesuits had done everything. It never occurred to them—how were they to know it?—that other men had laboured and these had entered into their labours. Earnest and conscientious Catholics, whose fathers had suffered in their persons and their estates for generations, began to be a little sore at all this glorification of an order which had never been without its enemies even among the faithful; they

resented this arrogant ignoring of any work which had not been done by the followers of St. Ignatius, and they felt that the time had come for letting the world know that the Catholic priests who had borne the burden and heat of the day from the first, and had continued in occupation of the field, had been Seculars, not Regulars; in fact, that the Jesuit fathers have never been more than a very insignificant contingent of the Roman hierarchy in England.

The publication of the first volume of the 'Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws,' edited by the Fathers of the London Oratory, in 1877, was the first important protest against the assumption implied in the somewhat boastful attitude which the Jesuits had taken up. It was followed by a second volume, in 1882, containing the letters and memorials of Cardinal Allen, each volume being prefaced by a learned and very able historical introduction by Dr. Knox, who lived only just long enough to look through the last sheets of the volume. The loss of so learned and ripe a scholar as Dr. Knox has hitherto been felt to be irreparable, and the further publication of these records has been suspended, though, we trust, only temporarily. The two series, without being professedly antagonistic, are yet very different in their tone. Mr. Foley's records of the 'Society of Jesus' are concerned almost exclusively with the doings of the English Jesuits, and may almost be said to have a flavour of sectarianism about them. The records of the 'English Catholics' take a very much wider and more comprehensive view, and cover the whole field over which the operations of the Roman clergy extended, from the days when the earliest penal laws were placed upon the statute book. If those records had been kept with anything approaching to the minuteness which characterises the Jesuit documents, their bulk would exceed Mr. Foley's collection more than tenfold; and, all things considered, it is a matter of congratulation that we are never likely to be overwhelmed with such a portentous mass of evidence to appeal to.

Roman Catholicism in England dates from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne. The Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service of the Church passed the House of Lords on April 28, 1559, and received the Queen's assent a few days later. By that Act the saying of the mass according to the Roman ritual, whether in public or private, subjected the celebrant to forfeiture of goods for the first offence, and to imprisonment for life for any subsequent

repetition of the misdemeanour. Before the Act of Uniformity was passed Parliament had already prepared the way for it by decreeing that the queen was supreme head of the Church in England, 'as well in all spiritual things and 'causes as temporal.' It followed from this tremendous delegation of ecclesiastical powers that in England the despotism of the sovereign over the Church was incomparably more absolute and unfettered than it was over the State; and the first exercise of those powers by Elizabeth was when she dictated to her people how divine service was in future to be carried on. The old ritual was sternly proclaimed to be illegal. It was necessary that something should be substituted in its place. The Prayer Book of Edward VI. offered itself at once as a convenient stop-gap. To be sure, more than six years had passed since this Prayer Book had been in use, but that mattered little; it was something to swear by, it became the cry of a party. One side cried out for the 'Mass,' the other cried for the 'Prayer Book.' If we go on to ask how many churches in England possessed a copy of the book, or had ever possessed one, before the Act of Uniformity came into force; how many of the clergy had ever used it; how many of the laity had ever seen it, we shall find such questions very difficult to answer; and, in so far as we can get any trustworthy replies, they will, perhaps, be rather astonishing. This much, however, we do know—that the Prayer Book of Edward VI., of which we have lately heard so much, is supposed to have come into use on November 1, 1552, and the king died just eight months later. What had been going on in the interval that elapsed between 1549 and 1552, during which time the destruction of the ancient service books had been carried out with very varying degrees of thoroughness in different parts of the country, that it would be, again, very difficult to say. The pillage of the churches during those three years was mere unblushing robbery. What was saleable was taken; what was valueless was left. If an old service book had silver clasps, or some real or sham jewels on the binding, it was tossed into the general horde; if it was a well-used, battered volume, and so unsaleable, it was not worth taking—let it stay! Strype expressly tells us that the number of service books which survived the raids of 1549 was very large, and that they were 'produced again, 'and came to light under Queen Mary.' On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that the Prayer Book of Edward VI. was rigorously proscribed during those six

years of her reign, and that here at home, within the four seas, it had never made any way. It seems pretty certain that there were large areas up and down the country where there had been little or no change in the service of the churches, and the English Liturgy had never been used when the Act of Uniformity was passed. Even in dioceses where much plunder offered itself to the greedy, instances not a few occur among the presentments made at archdeacons' visitations of the roods still remaining in the churches, of no Bible or homilies having been provided by the churchwardens, and of the significant entry, 'No books.' All these things are noticeable even late in Queen Elizabeth's reign. In Wales it is obvious that the English Prayer Book would have been at least as unintelligible as a Latin one. In Lancashire and Cornwall the feeling was strong in favour of the old way and against the new way. The parish priests were in most cases left to go on in their own fashion. They carried their people with them, and no one complained.

When the Mass was brought back again, the great body of the nation was overjoyed at the return to the old ritual. But almost at the same moment that she won the favour of her people by showing them that her religious convictions and prejudices were in sympathy with theirs, Mary committed her first great blunder by her stern banishment of the married clergy from their preferments. Though the marriage of the clergy had been declared unlawful in the Six Articles of 1539, and had first been made lawful in November 1548, yet clandestine matrimonial alliances had been entered into extensively during the sixteenth century. When the Act of 1548 came into force, not only did a large number of clergy take to themselves wives, but many others publicly acknowledged themselves to be already husbands and fathers. Five years later—less than five years—these newly married clergy were extensively driven out from their benefices, and their places supplied by celibates. The feelings of the middle classes were outraged. They could not but be outraged by this slur cast upon the husbands of their daughters. That was a loss. But, on the other hand, there was a gain in this respect—that the ranks of the parochial clergy were extensively recruited, partly from the survivors of that large body of monks who had been driven out of their houses sixteen years before, partly by fresh ordinations which the bishops, all of one mind, had in their own hands. These 'Queen Mary's priests,' as they were called in Eliza-

beth's times, all had their faces turned Romewards. They had been brought up upon the old, they hated the new, doctrines. An English Prayer Book was to them an abomination. To forbid them saying their Mass was to cut them off, they thought, from communion with the great body of the faithful, the Church Catholic. To translate into the vulgar tongue words which the usage of a thousand years had hallowed till they had become something more than words, this was to degrade the awful act of adoration into a mere form of speech, in which the language mocked the worshipper with a pretence of explaining the significance of that which was in its essence a mystery. The elaborate ceremonial, which in the course of ages had become familiar to all who presented themselves at the sacrament of the altar seemed to these men essential even in its minutest details. The very language employed, imperfectly understood, or not understood at all, spoke out as with authority; there was a tone of awfulness in the sound. The prostrations and genuflexions, the changes of position and attitude, the cup withheld from all but the privileged few, and the mystic wafer granted to all, the incense fumes rising heavenward and filling the air with a strange fragrance: all these things had got to be regarded not only as so many appeals to the faithful, through the vehicle of figure and symbol: they had come to be reckoned essential parts of the *opus operandum*, each one of which contributed its quota towards making the sacrament an effectual means of grace to all who assisted at it. To take away all the pomp and movement from the celebration of the supreme eucharistic sacrifice, to tell men bluntly that there was little or no mystery in the matter, and that all these appeals to the eye and ear were henceforth to be forbidden as superstitious, shocked and horrified devout and earnest persons who had been brought up all their lives with very different views. Were they to submit to this terrible Act of Uniformity—to submit or to rebel?

The queen had played her first card. Then she waited, Cecil, her great minister, watching the game. For the next eleven years (1558–1570), says Mr. Law, 'the history of the Roman Catholic Church in England is a blank.' Nay, not quite a blank. To begin with, the houses of the nobility were privileged, and, as the odious system of espionage which prevailed so widely in the after time had not yet begun to work, the private chapels in the great houses were served by many priests who found a shelter in these safe retreats. It is an exaggeration to assert that 'some nine

'thousand parish priests were content, with good or bad consciences, to read the Book of Common Prayer and to 'preserve their livings.' All over the country there were priests wandering about who were secretly officiating according to the old ritual, receiving confessions from such as sought them out and contributed to their necessities, saying mass upon portable altars in upper chambers, acting as schoolmasters and tutors ostensibly, but discharging their priestly functions at comparatively little risk among the country gentry who afforded them protection. Yorkshire swarmed with them; in Wales they could always find a safe retreat; in Norfolk the squirearchy were their friends almost to a man. As late as 1596 the number of 'Queen Mary priests' was estimated by a very competent authority at between forty and fifty, and this after forty years of worrying, and hunting, and banishing, and death from natural causes levying his annual tribute from among the sick and aged. It is clear that the priests who stood out against using the Prayer Book must have counted by hundreds. From the point of view of the Catholic and non-conforming party, these men were the salt of the earth. As long as they made no mischief and were not aggressive in their tone, they were tolerated after a fashion. The rod was ready for use, however, at any moment. It hung up there in the sight of all men who had eyes. None could say how soon it might be taken down.

So things had been going on for eleven years, when, in November 1569, the senseless outbreak known as the 'Northern rebellion' began. It was all over in six weeks: all except the savage retribution which continued to be dealt out to such as were implicated in it. 'Mass priests' not a few were among the sufferers, how many we cannot tell. Six months later, on May 15, 1570, the Bull of Pius V., pronouncing the sentence of excommunication upon Queen Elizabeth, was nailed by an unknown hand to the door of the Bishop of London's palace. At last, after more than eleven years' waiting, the pope had made his move. Undoubtedly he had forced the queen's hand. She waited till winter was passed, then she met the challenge. Parliament was summoned, and assembled on April 2, 1571. Forthwith a statute was passed enacting that 'if any person after the 1st of July next coming shall use or put in use in any place within the realm any bill, writing, or instrument . . . obtained . . . from the Bishop of Rome . . . he shall suffer pains of death . . . as in cases of high treason.' But there was

something more than this. The bill went on to enact that 'if any person after the same 1st of July shall take upon him to *absolve* or *reconcile* any person . . . or if any shall willingly *receive* and take such *absolution*,' he should be subject to the same pains and penalties as in the other case. That is to say, any Catholic priest venturing to exercise his priestly functions did so with his life in his hands, and any one receiving absolution from such priest was subject to all the terrors of the law.

At this point a brief retrospect will be necessary to enable us to understand the course of events during the decade that followed upon the issuing of the Bull of Excommunication.

Queen Mary died on November 17, 1558. Before Elizabeth could be crowned the oath of allegiance must be taken by the bishops and all who held office in the realm. That oath contained a formal recognition of the queen as supreme head of the Church in England. The bishops refused it to a man. The coronation was fixed for January 15 notwithstanding; and at the last moment one bishop, Watson of Lincoln, gave way. Note that at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth mass was said according to the old ritual, as it was again when Parliament opened ten days later. A most strange and unaccountable mortality had of late seriously thinned the ranks of the episcopate. Within a few weeks of Elizabeth's accession nine sees had become vacant; there remained only twelve bishops in England, eleven of whom had taken up a position of decided hostility to the queen's policy. The ground which they took up had been exactly the same ground which Bishop Fisher had stood upon twenty-four years before, and for adhering to which he was barbarously murdered. Of the eleven protesting prelates eight were deprived of their sees, three escaped to the continent and died as exiles. Their example in refusing the oath was followed with a noble self-sacrifice by some of the ablest and most learned ecclesiastics in the land. Twelve deans of cathedrals, fifty prebendaries, twelve archdeacons, and fifteen masters of colleges in the universities threw up their preferments or were deprived. Of the beneficed clergy who were driven out no sufficient records have been preserved. As to the unbeneficed, they had nothing to lose, and no oath was tendered to them. The exiles received a generous welcome from the Catholics abroad, and a considerable contingent of them settled at Louvain, where they became the leading spirits of the university there, and attracted round them a number of young Englishmen who came for instruction at their hands.

Foremost among them all, not only for his sacred learning, but for an irresistible charm of manner and a graceful earnestness which made his personal influence unbounded, was William Allen, a Lancashire man of gentle birth and considerable private means, who had been principal of St. Mary's Hall in the University of Oxford, and, on the oath being tendered to him, had resigned his post and crossed over to Flanders. In the year 1567 Allen made a pilgrimage to Rome in company with a certain Dr. Vendeville, who was full of a project for starting missions among the heathen on a large scale. The pope (Pius V.) gave him but scant encouragement, and the two friends returned to Belgium having effected nothing. Vendeville was Professor of Canon Law in the new University of Douai, in Artois, which Philip II. had founded in 1562, and of which Dr. Richard Smith, the ejected Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was chancellor. No man could be in daily communication with Allen for months without feeling the power of his extraordinary personal influence; and by the time that Vendeville had got back to Douai, discouraged and out of heart by his reception at Rome, he was more than half inclined to give up his larger missionary scheme and to turn his thoughts to something more practicable. Why should he not take up the cause of England, and ally himself with his friend in his endeavours to deliver heretic England from the dangers that threatened it in the near future? To an earnest Romanist these dangers appeared to be very grave. Elizabeth had now been on the throne for ten years. The old priests were already beginning to die off; the difficulties which they experienced in exercising their functions were increasing. In the country villages the people were becoming familiarised with the English Prayer Book; the mass was becoming more and more a thing of the past. Among the gentry, indeed, there was still a sullen dislike of the new and a somewhat stubborn adherence to the old. But when it had come to this, that the Roman priest had to hide himself among a privileged few, and to be passed from house to house as occasion offered; when, too, it was evident that in England there could be no more ordinations, and that the universities were recovering from the large secessions which had followed upon the legislation of 1559, and toleration was less and less talked of as possible; it must have become plain to the beaten side that it was only a question of time when England would find itself Protestant from end to end. The Catholic faith and the Catholic ritual would die out if some great sacrifices

were not soon made, and some aggressive action were not soon set on foot.

On Michaelmas Day 1568 Dr. Allen opened his famous college at Douai. It was started on a small scale, but the vigorous and effective support which Dr. Vendeville had by this time determined to afford soon got for it the funds which enabled it to extend its operations, and Allen's own means were ungrudgingly devoted to the object he had in view. That object was to provide a seminary for the training of priests who should be sent to act as 'missioners' among the faithful in England. They were to go forth as 'propagandists,' to revive the faith of the lukewarm, to instruct those who were out of the way, to celebrate the mass, to receive confessions and absolve, to be witnesses for the truth as defined by Rome and the Council of Trent, to show England that she was not forsaken and need not despair. All this was Allen's first and principal aim, but there was more behind. The Catholic gentry in England had by this time already begun to feel sorely the pressure of the law. It became harder and harder for them to provide education for their sons. The supply of Catholic priests, who, since the accession of Elizabeth, had been acting as private tutors in the great houses, was steadily falling short; the new grammar schools were presided over for the most part by scholars with a strong Protestant bias. At the universities, especially at Cambridge, the new Puritanism was in the ascendant; and in any case no young man could proceed to a degree without being tendered the objectionable oath of supremacy enforced as rigidly as ever. Allen's college, though primarily a theological seminary, offered, besides, an education of a high class to English gentlemen who desired for their sons a training school abroad where they might learn foreign languages. It supplied a want which had been felt for long. It is, however, with the college as a theological seminary and the centre of the new propagandism that we are now concerned. As long as Allen himself was exercising his government, his enthusiasm communicated itself to others. The college had great difficulties to contend with from its first foundation. Scarcely a year had passed since its opening when the great Northern rebellion broke out, and mass was said in Durham Cathedral; then came the excommunication of the queen, then the new penal statute. In 1578 the adherents of the Prince of Orange drove out the English from Douai, and the college was transferred to Rheims, where it continued to carry on its

operations till 1593, when it was re-established in its old quarters.

So carefully did Dr. Allen watch over the training and discipline of his early scholars, that not till five years had elapsed was a single 'missionary' sent over to England to carry on his perilous labours. In 1574 the first priests went forth. They were a little band of four; all young men of gentle birth; they were all captured and thrown into gaol before they had been many months in England; they were all subsequently banished from the country, and all returned again to run the same risks as soon as an opportunity offered itself. By the middle of 1580 the college had sent out more than a hundred of these missionary priests, and the welcome they met with and the liberality that was exhibited in providing for their support perplexed and provoked Cecil, who still hesitated to put the Penal Acts in force.

Meanwhile the very success of Allen's experiment during the first years of the college life at Douai brought with it dangers and difficulties not a few. Guileless and chivalrous himself, he was easily imposed upon; and the largeness of his hospitality, with the offer of free education and few questions asked, brought in only too many volunteers, who were very undesirable accessions to the number of students. Allen began to feel that he had more than he could manage. In 1576 a new college affiliated to the Douai seminary, and to which certain very ancient endowments of a much older foundation were transferred, was opened at Rome. It was known as the English College. It was a very luckless place from the first. To begin with, the first rector was a fiery and passionate Welshman, clearly 'a most incompetent ruler,' as Mr. Law calls him—exactly the wrong man for the place. Dr. Maurice Clenock (that was his name) had only a single qualification, if it may be esteemed such: he had been bishop-elect of Bangor in Queen Mary's time. For the rest, he appears to have had no natural gifts, no learning, and no love, and was a fierce partisan in favour of his own countrymen (the Welsh), who, attracted perhaps by the fact of a prelate of their own blood and their own tongue being in high position at the papal court, had mustered in some force at Rome, and now came swarming into the newly founded college. It looks as if no great confidence was felt that Clenock would be able to manage matters wisely, for two Italian Jesuits were associated with the rector to take part in the administration of the college, the one as 'procurator,' the other as 'prefect of studies;' and Cardinal

Moroni was appointed protector or 'visitor,' to whom disputes, should any arise, were to be referred. The disputes came all too soon. The Welsh rector favoured and pampered the clique of Welsh students, who straightway began to behave with outrageous insolence; they were evidently an ignorant set of vulgarians, who ought never to have been there. A violent feud ensued. Clenock was at last deposed, and his place was filled by a Jesuit Father, Alfonso Agazzari.

This was the first time that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus began to interfere openly in English affairs, whether abroad or at home.

So far from the 'Roman' College improving under the government of its Jesuit rectors, its discipline and reputation continued for many years to be a disgrace to all concerned with it. The students, after the effacement of Dr. Clenock's Welsh contingent, averaged between forty and fifty in number; they were, for the most part, young Englishmen, sons of the Romanist gentry at home, and fairly supplied with funds for their maintenance. Almost from the outset they became divided into two factions—the one more or less pledged to become 'tame and passive instruments of a Jesuit faction, for the conquest of their country by Spanish arms and for its conversion to the faith by the methods of the 'Inquisition;' the other consisting of honest and zealous Catholics, prepared to make great sacrifices for 'reducing' England to the right way, but abhorring the thought of subjecting their fatherland to the sway of Philip II. or any foreign power. They had given up much; they were ready to give up more—anything, indeed, except their patriotism. The result was that there was chronic rebellion, almost anarchy. The details of the extraordinary story may be read in Mr. Law's learned introduction, and a very odious and scandalous story it is. Before the college had been opened three years a reaction set in against the Jesuits, and a feeling grew up that they had less desire to labour for the conversion of England than for the aggrandisement of their own order. In point of fact, five of these young men were enticed (it was said) to join the society, and were thus lost to the English mission. It began to be asked, what had these Jesuits done that they should take upon themselves to dictate to others? Why had they not sent any of their own fathers to engage in the work which the seminarists of Douai and Rheims had begun to do so bravely and at such tremendous risks? Were they to be only talkers where it

was safe to talk : mere agitators, who shrank from making great ventures, leaving to others the burden and heat of the day ?

It is at this critical point that we first hear of Robert Parsons. He was now thirty-three years of age (1579) ; he had joined the Society of Jesus in 1575 ; he had been ordained priest three years later ; he was now exercising some office in the Roman College, but as yet he was comparatively unknown. Robert Parsons was no common man ; he had been Fellow and tutor of Balliol, and had acquired considerable reputation at Oxford ; but he was domineering, aggressive, and vehemently disliked by the Fellows of the college and other graduates in the university, and in 1574 was violently ejected from his fellowship, and in the natural course of things drifted to Rome. He was now in the first fervour of his zeal and enthusiasm. That it was ardent and genuine there can be no doubt. In a letter which he addressed to Allen on March 30, 1579, he writes strongly advocating that the Jesuit fathers should take part in the English mission, and offering himself as one of those who should be sent out. 'For,' he explains, 'seeing I have offered myself a good while ago to the mission of the Indies, and cannot obtain it, it may be God will have me go to this other.' Allen gladly accepted the suggestion, and set himself without delay to act upon it. On April 14, 1580, the Jesuit mission was determined upon, and Campion and Parsons were appointed to lead the way. With them was to go Goldwell, the Marian Bishop of St. Asaph.

To the student of this period of our history no question, among the many which present themselves, is more perplexing than why the Roman pontiffs showed such a stubborn reluctance to provide any adequate organisation for the Catholic priests pursuing their perilous work in England. The want of anything in the shape of discipline or subordination among these unfortunate men made them mere scattered 'items,' with no cohesion, no concerted action, no sense of belonging to any corporation other than that Church which, in their view, had its seat at Rome. As officers of this militant Church they were the mere *sentinelles perdues*, sent out to shift for themselves in an alien country, which had revolted from the sovereign pontiff, and would be recovered some day. Meanwhile, they were left to fight the great battle each on his own responsibility, each at his own risk. More than twenty years had gone by, and the priests

felt more and more every year that their position was becoming untenable, impossible. They wanted bishops to guide and govern them; leaders and commanders, to whom they might go for orders, for counsel, direction, and moral support. They called for them; they petitioned for them, with one accord and without a dissentient voice. The popes, one after another, turned a deaf ear to their cry. Astute politicians of the Elizabethan age wondered, but were by no means sorry; and they who have looked into the matter with the eyes of evangelical Anglicans have thankfully and confidently pronounced that this desertion of the Roman clergy was the result of 'judicial blindness.' Now, in this year (1580) it seemed at last that the English priests were to have a real bishop to rule over them. Unhappily, the Bishop of St. Asaph was a good deal past seventy, infirm, weak in health, and an utterly unfit person to face the kind of life which any missionary bishop must make up his mind to who should set foot upon English soil. He got no farther than Rheims, where he fell ill, and was forthwith summoned back to Rome. The two Jesuit fathers, Parsons and Campion, with a Jesuit lay brother and four of Allen's seminary priests, went on their way without him. The English priests were not going to have a bishop after all. No; instead of episcopal supervision and control, they were, it seems, to be handed over to the Jesuit fathers; and it is very safe to assert that the Catholic priests in England had but the very vaguest notion of who and what these Jesuits were, still less could they have understood or suspected what was meant by their being subordinated to Jesuit supervision and dictation.

Until Father Parsons landed at Dover on June 11, 1580, no Jesuit had ever been seen in England. Ignatius Loyola had been dead just twenty-five years, and two of his original associates in founding the Society of Jesus were still alive. Loyola during his lifetime had admitted only a single Englishman into the order, a lad of nineteen, of whom we know nothing but that his name was Thomas Lith, and that he was admitted to the novitiate in June 1555. During the next ten years six more Englishmen entered the order, two of them being men of some mark—Jasper Haywood, formerly Fellow of All Souls', and Thomas Darbyshire, who had been archdeacon of Essex and a canon of St. Paul's. In the next decade about the same number of English recruits joined the society; three, and three only, were scholars of any reputation—Parsons, Campion, and Henry

Garnet. When the Jesuit mission to England started there were not thirty English Jesuits in the world.

It is necessary to emphasise this fact because our historians, even those of high repute, have evidently been ignorant of it, and hence have spoken of the English Jesuits as if they were numerically a formidable body. As late as 1593 no more than thirty Jesuit fathers were Englishmen, of whom six were moving about among us at large, and one, William Weston, was in prison at Wisbech. Five years later their numbers had increased to fourteen; two were in prison, three had died, and six had been barbarously executed. The recall of Bishop Goldwell and the powers conferred by Gregory XIII. had put the two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, in an entirely novel position with reference to the English Catholics. Campion at once sank into comparative insignificance and confined himself to the work of preaching, writing, and printing with extraordinary energy and boldness. It was otherwise with Parsons; he gave himself all the airs of a papal legate. And, among other audacious acts, he summoned a synod of the Catholic priests, which assembled at Southwark in July 1580, at which he produced his instructions. It is evident that the long forbearance of Elizabeth and her ministers had produced a false impression upon the Catholic party at home and abroad. The ferocious Act which had passed through Parliament ten years before had remained almost a dead letter. The excommunication had provoked no exhibition of severity: the seminary priests had come in and were at work; the few who were captured were simply banished, only to return. The Ultramontanes might have been forgiven for believing that Elizabeth was afraid to strike, and that all this menacing legislation was little more than brag. It was not long before they were rudely undeceived. In December 1581 Edmund Campion was executed, and Parsons had slipped out of the country, never to return. When the year 1582 opened there was not a single Jesuit father at large from the Cheviots to the Channel. Like every other attempt to force from Elizabeth concessions which she had determined never to make, the Jesuit mission of 1580 only ended in forcing her exactly in the contrary direction. It was papal aggression which made toleration impossible during the Elizabethan era, and which, in fact, delayed its acceptance as a national duty for wellnigh three hundred years. Mere toleration the Secular priests, if left to themselves, would have accepted with thankfulness; but toleration the Jesuit

fathers rejected with scorn. With them it was supremacy or nothing.

When the rumours of an invasion of England by Roman emissaries, with some picked scholars and disputants at their head, came from over the sea, and tidings were brought in of the movements of this new and strange band of preachers who were going to do so much, the queen's advisers set themselves to take such steps as ordinary prudence dictated. Hitherto the few remaining Marian ecclesiastics who had refused the oath of supremacy, and had quietly submitted to take the consequences of their obstinacy, had been treated with some consideration. They were, indeed, kept in confinement, but they had in most instances been treated rather as prisoners on parole, and committed to the custody of persons who were responsible for their safe keeping, but whose interest it was to make their captivity as tolerable as it could be made under the circumstances. Now, however, it was deemed advisable to treat these unfortunate men with more rigour. There was at Wisbech in Cambridgeshire an old residential castle belonging to the see of Ely, which Bishop Morton had restored to something of its ancient magnificence towards the end of the fifteenth century. By one of those infamous acts of spoliation which were only too frequent at the time, Wisbech Castle was taken away from Bishop Cox towards the end of his life and quietly appropriated by the queen. Wisbech Castle was a convenient stronghold where state prisoners might be securely kept; for it was surrounded by a high wall and a deep moat, and within the precincts there were four acres of meadow and garden ground. 'When the country was 'alarmed at the threatened invasion of the papal confederates' Wisbech Castle was fixed upon as a place of custody for such of the most influential recusants as had long been under surveillance. Among them were Watson, the Marian Bishop of Lincoln, now the only survivor of the Catholic prelates; Feckenham, the last Abbot of Westminster; Dr. Young, the ejected Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge; Dr. Wood, who had been Queen Mary's confessor; and some half a dozen others, all apparently men of gentle birth, or who had occupied a good social position, and to whom some consideration was shown. They were all free from any suspicion of disloyalty, and were all sufferers for conscience' sake and for that alone. The prisoners at Wisbech were liberally supplied with money by their friends outside, and they kept up a kind of collegiate

life, with their own kitchen, buttery, and table. They appear to have maintained a considerable establishment, which was much to the profit of the townsmen of Wisbech, while at the same time the keeper of the castle made his account by them and found them the source of a large income. But most of them were men past middle life, and they soon began to die off—Dr. Young shortly after his incarceration, Feckenham and the bishop in 1585. Gray, the keeper, began to be anxious, and he applied to Walsingham to send him some more of ‘the best priests,’ that is, such as could pay well, as the first had done. It was easy enough to grant his request; the difficulty about this time was to find room in the gaols for the priests that were being brought in from every quarter. In 1585 seventy-two of them were taken out of their prisons and shipped abroad, no one knew exactly where; for the execution of twenty-three in seven years had begun to produce its effect upon the public mind, and Elizabeth wisely feared such a revulsion of feeling as had followed upon the persecution in her sister’s days. Accordingly, in 1586 Gray was gratified by the arrival of a considerable contingent of Catholic prisoners able to pay their charges, increasing the number of his ‘commoners’ to between thirty and forty, and among them William Weston, the last Jesuit father, who had been captured by the pursuivants in July, and had been made ‘prefect of the English mission’ at a time when he was the only Jesuit father at large in the kingdom.

The fact deserves notice as showing that the design of putting all the Secular priests under the direction and control of the Jesuits had never been abandoned. The intention evidently was to treat the whole body of Catholic priests in England, variously estimated at from three to five hundred in number, as mere scattered members of a collegium, with a Jesuit father as their director, master, and head. The Secular priests were in fact to be treated as an auxiliary force officered by the Society of Jesus.

Just three weeks before Weston’s apprehension two other Jesuits had managed to effect a landing—Henry Garnet, who was executed eighteen years later for his alleged complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, and Robert Southwell, the gentle and devout poet, who deserved a better fate than he met with at last.

On Weston’s incarceration Garnet was nominated as prefect, and Weston’s authority came to an end. But Weston was not the man to submit to be effaced with a good grace. If he could no longer exercise his dictatorial powers in the

larger sphere, he would at any rate try to rule in a lower one; and in very truth that society of Catholic prisoners at Wisbech Castle sorely needed some one to rule over them. They were a very motley company by this time. With the Bishop of Lincoln, the Abbot of Westminster, the Master of Pembroke College, and Queen Mary's domestic chaplain, who had now died off, there had passed away the courtly manners, the dignity, and the habitual self-respect which had characterised the life at Wisbech in its first years. The newcomers were by no means all gentlemen; they were not all priests; there were scamps among them, and their speech and conduct were not always above suspicion or reproach. Father Weston was himself a fervent pietist; indeed, he was an ascetic. He lived the life of a saint, besieging heaven with his prayers and battling with the fiends who gibbered and mocked and tore at him as he wrestled with them in horrible conflict in the darkness of the night, while he scourged himself upon his knees. He was grieved and shocked at the laxity, the coarseness, the noise and brawls and irreligion that he saw around him. He set himself the task of working a reform, and gathered about him, it seems, a select few who respected his character and submitted themselves to his influence. They were Father Weston's *set*; and if that had been all it would have been no worse than happens in many a large college at Oxford and Cambridge, where the more thoughtful and religious men keep themselves to themselves and have little to do with the idle and dissipated young fellows whom they meet every day in hall and chapel. For a time things went on smoothly enough. But there was trouble coming.

It is obvious that the Catholic gentry during Queen Elizabeth's reign must have contributed very largely to support the hundreds of priests who were widely scattered over the country, and many of whom were always to be found in prison, where they had to be kept by their friends unless they were left to starve. It must be remembered that in the sixteenth century it was nobody's business to keep a prisoner alive. The prison warden had to see that the wretched creatures committed to his custody did not escape, and he had to produce them on demand, alive or dead. If they paid him well for their board, he was willing enough to get them what they asked for; if they were penniless, the sooner they were out of his way the better. The priests had made many friends, and collections were made for them on a very liberal scale among their faithful sympathisers.

The gatherings were made with so much secrecy that we know little or nothing of the way in which the distribution was managed; but the time came when something like regular organisation of the collecting and distributing the alms of the Catholics became necessary, and when the management of the funds would require to be left in the hands of some few accredited persons who might safely be trusted to deal with them. The question would always present itself who those persons were to be. Who should they be but the Jesuit fathers? These astute and highly trained diplomatists, picked men all of them, academics of high culture and polished manners for the most part, could not help being welcome to the recusant gentry: could not help being accepted as the natural superiors of the rank and file of the seminary—good and worthy men, it might be zealots, who were risking their lives and enduring real hardships every day for their convictions, but, as a rule, half taught plebeians and poor substitutes even for the ‘Queen Mary’s priests,’ who were now becoming scarce. The fathers of the Society, who continued to creep in stealthily after 1538, were no ordinary men. Henry Garnet’s career proves him to have been a person of extraordinary sagacity, caution, and administrative ability. Moving about from place to place under various disguises and many *aliases*, he kept up a certain state when opportunity offered; he had his horses and his servants, his house in London, and his intelligencers always on the watch to warn him against danger; he went in and out among some of the greatest and wealthiest, hunted, but only caught at last after eighteen years of activity, though a price was set upon his head. John Gerard, again, who came over in 1588, just after the scattering of the Armada, was another of those magnetic geniuses whose power of persuasion and whose irresistible personal charms were phenomenal. The story of his career is one of the most curious romances in English history.* His commanding stature, his audacity, his conversational powers, his many accomplishments, his unfailing adroitness, his wonderful nerve which enabled him to bear the agony of the rack and yet to divulge nothing, his escape from the Tower and almost joyous return to the old labours and perils—all contributed to make him a power among the Catholics. Such as he and Garnet, and the shrewd and indefatigable

* See ‘The Life of Father John Gerard,’ by Rev. John Morris, S.J. Third edition. Burns & Oates. 1881.

Holtby, whose field of operations was in the north of England, could not help being the leading and moving spirits of the Catholic missionaries: rule and influence were theirs by right; they must have come to them whether they had sought them or not. And they did come accordingly. Gradually, silently, and inevitably the alms of the faithful were very largely placed under their control, and were evidently left to their disposal. Of course there was discontent, and the murmurs grew louder. When Cardinal Allen (he had been made a cardinal by Sixtus V. in 1587) died in 1594, and whatever influence he had exercised in keeping the peace among the two sections of the English priests came to an end, the smouldering embers of jealousy and heartburning broke out into flame, and the Catholic priests in England, with their supporters on this side or on that, became sharply divided into two hostile factions.

The war began among the prisoners at Wisbech. Father Weston had no sooner been admitted to the castle than he at once asserted himself and claimed precedence over all the other prisoners. There was one among them, at any rate, who was not by any means likely to submit without protest. This man was Dr. Christopher Bagshaw. Bagshaw was a man of family, proud, passionate, and combative; but he was a man of learning and of undoubted sincerity and earnestness. Even from his boyhood he had, it seems, been at bitter feud with Parsons. When an undergraduate at Balliol, it is said that Parsons, then dean of the college, had administered a flogging to the young fellow for some breach of discipline. Bagshaw never forgave the chastisement, and when he eventually succeeded to a Fellowship, and became a personage at Oxford, he managed to pay off the old score, and was the prime mover in the expulsion of Parsons from the university in 1574. Eight years later Bagshaw, too, felt that his position at Oxford as a conscientious Catholic was no longer tenable, and he left England and took himself to Rheims, bringing with him 'the reputation of an able man and a good Greek scholar.' A little later he was sent to Rome, and already, in 1584, he had made himself conspicuous by taking up an attitude of antagonism to the Society of Jesus and their policy. The truth is, he knew Parsons too well, and trusted him too little, to think of sailing in the same boat with his old antagonist. On being apprehended and sent to Wisbech, Dr. Bagshaw had been at once granted a certain precedence, and sat at the head of the table in the hall. When Weston arrived, the Jesuit

claimed the chief place. Bagshaw disputed the claim. The matter was settled by the two sitting side by side. If Weston had his following among the prisoners, Bagshaw was not likely to be left without those who looked to him for support. Between the two sets there could be little cordiality.

Seven years went by. If the confinement, the absence of all amusement, all interest in life, and all definite duties and employments gradually told upon the *morale* of the prisoners, it was only what was to be expected, only what was inevitable. At Christmas time in 1594 there was some boisterous merrymaking in the castle—harmless mummeries, but not quite the sort of horseplay becoming priests. The stricter men were shocked and offended. This kind of thing must stop. Weston and his clique issued their protest, and it ended by their forming themselves into a close society, who bound themselves to observe certain rules of discipline and to live a life of devotion and of mutual counsel and encouragement. The next step was to separate themselves altogether from the rest of the prisoners. They set up their own kitchen and their own brewhouse, refused to sit at the same table with the ungodly set, and, as far as possible, kept themselves apart. Of course they were rewarded by hearing themselves charged with hypocrisy, presumption, and spiritual pride. They could have but one head, and their head could be none other than Father Weston, whom they elected to be their ‘agent,’ a title, one would have thought, which need not have offended anyone.

But this setting up an exclusive society in Wisbech Castle, with a Jesuit father at its head, was felt to be something very much more than ‘a tempest in a teapot;’ it was symptomatic of deep-seated mischief, which had been going on outside as well as inside the prison walls. When the scandal of such a schism as this came to be talked about, and the minority, who looked upon Dr. Bagshaw as their leader, lifted up their voices against the slight put upon themselves and the calumnies and slanders which such a measure was sure to set in motion against them, Weston referred the matter to Garnet, who at first supported his own order. But here, again, the assumption of these Jesuits made sober men of the old school ask themselves what they were coming to. The English college at Rome had by this time become nothing else but a Jesuit seminary, whose students were vehemently suspected of un-English sentiment, and its rectors and lecturers known to be in close relations

with the King of Spain. It could not be forgotten that, when Bishop Goldwell was unable to carry out his intention of crossing the Channel in 1581, Father Parsons had quietly stepped into his place and had acted as if he were the bishop's substitute. A little later the whole Catholic 'mission' had been placed under a Jesuit 'prefect,' and Father Garnet had been acting in that capacity for seven years. Now there was a new departure, and in the great state prison, where a much larger number of Catholic priests were living together than in any other place of resort in the island, here was a new religious order set up, with a Jesuit father at its head, and, again, with a novel title. The whole body of Roman Catholics in England, lay and clerical, was seriously disturbed at this crisis. For a year Father Garnet obstinately adhered to his decision. Hints, and something stronger than hints, were thrown out that the recalcitrant priests should be starved into submission, and that their supplies from the general fund should be cut off. Charges of the most outrageous kind were recklessly flung about on this side and on that, the greater number of which are either plainly false or quite incredible. It takes some little familiarity with the scurrilous literature of the sixteenth century to enable us to realise how in those days angry men knowingly and audaciously lied without hesitation or compunction when it was expedient to discredit an opponent or to injure a cause. All this is very unsavoury reading, and Mr. Law has dealt with it very judiciously, holding the balances with a steady hand. The first act of this curious drama ends with the pacification of November 6, 1595, when, by the advice of Garnet, Father Weston laid down his 'agency,' and, as Dr. Bagshaw tells us, he 'and his friends returned to us again and took their commons with us in the common hall as before their breach made they were accused.'

The dissensions at Wisbech, though healed to all appearance, had produced their effect outside. The Catholic priests had by this time become alarmed; they foresaw that 'master Garnet would shortly after, as well by M. Weston's example in Wisbech, as also by the example of the Jesuits' government of the seminary at Rome, challenge and take unto himself, ere it were long, the prelacy and government of all the priests in England. For the preventing whereof . . . they thought it convenient to devise certain orders for a "*General Association*" amongst all Secular priests,' and to send a 'most humble petition to the Pope's Holiness . . .

‘to grant unto them that they might have some bishop or suffragan here, as he had yielded heretofore to our brethren in Ireland.’*

In the absence of organisation and any episcopal control among the Secular priests, the scheme of a General Association among themselves was a well-conceived measure, and it had probably emanated from the brain of Dr. Bagshaw. But again the Jesuits were astute enough to outwit their less wary opponents. The priests were, in one respect, before their age; they contemplated an organisation which should be representative in its constitution, and from which the monarchical element (except so far as the papal supremacy in its most absolute form was taken for granted) was almost wholly eliminated. How could it be otherwise when bishops were denied them? The association was to have had two branches—one in London, the other in Lancashire. Its affairs were to be entrusted to the management of a functionary to be called the ‘father,’ aided by two assistants and a secretary, all to be elected by a majority of the members. Their duties were to administer the funds of the society, to assign relief to its indigent brethren, to procure permanent missions for the clergy, and generally to raise the character and restore the influence of the Catholic clergy, and to labour by all proper means for the edification of each and all. Especially was its aim to resist the attempts of the Jesuits to acquire predominance, and to discountenance disloyal publications and plots against the crown. Such an important combination could not long escape the knowledge of Father Parsons and his adherents at Rome and Madrid. It was clear enough by this time that, as long as Clement VIII. was pope, no bishop would be sent to England. ‘The notion of a poor bishop wandering in disguise and hiding in garrets seemed to be repugnant to the papal sense of dignity.’ On the other hand, to allow the English priests a choice in the selection of their superiors, whether bishops or not, was fatal to Jesuit ascendancy. Parsons, in what he seems to have regarded as a moment of inspiration, saw a way out of the difficulty.

If the liberty of election of a chief officer, call him what you pleased, were peremptorily denied to the Seculars, and if such chief officer were denied episcopal consecration, though invested with all but episcopal authority and dignity,

* True Relation, p. 69.

the Jesuits might still manage to secure the appointment for some nominee of their own, and would virtually be supreme while using their puppet for their own ends. The pope approved the suggestion, and on March 7, 1598, letters were despatched to the Rev. George Blackwell, a Secular priest, who had all along opposed the association, and was a prominent supporter of Father Weston and his Jesuit friends.

The choice of Blackwell to fill the newly erected office was discreetly made. He was a man of fifty, held in great respect by the English Catholics. He had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and had resigned and retired to the continent twenty-four years ago; he had come back to England, and had endured hardness in more ways than one; he had had his hairbreadth escapes, had been apprehended and thrown into gaol, had managed to be released; was a gentleman and a ripe scholar. His character was above suspicion; but, as one of his old friends said while speaking of him, 'Honores mutant mores,' and Father Parsons had formed a correct estimate of his nominee. Moreover, there was a private letter sent to the archpriest with his credentials, ordering him to 'take counsel with the superior of the 'Jesuits' in all matters which might emerge that were of serious importance. The letters reached Blackwell in May 1598, and he lost no time in taking action upon them. The Secular clergy were taken completely by surprise; but it was not long before they began to understand their position. The canon lawyers among them pointed out that here, again, was an instance of a new office created under an old name. Such an archpriest as this had never been heard of before in the whole history of the Christian Church: one who, though still no more than a priest, was invested with a jurisdiction and authority not one whit less formidable than that exercised by the most powerful bishops; nay, who could, if he so wished it, enforce obedience to his mandates by cutting off the supplies and suspending from his sacerdotal functions any recalcitrant priest, starve him into submission, and practically excommunicate him. Fortunately for the Seculars, there was an irregularity in Blackwell's appointment. The pope had sent no bull or breve as part of the archpriest's credentials. The great body of Secularists forebore from paying their homage; they resolved to appeal to Rome, according to the ancient method of proceeding; and in the meantime they declined to accept Blackwell as their superior. Two priests, who were held in very high esteem by their brethren, and indeed by the whole body of Catholics in

England, were despatched to Rome to act as the spokesmen of the appellants; but they were inadequately furnished with money, and they did not carry with them the documents which might have imperilled their lives if they had been caught on this side of the water, and which yet were asked for as essential proofs of their being deputed to act for others when they showed themselves at the papal court.

The two priests were both men of family: Dr. William Bishop was the heir to a considerable estate in Warwickshire, which he made over to his younger brother when he fled from Oxford and joined the exiles, about the middle of the queen's reign; William Charnock was the son of a wealthy Lancashire gentleman; and both had given many a proof of their earnestness, zeal, and sincerity. They had hardly arrived in Rome before they fell into the clutches of Parsons, who was watching for them. They were at once apprehended and confined in the Roman College, of which Parsons was by this time the rector; they were kept from all intercourse with one another, denied the use of pens and paper, and treated with a coarse brutality of insult, such as only Parsons could be guilty of when he was enraged. After months of humiliation and spiteful annoyance the two priests were brought to trial for presuming to come to Rome without the requisite credentials, and on April 21, 1599, they were sentenced to banishment, Bishop to Paris, and Charnock to Lorraine. A fortnight before the sentence was passed the archpriest's appointment was confirmed by a papal brief in due form, and the Seculars in England were given over into Blackwell's hands to rule them with a rod of iron.

Parsons had won the day and gained his point, and yet the struggle was not ended. It was just when the Jesuits seemed to be assured of their position as a dominant force, to whose dictation all the Catholic priests must yield obedience and unquestioning submission, that the tide turned. It was the archpriest himself who spoilt their game. The Secular priests accepted the papal brief as a settlement of the dispute, and loyally prepared to make the best of it. If Blackwell had been content to forget the past and to exercise only a little forbearance towards his late opponents, it is impossible to conjecture what might have been the result, or how the course of English history might have been affected. But it was not to be. Blackwell, not content with having his own position assured for the future, forthwith called the appellants to account for their opposition in

the past; he denounced them all as 'schismatists,' and required from each that he should humble himself to the dust, confess his crime, and ask for pardon. The vindictive character of the man displayed itself in fierce denunciations and in acts of severity which could not be borne. 'For more than three years from this time,' says Mr. Law, 'little short of anarchy reigned in the missionary camp. . . . All proposals to submit the question in dispute to arbitration, all overtures of peace except upon his own terms, were contemptuously rejected by Blackwell.' When the aggrieved priests sought and obtained from the theological faculty of the Sorbonne a decision in their favour, Blackwell forbade any priest, under pain of suspension, or any layman, under pain of interdict, to defend that decision. Never in the worst days of ecclesiastical tyranny had an English prelate so trampled upon his clergy or treated them with more violence and scorn. The wretched priests affirmed in express terms 'that the Jesuitical persecution begun against us is much more grievous unto us than that which we are subject unto from the State;' and this though the prisons were crowded with them: more than thirty priests in Wisbech Castle; more than fifty, it is said, at one time shut up in the castle at York.

Driven to despair, at last they resolved on appealing a second time to Rome. Their former ill success had taught them a lesson; this time they acted with caution and wisdom. Two statements of their grievances, giving a clear and temperate account of the facts which hitherto had been kept from the knowledge of the pope and the cardinals, were drawn up in Latin, the one by Bagshaw, the other by a worthy priest named John Mush, and both were sent to Rome; and just at the right moment fortune favoured them in a quite unexpected manner. In the meanwhile, all England was stirred by the scandal and the clamour. Not the least valuable part of Mr. Law's book is the elaborate Bibliographical Appendix, in which we are furnished with notices of no less than twenty-one books, some of them of considerable bulk, which were published between 1601 and 1603, and were extensively read at home and abroad. They have all become volumes of excessive rarity, and it would probably be as difficult to make a complete collection of Caxton's or Wynkyn de Worde's books as to procure copies of all these obscure and forgotten Apologies, Exposures, Declarations, and Discourses. Mr. Law has done well in reprinting Dr. Bagshaw's 'True Relation;' but we much

doubt whether it would ever be worth while to unearth the great bulk of these coarse and passionate diatribes ; specialists alone would care to read them now. To oblivion they were consigned long ago ; in oblivion let them remain. That there were readers by the hundred and the thousand who were excited enough to absorb this mass of print and to pore over it greedily and furiously during the last three or four years of the sixteenth century is in itself a fact of no little significance ; and the inferences which may be drawn from that fact are many, and they will vary according to the prejudices or the points of view of those who ponder it.

While this shower of books was falling heavily upon the land, and Anglican bishops and clergy were watching the strange game with wonder, and the Puritans were jubilant with mockery and scorn, and statesmen and politicians looked on warily—silent, but alert—things came to a crisis with the appellants, and, as usual, in consequence of circumstances which could not have been foreseen.

The ‘stirs at Wisbech’ had become matters of notoriety, and they caused so much scandal and wrath to the outside world that the Government was at last compelled to intervene. In reply to a sharp rebuke sent down to the keeper of the prison, he replied that it was practically impossible for him to exercise stricter discipline over his prisoners, because the influence of certain powerful and important personages was more than he could resist or control. Hereupon an order was sent down that thirty-six of the unfortunates should be marched off to Framlingham in Suffolk, and be confined in the castle there under another gaoler. The greater number of them were at the time under the censure of the arch-priest, and he had gone so far as to prohibit all Catholics from sending them alms. From the beginning of Lent to the end of July 1601 we learn that they had not received a single farthing, though no less a sum than nine thousand pounds had been contributed by the nobility and gentry during the previous three years to the general fund for the support of the sufferers. The most worthy and respected among them was the Rev. Thomas Bluet, who had been a clergyman in the diocese of Exeter during Queen Mary’s time, and had now been in captivity more than twenty years ; he must have been by this time about seventy years of age, and, although Parsons goes out of his way to revile him with his usual scurrility, he seems to have been a man of learning and piety, whose consistent opposition to the Jesuit party had caused him to be regarded as a leader

among the appellants. Indeed, for several years he had been the treasurer of the fund supplied to the Wisbech prisoners, and had administered it fairly and prudently. The outlook now for him and his friends was very serious; something must be done. Bluet obtained leave of absence for ten days from the keeper, and started off to London with the object of taking counsel with some of the richer and more moderate Catholics and pleading before them the cause of the oppressed. He had not been in the city for twenty-four years, and he hardly knew which way to turn. He bethought him of one of his old friends now confined in one of the London gaols, and he obtained access to him, and found seven other priests sharing his room. The joy of recognising the old man was too much for their prudence, and one of the priests cried out in his delight, 'It is Father 'Bluet!' and they gathered round him. But the gaoler at the open door had heard the name, which was by this time a name that was known far and wide. 'Bluet of Wisbech?' he asked. 'Yes, Bluet of Wisbech,' was the ready answer, for their delight at seeing him had banished all reserve. Bluet did not lose his head, but straightway sent off a messenger to Bancroft, Bishop of London, informing him that he had come on leave of absence, and that he was prepared to explain the object of his journey. Bancroft sent for him, and, having heard his story, and perhaps struck by the simplicity and candour of the old man, befriended him, and soon brought him into the presence of the queen. The strong and vehement protest that the Secular priests were loyal to her person and abhorred the thought of treasonable plots and any concern in Spanish intrigue (with which the Jesuits might be and were implicated, but which the Secular priests detested and opposed), seems to have come as a revelation to Elizabeth. At any rate, never till this moment does she seem to have understood how broad the line was which separated the one party of English Catholics from the other.

The report which Bluet gives of this remarkable interview, and of the vigorous speech of the queen, to which no one ventured to reply, carries the impression of genuineness upon its every line. Of the truth of the incidents related there can be no doubt; for, six weeks later, Bluet, with three other priests, set out for Rome, having been permitted to solicit alms from the English Catholics in London and elsewhere, and having succeeded so well in their appeal that they started with about a thousand pounds to meet the expenses of the journey. Technically they left the country

as banished men, and this diplomatic caution occasioned them many difficulties in the course of their journey and much delay; but they arrived safely at Rome on February 14, 1602, and this time their appeal to the pope was not made in vain. They that wish to follow the cause of that intricate and wearisome process of intrigue and litigation which followed may read it elaborately drawn out in Mr. Law's introduction. The end of it all was that the pope issued his brief on October 12, which in substance settled the dispute as between the Jesuits and the Secular clergy in favour of the latter. All the books that had been written on one side or the other were prohibited and condemned. The archpriest's jurisdiction was recognised and confirmed, but in future three Secular priests were to be appointed as his assistants; and, most important of all, the archpriest was forbidden to communicate the affairs of his office to the Jesuits, whether to their provincial prefect or any other member of the Society.

From that day to this the influence of the Jesuits in England has been no greater than that which the moral or intellectual eminence of any members of the order may have procured for them from time to time. In point of fact, instances of any such eminence have been remarkably few and rare. As preachers, controversialists, scholars, even as educationists or men of letters, down to the middle of the present century the English Jesuits have been nowhere when compared with the English Seculars or the members of other religious orders. It is scarcely too much to say that, from the days of Robert Parsons down to the day when Father Morris offered himself to the Society about five and twenty years ago, the roll of English literature scarcely contains the name of a single English Jesuit father.

Meanwhile there has been no lack of eminent Catholics who have won for themselves something more than an ephemeral reputation; but they have been Seculars to a man, and in not a few instances have been assailed and denounced by Jesuit polemics who have long since been forgotten.

Dodd and Lingard and Tierney were all more or less opposed to the Jesuit policy. Dr. Oliver, the first to draw up a collection of Biographies of English Jesuits, was no more than a Secular priest. Charles Butler was a thorn in their sides. Berington they denounced as a heretic; and the late Mr. Richard Simpson, whose 'Life of Campion' must remain a standard authority, knew them too well to be accepted as their ally.

The supremacy which Parsons moved heaven and earth to bring about over the English Catholics, lay and clerical, was abolished, and all hope of its resuscitation came to an end by the papal decision of 1602. Since then there has been, every now and then, some feeble intriguing, some courageous suffering, but a great deal more self-glorification and an attitude of supercilious arrogance which has stood the fathers in good stead for three centuries and a half. The 'Protestant' portion of the community have taken these men at their own valuation, and the deep suspicion which their predecessors of the sixteenth century inspired because of their audacious attempt to acquire for themselves an intolerable dictatorship over the souls and bodies of their co-religionists, has survived in its intensity even to our own time. They who are most possessed by it are fully persuaded that the attempt succeeded, and are wholly ignorant of the fact that it was a signal and hopeless failure. *

There is a sequel to the story, which remains to be told.

Queen Elizabeth died on March 24, 1603. Two years later a new 'Oath of Allegiance' was framed by Bishop Bancroft with the assistance of a Catholic priest who had formerly been a Jesuit, but had seceded from the Society. The new oath was imposed on all Catholics, lay and clerical, and, in the teeth of the pope's condemnation of the new test, the archpriest Blackwell took the oath himself and strongly advocated its reception. Of course violent dissensions again arose; of course Parsons threw himself into the fray, brandishing the club which was his most effective weapon, and striking out fiercely as before. He effected nothing. He died in 1610, his career ending in a blank disappointment, but defiant to the end. But he lived long enough to see Blackwell, the archpriest, deprived of his office by a papal brief in 1608; and perhaps it was through his devices that the poor man was thrown into prison, where he died on January 12, 1613. Just ten years later, the prayer offered up so often and so long by the Secular priests was granted, though with a certain reserve, and Dr. William Bishop, the very man whom Parsons and the Jesuits had slandered, worried, flouted, thrown into prison, and then cast out to beg his bread, was consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus infidelium*, and appointed vicar apostolic of the Holy See in England. He lived only just long enough to receive the tardy reparation he deserved. He exercised his episcopal functions for nine short months among the English Catholics, and he died on April 28, 1624, more than seventy years of age.

ART. IX.—1. *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman during his Life in the English Church. With a brief Autobiography.* Edited by ANNE MOZLEY. 2 vols. London: 1891.

2. *The Early History of Cardinal Newman.* By F. W. NEWMAN. London: 1891.

WHATEVER of pathos or romance belongs to the Tractarian movement centres round the picturesque figure of Newman. The deeply furrowed, austere outlined face, with its clear cut Dantesque features, its air of habitual command, and its expression of wistful melancholy, has become almost hauntingly familiar to the British public. To the thinking portion of his countrymen, the workings of his mind have proved almost equally fascinating. The materials for the study of his character and actions are abundant. Both unconsciously, and of definite purpose, Newman has painted his own portrait. In his 'Poems,' which, like the sonnets of Michael Angelo, are the *parerga* of a man whose serious business lay elsewhere, and which, like the sonnets of Shakespeare, admit us to his cherished shrines, he has lifted the curtain from his inmost feelings. In his 'Parochial Sermons' he has thrown a vivid light upon the very essence of his thought and being, in regions where the most intimate of friends can rarely explore. Consciously, and of set purpose, he has in his 'Apologia' laid bare the objective history of his life with a completeness of detail which challenges comparison with the Confessions of St. Augustine. In the 'Grammar of Assent' he has completed the anatomy by tracing, with minute subtlety of metaphysical analysis, the subjective philosophy and internal mainsprings of his mental changes. And now, in the 'Letters and Correspondence,' together with the autobiographical Memoir by which they are accompanied, he has made a further contribution, carefully collected and prepared, to the self-revelation of his character and spirit.

When a reserved, sensitive, solitary man, detached from the visible world and absorbed in unseen realities, thus lays bare the very secrets of his heart and conscience, it is natural to ask the motives of a course so unusual and in most cases so open to censure.

The abundance of autobiographical material which Newman himself prepared illustrates a law of his intellectual and spiritual being which gives, as we believe, the key to his

career. Towards every question that came before him for decision his attitude was uniformly personal. He held that, in matters of religious and ethical inquiry, men can only speak for themselves. They cannot lay down the law. They can only contribute their own experiences to the common stock. Hence it is that apparent egotism is, in his case, genuine modesty. Not only was he a man of markedly intense individuality, but his mind was essentially subjective and introverted. His natural disposition towards relative judgements and self-analysis was strengthened by an evangelical training which taught him to estimate truth by its bearings on his own religious experiences. He believed that abstract dogma exercised over his mind a peculiar fascination. Few students of his works in life will be of the same opinion. Newman confounds the effects which received truths produced upon his mind with the truths themselves as they existed in the abstract. His own personality is the atmosphere which colours his vision, the lens through which he contemplates external objects, the liquid in which the plate is prepared for the intellectual impression. He was always prone to substitute personal for general principles, and individual for collective relations. He obeyed impressions instead of judgements, followed perception rather than reason, acted from impulse, not from deliberation. Religious truth, as he himself says, is reached by inward perception, not by reasoning. Always peculiarly susceptible to personal influences, he himself in turn exercised the same on others. He trusted less to logical science than to the weight of individual experience, less to codes and treatises than to the sanction which personal sanctity gave to principles. Experience was to him the only basis of certitude, and certitude itself is personal, relative, and altogether subjective.

On all sides we find, for good or evil, the working of this temperament. It is the source of his marvellous power of apprehending truth and of incorporating it with his own being by a combined effort of will, intellect, and imagination. It made every point in his religious creed stand out, not as mere notional assents lost in the mist of sentiment, but as moral forces, intellectual levers, formative principles of existence. It gave to his writings their omnipresent individuality. It was the chief secret of the rare persuasiveness of his sermons. It kindled sympathy, it inspired confidence, it made him, without his wish or knowledge, a leader of men. To it he owed his grasp of unseen realities, his vivid apprehension of the spiritual world, the Dantesque

realism of his poetry. It is the basis of his perpetual appeals to facts as interpreted by individual convictions and individual feelings; it is the key to his avoidance of abstract scientific conclusions in difficult questions of casuistry, and his reference to his own personal rules of conduct. On the other hand, the temperament was the parent of his many changes. If the internal atmosphere shifted, his apprehension of truth altered. To this idiosyncrasy must be attributed the years of 'drifting,' which to his friends seemed inexplicable, and to his enemies dishonest. To it, again, must be traced the method, or, rather, want of method, with which the movement was at first conducted. True to his principle of personality, he held that neither committees nor systems can create great movements. To this principle, again, is due his peculiar view of ecclesiastical obedience; the decisions of synods or conventions were of little moment to him compared with the voice of his own bishop. The same temperament incapacitated him from taking the historical view of the issue between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. It also induced him, first, to treat the Anglican Church as an instrument for saving his own individual soul; and, secondly, to discover that, though it might be a true Church to others, it could never be so to him. The same law of his intellectual and spiritual being prepared the way for his acceptance of human infallibility. It also impelled him to be sceptical of all that was external to himself and to doubt whether anything had existence apart from the impression which it produced upon the eye. His abiding sense of a Supreme Being was, indeed, never dimmed by the shadow of a shade of doubt. But it was upon his own personality that he founded his unshaken belief in a personal, all-seeing, all-judging God. Men of this temperament are men of one idea, of indomitable energy, of revolutionary power; but they are not possessed of well-balanced judgement or of robustness and breadth of intellect. Newman was no exception to the rule. His personal attitude explains many features that are repellent in his career, such as the feminine weakness of his political frenzies; his fanatical blindness to all the good of the Liberal movement which he so vehemently denounced; his childish excitability at the action of individuals in the Church or in the State towards the Church; and, finally, his hot-headed opposition to great political measures which have swept away unjust monopolies and tyrannical disabilities.

In preparing his autobiography Newman was, in our opinion, obeying a law of his intellectual and spiritual being. But, apart from this, the preparation is explained by other considerations which disarm censure and foster sympathy. In the first place, his career is cut into two distinct portions. In 1845 he began life afresh in the midst of strange surroundings and among new associates. Isolated as he was, no one but himself could do justice to his past. His old friends were almost necessarily prejudiced by his present position; his new friends could with difficulty appreciate his previous career. He dreaded the conjectures and interpretations of biographers, whether hostile or kindly intentioned. He preferred to be judged by his own words. His letters are facts. In the second place, the overpowering anxiety to paint with his own hand his own inner life is infinitely touching. It proves the keenness of the pain with which his affectionate heart was tortured by the loss of friends; it reveals the depth of the wound that misinterpretations and suspicions inflicted upon his sensitive nature; it measures the magnitude of the sacrifice of all that men prize most highly, which he made at the bidding of conscience. So, again, these successive efforts to place his case before the public show his trust in the good sense and chivalry of his countrymen. They illustrate his confidence that the British public would do justice to his sincerity, when once the whole truth was in their possession.

If any justification were needed of Newman's dread of the interpretations and conjectures of biographers, it is afforded by Mr. Francis Newman's 'Early History' of his brother. If this book were not transparently honest, it would be simply brutal. Mr. Newman is within his right in defending Protestantism against his brother. But, unless he knew his brother's character intimately, unless he is endowed with a memory which is accurate beyond suspicion, and unless he has made a careful study of the Cardinal's works, he has not the right to scatter moral aspersions broadcast. But, in the first place, Mr. Francis Newman does not possess an intimate acquaintance with his brother's character. The estrangement between the two men was complete in 1824, and from that time forward their relations were, on Mr. F. Newman's own confession, 'unbrotherly.' In the second place, Mr. F. Newman's memory, so far from being accurate, is a miracle of inaccuracy. For example, his account of the Hampden controversy, or of Tract No. 90, is contradicted by

contemporary documents of unquestioned authority. If his memory is totally at fault in matters of such importance, it seems to us quite untrustworthy when it comes into contact with his brother's written statements in minor points of detail. In the third place, Mr. F. Newman has made no attempt to study the late Cardinal's writings. He boasts that he has only read two of the poems in which his brother has embodied his personal religion. Had he read the whole series of the '*Lyra Apostolica*,' he would have seen the flimsiness of the basis on which he makes a serious charge. He has only cast 'one glance,' and that nearly sixty years ago, at the '*History of the Arians*.' He has certainly not read his brother's '*Sermons*.' Apparently he is unacquainted with the '*Tracts*.' He has read the '*Apologia*,' but so hastily and carelessly as to blunder even here. Mr. F. Newman, then, was estranged for more than sixty years from the man he attacks; he is singularly inaccurate in his memory for facts; he is almost wholly unacquainted with the Cardinal's writings; yet, armed with these credentials, he boldly charges his brother with conceit, unchristian defiance, and theatrical insincerity of conduct. It is difficult to accept this fraternal criticism. Still the fact that such an explanation is offered by Professor Newman seems to confirm our own view of the Cardinal's character. He puzzled his brother, who made little or no effort to understand him, because he was guided by no principles of reason, and because he followed no lines of historical research. Had he guided his course by such compasses, his career would have been simple enough. But he referred all truth to the standard of his own idiosyncrasy. With each new idea his views of abstract truth were changed, because he made himself its measure. His own intuitive consciousness was the medium through which he apprehended truth, and what he believed to be abstract dogma was his perception of it modified by the atmosphere of his own intense personality. By this theory only, Newman's life from 1801 to 1845 seems to us capable of interpretation.

Newman's '*Letters and Correspondence*' may be said to have two objects. The first object is to complete the '*Apologia*' by an authoritative record of the first thirty-two years of his life. The second object is to give from contemporary documents his own share in the Tractarian movement; to trace the developement of his thought; to vindicate, if further vindication were not superfluous, the sincerity and honesty of his conduct in every stage of its progress. Both objects are fulfilled in these two volumes, which necessarily

form the groundwork for any future studies of Newman's life and character. The interest increases as the book draws to a conclusion. It reaches its highest point in the intensely painful correspondence with his sister and the touching farewell letters of Keble. It is almost unnecessary to say that the whole series is indispensable for the appreciation of Newman's career as a member of a Protestant church.

Newman's life from 1801 to 1845 falls into five periods. The first (1801–1816) is his boyhood. The second (1816–1824) is the Evangelical period. During the third period (1824–1832) his Evangelical opinions slip off him, and, after inclining towards the Liberal School of Oxford theology, he falls more and more under the influence of Froude and Keble. The six months from December 1832 to July 1833 form an important turning point in his career. With July 1833 begins the fourth period and his connection with the Tractarian movement. It ended in 1843 with his retirement to Littlemore. The fifth and last period (September 1843 to October 1845) is marked by his hesitation to join the Church of Rome and by his eventual reception into that Church.

The first stage of Newman's life closes with the age of fifteen. Through childhood and boyhood it is interesting to trace the unfolding of a mind which retained the same unworldly, childlike, simple character throughout the lapse of ninety years and many revolutions of opinion. John Henry Newman was born in Old Broad Street, in the City of London, on February 21, 1801. He was the eldest of six children. His father was a banker and a brewer, a Freemason, a projector of schemes for re-afforesting England, an admirer of Franklin and Jefferson, 'who had learned his 'morality more from Shakespeare than from the Bible.' His mother, Jemima Fourdrinier, was of Huguenot descent; but she was not the Calvinist which Mozley represents her to have been. On the contrary, she took care to train her children in no sectarian religion. Their eldest child was a self-willed, precocious, imaginative boy. One characteristic anecdote is told of his childhood. After a struggle for the mastery between his mother and himself, his mother said to him, 'You see, John, you did not get your own way.' 'No,' was the reply, 'but I tried very hard.' Throughout life, self-will was, as Newman implies, his besetting sin. During his illness in Sicily in 1833 he recalls instances of his self-willed conduct, and 'felt that God was fighting against me, 'and felt—at last I knew why—it was for self-will.' His

taste for literature was precocious. Its only rival in his heart was his passion for music. Before he was fifteen he noted in his diary, not only events, but verses, moral axioms, and dreams; he wrote a drama, composed the words and tunes of a burlesque opera, and conducted two school periodicals. He was already an omnivorous reader. Walter Scott was his favourite author, and no student of his writings needs to be reminded how abundant is his command of appropriate illustrations from the great poet and novelist, whom he regarded as the literary precursor of the Tractarian movement. Child though he was, he had early begun to reflect that he was a responsible being, and to ponder on what he was, whence he came, whither he tended, what was required of him. He seems to have owed his first love of the Bible to his aunt, Elizabeth Newman. What religion he possessed inclined on one side to superstition, on another to a study of the difficulties of faith. In the dark he always crossed himself. Perhaps the feeling that prompted him is that of the second stanza of his poem on the Sign of the Cross:—

‘ And who shall say, but hateful spirits around,
For their brief hour unbound,
Shudder to see and wail their overthrow.’

At the same time he delighted in Hume's essays and Paine's tracts against the Old Testament. He also read and translated infidel passages from Voltaire. His imagination was peculiarly strong. Many children besides Newman have wished the 'Arabian Tales' were true, or brooded over talismans and magical influences. But few boys think that life is a dream, or fancy themselves to be unsubstantial angels, or believe that the world around them is a deception in which their fellow angels deceive them with the unreal semblance of a material universe. Here are already the germs of that idealism and intense mental subjectivity which became such marked features of his mind. Childish imaginings such as these predisposed him to concentrate his thoughts on the only two supremely self-evident beings, himself and his Creator, and to question whether anything else has an existence separable from the impression which it produces upon the senses.

Up to the age of fifteen Newman remained without definite opinions in matters of religion, aspiring to be virtuous rather than religious, and finding something which he disliked in the latter idea. But between August and December 1816, he fell under the influence of the Rev. Walter Mayer, a high

Calvinist, and one of the classical masters at Ealing School. Looking back on this period, he could not imagine or realise the identity of the same boy before, and after, August 1816. The deep impressions of a definite creed were to him the beginning of a new life. They effected what he called his 'conversion.' With that striving for moral self-improvement which always characterised him, he endeavoured to prove the reality of the change by increased strictness of conduct. His schoolfellows had never known him to play a game; but now he drew up reasons for giving up recreations of every kind. He felt strongly convinced that God willed him to lead a single life. He inclined towards missionary work; he grew absorbed in theological subjects, and from 1816 till the day of his death the absorption continued. His reading principally lay among divines of the Evangelical School, such as Thomas Scott, Jones of Nayland, Bishop Beveridge, Romaine, and Doddridge. Three books of a different complexion also helped to form his character. Milner's 'Church History' fascinated him by its quotations from the Fathers. The 'Serious Call' of William Law, the Nonjuring divine who so powerfully influenced Wesley, appealed to the religious mysticism of his character. Bishop Newton's work 'On the Prophecies' convinced him that the Pope was anti-Christ—a conviction which he did not abandon till 1843. Yet under the thin garb of evangelical Calvinism, which was the persuasion of his earlier years, we trace the strong lineaments of Catholic asceticism and Catholic mysticism, destined to predominate over his later life. He was following by devious paths a course of his own, that led him at last to the very point at which he least expected, at the outset, to arrive; and during all these tentative years it cannot be said that his conduct and his beliefs were altogether those of a clergyman of the Church of England or of a priest of the Church of Rome.

Newman never questioned the reality of what he called his conversion, which cut at the root of doubt and provided a chain complete in every link between God and the soul. 'I know I am right,' he says in a MS. book of 1817. 'How do you know it? I know, I know.' Yet, in the technical sense, his confidence was misplaced. The creed which Scott and Romaine taught him brought home to him the vital truths of Christianity. It comforted him in his most forlorn moods after his failure at Oxford. It protected him during the most perilous years of a young man's life. It trained him in habits of devotion. It educated him for the Christian

ministry. But, as a doctrinal system, he afterwards reflected that it had never satisfied his religious experiences. He never knew what conversion meant in the evangelical sense, nor felt those emotions which are the prescribed signs of the moral change. In 1821 he says that he is obliged, in speaking of conversion, 'to adopt the language of books. For my own feelings, as far as I remember, were so different from any account I have ever read that I dare not go by what may be an individual case.'

At the moment when Newman went to the university he appears to have been still under the influence of evangelical teaching. From 1816 to 1824 it retained its hold upon his mind, and only began to relax its grasp after his election to a Fellowship at Oriel. In December 1816, when he was still two months short of sixteen, he matriculated at Oxford. Chance determined his choice both of university and college. When in the following summer he went into residence at Trinity, the term was already nearly over, the lectures had ended, the examinations were begun. Solitary, low-spirited from the weakness of his eyes, disgusted with the conversation and habits of his companions, he was left, and desired to be, alone. Yet in the few days which remained of the expiring term, he made the acquaintance of another freshman, three years older than himself. John Bowden became his inseparable friend. At Oxford the two young men lived in each other's rooms, till undergraduates mistook the one for the other. They read, walked, boated, ate together; they visited at each other's homes; they conducted a periodical together called 'The Undergraduate'; they collaborated in a poem on St. Bartholomew's Day. The same intimacy continued till Bowden's death. It was perpetuated in his sons, two of whom became fathers in the Oratory. In September 1844, at the moment when Newman was passing through the acutest period of his mental distress, Bowden died.

'He is my oldest friend,' writes Newman a few weeks before his final separation from his university. 'I have been intimate with him for above twenty-seven years. He was sent to call on me the day after I came into residence; he introduced me to college and university; he is the link between me and Oxford. I have ever known Oxford in him. In losing him I seem to lose Oxford.'

At Trinity Newman soon established a reputation. His tutor, known to many generations of Oxonians as 'Tommy' Short, speedily recognised his powers. By his advice Newman competed for an open scholarship. He obtained it, and the success proved to be the only distinction of his

undergraduate career. To his subsequent failure many causes contributed. Home troubles, his absorption in theological topics, his private school training, his youth and mental immaturity, placed him at a disadvantage. He read too discursively. Not only did he find time to make the poems of Crabbe, Wordsworth, and Southey lifelong friends, but he embraced subjects which, like geology, Gibbon, modern history, and original essays, lay outside the curriculum of classical or mathematical honours. Above all, he overworked himself.

‘During the long vacation of 1819,’ he says, ‘I read nearly at the rate of nine hours a day. From that time to my examination in November 1820, it was almost a continuous mass of reading. I stayed in Oxford during the vacations, got up in winter and summer at five or six, hardly allowed myself time for my meals, and then ate, indeed, the bread of carefulness. During twenty out of the twenty-four weeks immediately preceding my examination I lagged at an average of more than twelve hours a day. If one day I read only nine, I read the next fifteen.’

Such incessant application told severely on the constitution of a lad of nineteen. In the schools he lost his head, and completely broke down. In the mathematical class list his name did not appear at all; in classics it was found in the lower division of the second class, a place which would now be equivalent to a third or a fourth class.

His failure had, humanly speaking, important results. During his undergraduate career he hoped, as he says, great things for himself. From 1818 to 1820 he dreamed of worldly fame and success. He did not intend to take orders, but proposed to go to the bar. The ‘pleader’s skill,’ of which he speaks in his ‘Poems,’ was the object of his secular ambition, and he was already entered at Lincoln’s Inn. But his failure in the schools, his desire to help his brother Francis, and the gradual deepening of his religious convictions, led to his decision in 1821 of taking orders. He determined to remain in Oxford, supporting himself on his scholarship and his pupils. He began to hope that he might retrieve his previous disasters. He aspired to a Fellowship. The history of the effort, the failure, the revived hopes, and the struggle to conquer ambition of worldly success, are characteristic of Newman’s matured mind. He showed that intense industry and that capacity for taking pains which he displayed in after life. His defeat neither shook his consciousness of mental strength nor disturbed the unconquerable conviction that his place in the schools was no true test

of his intellectual merits. With buoyant hopefulness he conceived 'the audacious idea' of standing for a Fellowship at Oriel College, which was then considered the blue ribbon of university life. Presided over by Copleston, 'the Oriel 'teapot' was renowned throughout England. The year which succeeded his failure in the public examinations was partly spent in the study of miscellaneous subjects such as anatomy, mineralogy, chemistry, or musical composition, partly in special preparation for the approaching ordeal. The examination for the Fellowship took place in April 1822. With that curious habit of reading encouragement in external events which afterwards grew more strongly upon him, he thought the motto on a painted window in the college hall, *Pie reponere te*, was a good omen. Before the examination began he was hopeful. Halfway through he was in despair. He was only restrained from retiring by the advice of Short. On April 12, 1822, 'the provost's 'butler, to whom it fell by usage to take the news to the 'fortunate candidate, made his way to Mr. Newman's lodgings 'in Broad Street,' to summon him to the Oriel common room. He found the newly elected Fellow playing on the violin. The 'Autobiographical Memoir,' in spite of its attempted detachment, shows the keenness with which Newman, after the lapse of fifty years, remembered every detail of that eventful day. His words will bring back to others the most memorable day in their lives—a day perhaps in their case remembered the more vividly as the one bright spot in an otherwise undistinguished career. 'I am absolutely a member of the common room,' he writes to his father, 'am called by them "Newman," and am abashed, 'and find I must soon learn to call them "Keble," ' "Hawkins," "Tyler."' How pathetic, viewed in the light of subsequent events, are the words of the Memoir: 'He 'never wished anything better or higher than, in the words 'of the epitaph, "to live and die a Fellow of Oriel."'

Newman's election brought him under new influences. The years 1824-32 form the third period of his life. It is a period of expansion, during which his mind slowly matured. It is especially marked by his gradual abandonment of evangelical principles, by the revival of his inclination towards intellectual distinction and rationalistic views of theology, and, lastly, by his growing sympathies with men like Keble and Hurrell Froude. In his religious tenets he had few sympathisers among the members of the Oriel common room. Shy, awkward, keenly self-conscious, isolated

from the Fellows by his Calvinistic belief, he had at first shrunk into himself. His extreme reticence and reserve disconcerted all advances. The college authorities began to distrust their high estimate of their unformed probationer, and to fear that his failure in the class lists was a truer test of his intellectual capacity than their own examination. In their doubts they put him into the hands of Whately. Two minds more differently constituted can hardly be imagined. The dress in which Whately appeared in 1813—a peagreen coat, white waistcoat, stone coloured shorts, and flesh-coloured silk stockings—seems not inappropriate to a man who ate, drank, and joked like Hercules in the ‘Alcestis.’ He was a hard, robust reasoner, merciless to the opinions of others, positive, and even rude, in the enunciation of his own views. He regarded high and low Church as equal bigotries, and spoke of the Fathers as ‘certain old divines.’ Without taste for history or for scholarship, he exulted in the intellectual triumphs of free speculation. He delighted especially in dissipating, with homely humour and with close argument, the haze in which men of half opinions envelope their views. His influence on religious thought was rather destructive than constructive, and he was therefore suspected, probably with injustice, of having no affirmative opinions of his own. His logical mind assailed the unreal defences which were set up round Church and State. In this point at least he was in sympathy with Newman, though nothing can be further from the method of the author of ‘Lead, kindly Light,’ than Whately’s determination to test all propositions by their ultimate results. Though fifteen years older than his companion, Whately’s free and easy manner, wealth of information, originality of mind, and power of forcible, witty expression, conquered the reserve of the bashful probationer. Whately recognised in his young companion ‘the clearest headed man he knew,’ while Newman compared his Mentor to ‘a bright June sun, tempered by a March north-easter. His kindness for me,’ he adds, ‘I cannot soon forget. He brought me forward, made me known, spoke well of me, and gave me confidence in myself.’

From 1824 to 1826 Whately’s influence was paramount. He taught the younger man to think for himself and to stand on his own feet. He imbued him also with the idea of the Christian Church as a Divine appointment, independent of the State, endowed with rights, prerogatives, and powers of its own. Other, but slighter, intellectual influences were those of Lloyd, the Regius Professor of Divinity, and of

Pusey. Pusey, though junior to Newman in university standing, was six months older in age. For his abilities, and still more for his character, Newman entertained profound respect. But between the two men a mutual restraint existed which prevented either from opening his whole mind to the other. A more definite impression was made by Hawkins, afterwards Provost of Oriel, and then Vicar of St. Mary's. Both directly and indirectly, Hawkins detached Newman from his earlier creed. Similar results followed from his intimacy with Blanco White and the Rev. W. James. He began to regard the Church as a visible body, maintaining the apostolical succession among its ministers, offering divine grace through the channels of its sacraments, possessing in tradition, of which it was the depository, the means of ascertaining the truths of Christianity. Practical experience enforced these intellectual influences. Ordained in 1824, he found, as curate of St. Clement's, that the religion which he had learned from Scott 'would not work,' that it was 'unreal,' and that Calvinism supplied no key to the phenomena of nature as they actually occur in the world.

While Calvinism thus lost its hold on his mind, Whately's intellectual influence was also waning. In 1826 Newman became tutor of Oriel. His removal from St. Alban Hall diminished his personal contact with Whately, and growing divergencies of opinion widened the gap. Nothing contributed more directly to accelerate this cessation of intimacy than Newman's friendship with Hurrell Froude. Froude's election to a fellowship at Oriel in 1826 was in fact the most momentous event in this part of his life. Newman's hardest struggle was with the fascinations of intellectual greatness. Always strong, the old desires had received new impulse from Whately. In Froude he met a man who had resisted the same fascinations, conquered the temptation towards a rationalising view of theology, and deliberately preferred the attainment of moral excellence. A similar struggle now began in Newman. On the side of moral excellence, and against the charm of mere intellectual greatness, were ranged a number of converging influences, among which stand out conspicuously men of the stamp of Froude and Keble, his own serious illness, the death of his sister Mary, and the course of his reading. The next six years are the scene of a conflict in which Newman at last succeeded in reducing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.

Froude's Diary, published after his death, shows with what anxious care he secretly trained himself, as in God's presence, in that discipline which shuns the light of the world. Scrupulously attentive to the inward and spiritual part of religion, Froude also valued highly its outward aspects—its sacraments, Church polity, and public worship. To awaken in others a similar sense of the importance of these visible agents, and to restore the use of what he considered to be the sacred and necessary aids to inward sanctification, were objects on which he almost exclusively thought, wrote, and spoke. Entirely possessed by one subject, his presence affected his friends as a spiritual influence. His suggestiveness and originality of thought, together with his fire and brightness, gave new inspirations and fresh impulses to all with whom he came in contact. Even beyond the weight of his arguments, or the force of his striking imagery, or the captivating turns of his expression, his manner of saying things carried conviction. A downright speaker, a fearless and pungent critic, his temperament was impetuous, enthusiastic, adventurous. On political questions he looked through ecclesiastical spectacles. A high Tory of the Cavalier stamp, he infected both Newman and Keble with a hatred of Liberalism, which was nonjuring in its ferocity. The following characteristic sentence illustrates his temper : ' How Whiggery has by degrees taken up all the filth that ' has been secreted in the fermentation of human thought ! ' Puritanism, Latitudinarianism, Popery, Infidelity ; they ' have it all now, and good luck to them ! ' Such was the man who now gained ascendancy over Newman. Such also is, we may add, the type of man who, but for the sobering effect of Erastianism, would long ago have involved Church and State in the internecine struggles with which we are familiar on the Continent.

Through Froude, Newman made the acquaintance of Keble, towards whom he had always been most powerfully attracted. Keble's singularly simple and holy character was combined with great intellectual power and an indomitable firmness of resolution. A curious vein of sternness ran through his nature. He hated humbug. He refused quarter to insubordination, or resistance to things established. He was intolerant of the opinions of opponents. He himself deferred absolutely to authority, whether it was the authority of antiquity, or of conscience, or of the Church, or of the Bible, or of the wisdom of our ancestors. He always endeavoured to find some external primary sanction for his

opinions. His ideas were rather intuitional and instinctive than the product of intellectual reasoning. They were the visions of a poet, not the proofs of a logician. Over Newman he exercised a stimulating, over Froude a moderating, influence. With the same sense of the value of outward religion, and the same effort at its inward realisation, he was gentler and less defiant than Froude in his expressions. To Newman many of his opinions came with the novelty of a revelation. In his relations with him Newman compared himself to a pane of glass, which transmitted heat, being cold itself. Even in 1833 he felt that he was only developing Keble's convictions, giving logical form and consistency to his ideas, interpreting them to the outside world by the force of his own rhetorical gifts.

Newman's intimacy with Keble began in 1828. He had already found in the 'Christian Year' the expression and the confirmation of two principles, which he firmly, but less articulately, held. One of these was his childish idea of the unreality of material phenomena. Reinforced and illustrated by Keble's poetic vision from every department of nature, it naturally led to the sacramental view, which treats the world of sense as the veil and curtain of God's presence, and regards the external system as the type and instrument of higher and more momentous, though unseen, realities. When Keble writes of the lessons of spring—

'Every leaf in every nook,
Every wave in every brook,
Chanting with a solemn voice,
Minds us of a better choice.'—

Newman can hardly believe that the poet has not borrowed the thought from him. The same tone of thought and feeling inspires some of the most poetical passages in the volume. Similarly he found the poems full of that moral truth which illustrates his second principle. They confirmed him in his acceptance of Butler's rule that 'Probability is 'the only guide of life,' while they brought home to him with new force the cogency of faith, and its dependence on the moral attitude of the believer. They showed him that certainty in matters of religion is less due to the inherent probabilities which commend it, than to the reverence and love by which it is accepted. These feelings of the heart give to probability a new assurance, and impart to it the inherent weight of internal conviction. Moral truth could not, he thought, be proved. Logically it may often be refuted. None the less it is attainable by the perception of

formed and disciplined minds. It is within the apprehension of love and reverence. This teaching, which Newman drew from the 'Christian Year,' confirmed him in his previous beliefs. The certainties which intellectual greatness could not supply might be gained through moral excellence. In personal holiness, and the unclouded eye of faith, lay his escape from the danger of losing absolute convictions, of considering all conclusions doubtful, of resolving truth into matter of opinion, of abandoning assent to propositions which were incapable of scientific proof.

His own serious illness and the death of his sister Mary brought home to him with personal force the transitoriness of life, and confirmed him in his view of its sacramental character. His poems and his letters show how keenly he felt his bereavement. Mary Newman died in January, 1828. The first two poems in which he showed any trace of poetic power are inspired by a sense of his loss—'Consolations in Bereavement,' and 'Voices from Afar.' Her death gave a new meaning to nature. 'Dear Mary,' he writes, 'seems embodied in every tree, and hid behind every hill. What a veil and curtain the world of sense is!—beautiful, but still a veil.' Months later he writes in the same spirit: 'I have learned to like dying trees and black meadows; swamps have their grace and fogs their sweetness. A solemn voice seems to chant from everything. I know whose voice it is—her dear voice. Her form is almost nightly before me, when I have put out the light and lain down.'

Under the influence of Froude and Keble, Newman rapidly passed into a different field of thought from that in which he moved with Whately. The tendency was increased by the course of his reading. He had embraced the idea that antiquity was the true exponent of Christian doctrine, and the true basis of the Church in England. He began to read the Fathers chronologically. Towards the Alexandrine school he was especially attracted. Here he found worked out in infinite detail his own sacramental theories. As Athanasius was his hero in the world of action, so Clement and Origen fascinated him in the domain of thought. He was delighted with their realism, which assumes something to be known behind visible phenomena and their laws. With them he insisted upon an exoteric and an esoteric manifestation of doctrine, upon a *disciplina arcani*, upon a literal and a mystical exegesis. He looked with their eyes upon the visible framework which concealed, while it suggested,

the living truth. Like them he regarded nature as a parable, Scripture as an allegory, heathen civilisation as a preparation for the Gospel. Like them, again, he regarded the angels as divine ministers who conduct the economy of the visible world—beings who direct the laws of nature, and whose robes and ornaments are seen and felt in light and heat and motion and beauty.

In 1828 Newman had become vicar of St. Mary's. He had surrendered his Evangelical creed. Froude, Keble, and the Fathers, had replaced the influence of Whately. The pursuit of intellectual greatness was abandoned for that of moral excellence. Inward perception was installed in the place of reason as the basis of religious truth. Respect for Church polity, Sacraments, and public worship increased rather than diminished his attention to the inward and spiritual part of religion. He began to be known, and to be a power in Oxford. Already Whately had detected in him the party leader of the future. He exercised over young men the personal attraction of goodness. Among his contemporaries he had formed a dining club, of which plain fare was the external feature. In a wider range his sermons at St. Mary's began to attract increasing attention, from their exquisite descriptive passages, their insight into the waywardness of the human heart, their severe austerity, their passages of tenderness, their lofty bursts of indignant fervour. The solemn music of the penetrating voice, and the charm of the figure on which personal purity had set its stamp and seal, drove home his pitying, but unsparing, meditations on human responsibilities, while his wide sympathy and rich experience enforced them with a fertility of illustration which gave his words a personal and individual application to the secret consciousness of each one of his hearers. But there was as yet no sign of the inauguration of any movement. Some external causes were still wanting for its initiation. Those causes were found in the loss of his tutorship and political events.

Humanly speaking, Newman's loss of his tutorship originated the Tractarian movement. Had Newman remained a tutor of Oriel, or had Keble been elected Provost in the place of Hawkins, for whom Newman voted, the Tracts would not have been written. Deprived of his tutorship, Newman sought outside the walls of the college the influence denied him within. The care of the undergraduates at Oriel was in 1827 entrusted to four tutors—Dornford, Newman, Robert Wilberforce, and Froude. The three latter

tutors regarded their duties not as disciplinary or secular, but as pastoral and religious. They aspired to be something different from academical policemen. It was only this view of the tutorial office which, in Newman's mind, made the retention of a tutorship consistent with his ordination vows. He regarded his work as a missionary enterprise, which satisfied his earlier ambition of imitating the career of Henry Martin. Like his own snapdragon, rooted in the walls of buttressed towers, he was to be a witness to the unseen, and if he could fitly discharge this office—

‘ . . . Then well might I
In college cloister live and die.’

His view of secular education remained a principle of his life. In 1879, when he received congratulations on his elevation to the Cardinalate, he said—‘ I never would allow ‘ that in teaching the classics I was absolved from carrying ‘ on by means of them an ethical teaching in the minds of ‘ my pupils.’ But, on the present occasion, Hawkins took the more conventional view of the tutorial functions, and after a protracted struggle his opinion prevailed. He refused to assign to the three tutors any more pupils. Thus, Newman's tenure of the tutorship came to an end in 1832, when his pupils, all but a few, had taken their B.A. degrees.

From 1830 onwards, Newman was obliged to contemplate the approaching termination of his tutorial duties, and forced to seek some external sphere for his energies outside the walls of his college. He found his work in the existing conditions and dangers of the Church. In the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, religious earnestness was almost confined to that section of the clergy which accepted, not without a touch of self-complacency, the name of Evangelicals. Outside this section religious emotion was derided; Christian dogma was scouted; Blair's appeals to domestic respectability touched the high-water mark of theology. A thousand swore by God, where one prayed to Him. So long as the tenets of the Evangelicals were instinct with life, their example rebuked the apathy of the torpid. They did the work of Christianity in England; they inaugurated great missionary and philanthropic enterprises. But here, too, the pure zeal of youth degenerated into religious worldliness, or was tarnished by political agitation. Their decay revealed defects which their practical virtues had concealed. Their intellectual and artistic barrenness had been over-

looked ; the inelastic chain of their narrow creed was hidden. Now men awoke to the fact that the Evangelical school had created no literature and attracted no men of genius, had despised philosophy, degraded art, barely tolerated scholarship, and satisfied scarcely any intellectual want. In the decadence of the Evangelicals, these deficiencies were apparent. Weak even where she was strongest, the Church seemed to have lost all internal principles of cohesion. Drifting this way and that, her adherents promised to melt like a snowball in the heat of trial. The talent of the day appeared to be against her. The only powerful sentiment to which she could appeal was dread of Popery. For fear of transubstantiation the sacraments dwindled to ceremonies ; alarmed at infallibility, every man was encouraged to form his own creed. In the 'Progress of Unbelief,' Newman expressed the feelings with which the spectacle of the Church inspired him—

‘ Now is the Autumn of the Tree of Life ;
Its leaves are shed upon the unthankful Earth,
Which lets them whirl a prey to the world's strife,
Heartless to store them for the months of dearth.’

A wider gaze revealed to Newman a new spirit in the air. It was not only that a point had been reached, at which tender consciences shrank from the contrast between the practices and the professed principles of the Church of England. Everywhere he marked a spiritual awakening, a craving for a fuller system, a search for higher principles in religion. On all sides he saw signs of a reaction against utilitarian ethics, religion, and literature. In England protests came from Scott, from Southey, from Wordsworth, from Coleridge. In Germany the old Rationalism was giving place to Pantheism, or to the modified Lutheranism of Neander, or to fresh triumphs of Romanism. In Holland, efforts were made to revive the strictest and most exclusive principles of religion. In Italy, the Church of Rome threw aside her indifference for a new birth of zeal and discipline. In France, the Romantic movement was running its course ; a translation of the Fathers was commenced ; the influence of Chateaubriand was at its height. Newman saw that throughout Europe a simultaneous reaction had commenced. He knew not the direction in which it might turn in England. Elsewhere it inclined, now to Pantheism, now to Popery, now to Mysticism, now to Infidelity. One thing alone seemed to him certain. The tone of religious feeling which had prevailed for the

last century was definitively silenced. But if the spirit of Luther was dead, that of Loyola walked once more abroad, and an enemy stood at the gate in Rationalism.

How was the crisis to be met? How was the energy of the Church to be revived, the reaction against the cold materialism of the day to be utilised, the spiritual reawakening to be opposed as a barrier, to Rome on the one side, on the other to infidelity? For the Church there seemed to be imminent danger and an exceptional opportunity. The Evangelicals were too political, the two-bottle orthodox too apathetic, to recognise the first; the former were too inelastic, the latter too colourless to seize the second. He himself had no plan to propose, and the direction which he ultimately imparted to the movement was at first the result of political feeling. Absorbed in the solution of his one problem, Newman had no sympathy or interest in political and social reform. On the contrary, he regarded the movement with horror. The concessions to the Roman Catholics, the Parliamentary Reform Act, the repeal of the Test and Corporations Act, seemed to him to efface that character of the civil Legislature which had qualified it to be at the same time the ecclesiastical Legislature. In his opinion they cancelled the conditions on which the alliance of Church and State was based. He confounded Liberalism in politics with 'the encroachment of philosophism and 'indifferentism in the Church.' He regarded the spirit of free inquiry, judged by its fruits, to be 'a spirit of latitudinarianism, indifferentism, and schism.' Against it he wrote his fiercest verses. He was fretted by its success. He identified it with the revolutionary principles of France. He lost control over himself, and screamed against it with hysterical vehemence. He opposed what he considered to be its manifestations with hot-headed frenzy. At home and abroad events seemed to him to portend a struggle for the very existence of Christianity. He believed that in England the State was preparing to cast off the Church, or to interfere with her liberties. The threat to deprive the Church of the protection of the arm of the flesh has always driven her to furbish up the spiritual weapons which rust in her armoury. The Church had leaned too exclusively on the State. She must now learn to feel her own strength, to look to her own resources, to recognise that she can boast an independent origin, and can, as she had done before, exist in a state of independence. The same appeal had been urged under similar pressure by the great Anglican divines of the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. . But for a century this view of the Church had dropped out of sight. Her claims were unknown, regarded as dormant spells, or treated as hindrances to the inner religious life. The true notes of the Church were recited in the Creed; but the words 'One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic,' had ceased to convey any definite meaning. The popular idea was embodied in such tavern toasts as 'The Church by-law established,' 'The Church of the majority,' 'Church and King,' 'Our National Establishment.' But Newman believed that the old truths were capable of exciting unbounded enthusiasm, and that they were not merely flags of the battle-field, but reproductive principles of spiritual vitality. By the reconstruction of the Primitive Church he hoped to raise a barrier against Popery and infidelity, to oppose a bulwark to State interference, to revive a polity which might be independent of State protection, to restore channels into which the craving for a fuller religious system might be profitably directed.

Already in 1832 Newman is aware that there is work for him in Oxford which wants doing and which no one else will do. Half consciously he prepares for the task before him. 'It wants,' he said, 'hot-headed men, and such I mean to be.' At this crisis in his history came the definite parting of the ways in the invitation to accompany the Froudes to the Mediterranean. The invitation was accepted in September 1832. In December he started from Oxford to join his friends at Falmouth. The next six months form a turning point in his career in the English Church.

Newman left Oxford with a vivid sense of the shortcomings and the dangers of the Church, a strong conviction that an inward change impended over him, a firm impression that some wider sphere of action was opening before his energies. As he contemplates the condition of the Church, Virgil's 'exoriare aliquis' rings in his brain. He feels, like Thalaba, that he has a task to perform. His verses, written in the first stage of his journey, show how firmly he was convinced of his 'angelic guidance':—

'Are these the tracks of some unearthly Friend,
His footprints, and his vesture skirts of light,
Who, as I talk with men, conforms aright
Their sympathetic words, or deeds that blend
With my hid thoughts?'

All these feelings gathered strength during his sojourn abroad. In his poems written during this period can be traced his deepening perception of the nature of his task,

and his rising hopes for the future of the Church, stripped of her temporalities, but revived as a spiritual power. Thus in 'Private Judgment' he says of the pleadings of Mother-Church :—

' Warn you and win she shall and must,
For now she lifts her from the dust,
To reign as in her youth.'

Or, again, he bids 'The Patient Church' bide 'the victor's day,' and

' Wait the bright Advent that shall loose thy chain !
E'en now the shadows break, and gleams divine
Edge the dim distant line.'

Or, again, in 'Day Labourers,' written at the close of his travels :—

' List, Christian warrior ! thou, whose soul is fain
To rid thy Mother of her present chain ;
Christ will avenge his Bride ; yea, even now
Begins the work.'

More definite still is 'Sacrilege,' in which he bids his brethren prepare for the worst :—

. . . ' yet shrink to share
The curse of throwing down.
So will we toil in our old place to stand,
Watching, not dreading, the despoiler's hand.'

As the nature of the task becomes clearer to his mind, so also does the conviction of his duty gather strength. One by one the arguments which he had used within himself are set aside. The sensitiveness which dreads to fail, or to do more harm than good, is overcome. The shrinking from the severity of the impending struggle is mastered. The fear of obloquy on the one hand, and of seeming obtrusiveness on the other, is conquered. The desire for peace, and to be spared a troubled life, is repressed. The suggestion of worldly wisdom is repudiated that, even if the ancient zeal and purity of the Church are restored, the zeal will be again chilled by forms, and the purity again contaminated by wealth. His natural reticence and reserve are removed by the thought of the eloquence of 'slow-tongued Moses.' Doubts of the future, expressed in beautiful lines, rise into confidence in the sense of the guiding hand of God—*ταῦτα δὲ πάντα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται.*

‘ Did we but see,
When life first open’d, how our journey lay
Between its earliest and its closing day,
Or view ourselves, as we one time shall be,
Who strive for the high prize, such sights would break
The youthful spirit, though bold for Jesu’s sake.’

It was this conviction of his mission that inspired his words to Monsignore Wiseman at Rome, ‘We have a work to do ‘in England.’ It is the same conviction which speaks in every page of that strange account of his fever in Sicily. In it Newman treats his illness as a supreme crisis in his life, dwells on the unlooked-for way in which he had come to Sicily, regards the fever as a test of patience, a judgement for his self-will, a sign of directing favour. Throughout its course he was sustained by the belief that he was not in danger of death. ‘I thought,’ he says, ‘God had work for ‘me.’ After his recovery, and while becalmed in the Straits of Bonifaccio on his way home from Palermo to Marseilles, he wrote the hymn ‘Lead, kindly Light.’ The familiar lines epitomise the conviction which had been growing upon him during the past three years, the struggle which he had made against it, and his self-dedication to his appointed task. They breathe the spirit of absolute submission to the leadings of the ‘Pillar of Cloud,’ his complete devotion to the divine mission, his readiness to obey the heavenly impulse implicitly, without asking to look forward to the distant consequence of his actions.

Newman reached England in July 1833. On the 14th of the month Keble preached the assize sermon on ‘National ‘Apostacy,’ which Newman always regarded as the commencement of the Tractarian movement. Here begins the fifth period of his career (1833–1843). He and his friends were prepared for the charges of superstition, mysticism, and Popery. But the disease was deep, and the medicine must be strong. In their eyes the age was far gone in disorder, in materialism, in rationalistic views, in neglect of forms, in self-indulgence. They believed that the civil legislature was preparing, under new circumstances, to ‘reform’ the Church and her Liturgy, and that men valued so highly the protection of the State as to sacrifice the being of the Church to her well-being—to surrender her essential rights and principles for the preservation of external trappings. They saw the ‘probability of the whole subject ‘of Church authority, powers, claims, &c., being opened.’ They detected symptoms of a combined attack from Carlyle,

from Socialists, from the followers of Arnold, from those who, like Milman, held what they regarded as Sabellian views, from philosophers, Benthamites, political economists, and men of science. Against these perils the Tractarians upheld an authoritative Church, the value of externals, the power of high ideals, the strength of definite dogma, the efficacy of energy, and self-denial. In a word, they appealed to primitive Christianity. Learned students are still in search of its principles, still disputing over its character, still discussing its constitution. Newman's hasty sketch, thrown together from materials collected day by day, probably resembled the original as little as the gaudily-coloured print of the modern Ritualist.

It was a crisis when a lead was required. Newman gave it by a leap in the dark. While others hesitated, he acted. He became the master-mind of the movement. Other men, like Keble and Froude and Pusey, may have been its philosophers. Newman was its interpreter, its rhetorician, its exponent alike in its virtues and its defects. Keen-sighted, rather than far-sighted, his vision was searching along a narrow line of thought. Deficient in those mental habits which give form and law to inquiry, and impatient of history, he lacked the breadth, stability, and robustness of intellectual manliness. In its force, and also in its weakness, his mind was feminine. He had seized on a grand idea; but in its developement he too often proceeded by hasty guesses and erroneous anticipations. He thought that he could define a middle way, which receded on the positive side from Rome, on the negative side from popular Protestantism. His *Via Media* proved a razor's edge. He did not pause to test his weapons, or choose his ground, before he offered battle. Consequently more than one of his weapons broke in his hand, and he assumed positions in the twilight, which the noonday sun showed to be untenable. So long as he was confident of eventual success, and convinced of the essential truth of his theory, the correction of details was comparatively unimportant, because the atmosphere of personal feeling remained unchanged. The danger lay in the shifting of his sympathies and the consequent modification of his perceptions of abstract truth.

At the outset of the movement Newman regarded the Papacy as Antichrist. His letters are filled with strong expressions against Rome. In frank disclosures of his feelings to intimate friends, the statements of the *Apologia*, and the impressions left by his *Poems*, are fully confirmed.

A well-known passage in the Tracts speaks of Rome as 'heretic,' 'joined in perpetual league with Antichrist;' of her communion as 'infected with heresy and to be shunned 'like the plague;' of her system as 'corrupt,' of her doctrine as 'anti-scriptural, profane, impious, audacious, without authority, gross, monstrous, and cruel.' These expressions are culled from the Anglican divines, and it has been doubted whether they expressed his sincere opinions. In 1832-3 they scarcely exaggerated his feeling towards Rome. He sees in the Greek and Latin Churches beautiful flowers gone to seed, practices admirable in themselves carried too far, the perversion of all the best, the holiest, the most exalted feelings of the human heart. He speaks of the Romanists as 'advanced Greeks, the errors being the same, though less 'advanced, in the latter.' He contrasts the existing religion of Roman Catholic countries, which is 'a more poetical, 'though not less jading, stimulus than a pouring forth in a 'Baptist chapel,' with the quiet and calm, at once beautiful and soothing to the memory, of the services at Littlemore and St. Mary's. 'We do not know,' he adds, 'how great 'our privileges are.' He finds a 'despicable frivolity' connected with religious observances, and 'religion turned into 'a mere occasion of worldly gaiety.' He notes the prevalent infidelity and profaneness, and begins to hope after all that 'England is to be the "Land of Saints" in this dark hour, 'and her Church the salt of the earth.' 'The first thought' he has of Rome, 'is awful—that you see the great enemy of 'God—the Fourth Monarchy, the Beast dreadful and 'terrible.' He recognises in the city 'the place of martyrdom and burial of apostles and saints,' and the 'Light of 'the Wide West'; 'but then, on the other hand, the superstitious, or rather, what is far worse, the solemn reception 'of them as an essential part of Christianity. But then, 'again, the extreme beauty and costliness of the churches; 'and then, on the contrary, the knowledge that the most 'famous was built (in part) by the sale of indulgences. 'Really this is a cruel place.' He speaks of 'the wretched 'perversion of the truth which is sanctioned' at Rome, of 'the corrupt religion—and it is very corrupt—' of 'the 'doctrines of the mass and purgatory' as 'inventions.' 'O that Rome,' he cries, 'were not Rome! But I seem to 'see as clear as day that a union with her is *impossible*. 'She 'is the cruel Church asking of us impossibilities, excommunicating us for disobedience, and now watching and 'exulting over our approaching overthrow.'

From 1833 to 1839 Newman's object, as he has himself said, was to benefit the Church of England at the expense of the Church of Rome. No doubts of his position assailed his mind. He had returned to England with redoubled energies, with renewed strength, impressed with the belief that it was his mission to effect a second reformation of the Church, and determined to shrink from no sacrifice which the task demanded. Time, labour, intellect, ambition, and all that men value most highly in this world, were to be devoted without stint to the service. When once he began to act, his aims gathered definiteness and extended scope. He purposed elevating the whole tone of the English Church. To this object he devoted all his powers with singular consistency and concentration. His fearless courage and assured confidence inspired and directed those who worked with him. His lofty standard of life, his moral earnestness, his severe self-discipline, his repression of ambition, his simplicity, ardour, and humility, his self-sacrifice and unworldliness, his scorn for all that was mean or little, witnessed more eloquently than words to the reality and nobility of his Christian ideal. Nothing about the man was artificial or conventional. He hated humbug; he was impatient of all that was unnatural. If sacerdotalism was encouraged by his teaching, no man ever lived to whom its abuses would have been more repugnant.

'I am *not* venerable,' he writes to an ill-advised admirer, 'and nothing can make me so. I am what I am. I am very much like other people, and I do not think it necessary to abstain from the feelings and thoughts, not intrinsically sinful, which other people have. I cannot speak words of wisdom: to some it comes naturally. Do not suffer any illusive notion about me to spring up in your mind. No one ever treats me with deference and respect who knows me, and from my heart I trust and pray that no one ever may.'

Newman's theology is less inspiring, and less instructive, than his religion. Men of his character might safely dispense with theology. Dogmatic definition is only necessary when faith is feeble; it is better than negation; it may prove the groundwork of new influences; it supplies common measures between mind and mind. But theology is content with general terms, which Newman always converted into individual principles; he lived in its truths, made them his own, and by them shaped his life. His religion was one not of abstractions but of persons and things, of acts of faith, and direct devotion.

Character, thought, teaching, style, were welded together

in a compact whole. His strenuous hold of the realities of the unseen world, his vivid personal apprehension of spiritual truth, his keen perception of the consequences of admitted principles, gave to his religion an intensely personal vitality. He spoke of matters which were to him real and living forces of his mind and character, and he conveyed their influence to others by his insight into human nature, by his intellectual capacity for application and elucidation, and by his striking histrionic and dramatic power of representation. All his gifts as a theologian, a preacher, and a poet, are devoted to his one purpose. In all his writings he stamped his ideas, and still more his personality, upon his generation.

It has been often asserted that Newman sought refuge from scepticism in an infallible Church. Nothing is, in our opinion, further from the truth, or betrays greater ignorance of his writings. He had many difficulties, but no doubts, about Christianity. His vision of the greater lights of Heaven was clear, undimmed, unclouded. He believed, and never swerved from his belief, in a Personal Creator and Governor of the World, in a Divine revelation specially given to the Jewish people, in the Incarnation, in the Divine Presence in the Church. It may be difficult to explain the processes by which he reached his certitude. But that he did attain it, and never lost it, no careful student of his life and works can for a moment doubt. Between his metaphysical views of religious judgements, and those of Coleridge there are remarkable coincidences. There are also striking differences, on which we have no space to insist. Both made faith the first condition of spiritual knowledge. Both vindicated the maxim *Credo ut intelligam*. Both recognised the religious character of morality. Both traced the germ of devout belief to the experiences of conscience.

The examination of the proposition that religious truth is reached not by reasoning but by perception will, perhaps, best illustrate some of Newman's most characteristic views as a theologian. He takes his stand on practical life. Objectors appealed to experience; to experience they should go. Faith is not mere credulity, any more than it is opinion or obedience. It is a moral act of the intellect, instigated by reverence and love, to outstrip the results of logical proof. It does not proceed by mathematical demonstration; but it uses at once all the powers of heart, will, and intellect, and experience. It is this same process that is the guide of daily life, and the source of practical wisdom. Faith has its origin in a readi-

ness to believe antecedent *a priori* evidence. Except in reasoning about abstract notions or numbers, men rely, in ordinary affairs, on similar presumptions, prepossessions, or predispositions. We accept conclusions which the evidence does not support; we assent absolutely where our knowledge is relative. Great generals can only give incomplete reasons for brilliant conjectures. They argue not from explicit evidence only, but also from antecedent presumptions derived from their whole previous experience. Thus they arrive at absolute conclusions where none are warranted by evidence. Similarly readers of character interpret the ruling principles of a number of separable imperceptible traces; physicians detect the centre to which different symptoms converge; weatherwise rustics combine a number of impressions in forecasting a fine day. All these are cases of the natural half-unconscious reasoning of practical life, by which, in the field of religious inquiry, men attain to faith. The readiness to believe on *a priori* evidence may be legitimate or illegitimate. It is legitimate if it is the choice of the purer possibilities, obedience to the better suggestions, reliance on the higher tendencies of human nature. Our assents to the antecedent presumptions, which colour our religious judgements, and predispose us to believe beyond what we see, are almost instinctive operations of the mind, dropping out of sight as soon as their work is done. They constitute the self-assuring power of the mind, which enables it to hold, as matters of faith and internal conviction, conclusions that pass beyond scientific or mathematical evidence.

Such practical reasoning, then, is not confined to religious inquiry: it is of daily use in actual life. Men who demand scientific proof—and scientific proof only—for judgements which are necessarily founded on the totality of our powers and experiences, resemble violinists playing on one string when they might use the whole four. Faith must venture something. The child learns by believing everything, rather than by believing nothing. So also must the religious inquirer advance, discarding error as he goes. The true course is to begin with faith, and follow it up by inquiry. A man's organism may be made acutely sensitive to impressions; or it may be so dulled as to become impervious to them. Holiness and spiritual knowledge are twin-sisters. Just as the most loving friend reads most quickly the half-expressed wish, so the tender conscience finds most certainly the meaning of God's purposes. Purity of heart is the judge

of religious truth. It creates that delicate tact and spiritual discernment which regulate unerringly the eagerness to believe, detect evidence where others see nothing, and discriminate between the truth and falsehood of antecedent presumptions. Trust the highest perceptions, obey the sacred instincts of conscience, and conviction will follow ; in other words, you will understand on what they are founded. Be guided by the intuitions of implicit reasoning, and you will pass to a perception of truth, which is explicit and reflective.

Newman's view of faith has one general advantage for all the world, in that it links together in an indissoluble chain religion and morality. For himself individually it was specially useful, because it enabled him to reconcile his need of absolute convictions with his rule that probability is the guide of life. The assemblage of converging probabilities creates a certitude upon which we act in the daily affairs of life. The richer the experience, the greater the means of attaining the truth. Nor do conclusions remain high probability only, for the self-assuring power of the mind sets upon them the seal of certainty. Newman applies this process of practical reasoning to religious truth. A multitude of probabilities, *a priori* instincts of a Supreme Judge, *a priori* expectations of a spotless Redeemer, the phenomenon of the Jewish race, and innumerable, incontrovertible, and otherwise inexplicable, facts of history converge upon the centre of historical Christianity, and justify that surplusage of assurance which converts the readiness to believe into the conviction of faith. In this case the belief was indefectible and permanent. In another case the belief was not indelible. By the rule of probability he defended his view of an authoritative Church. The purpose of revelation is the salvation of the human soul. The declaration of the divine character and personality is not the whole of revelation, nor, unless we misinterpret Newman, the main part of its subject-matter. The institutions which grew up out of the Gospel are also parts of revelation, and instruments of spiritual life. Through the authoritative Church alone the presence of Christ is still immanent in the world ; through it His voice yet speaks ; through its sacraments alone, administered by an apostolic priesthood, men's souls are regenerated and rendered capable of receiving the Divine witness. Newman admitted that much which he claimed for the Primitive Church rested on inadequate scriptural evidence. But he forced his theory of Probability into the

service. More particularly he argued that, if there was no evidence to the contrary, the slightest presumption to indicate the will of Christ was as binding as the fullest proof. So long as he regarded the Papacy as Antichrist, and the English Church as the heir of the Primitive polity, his mind assented to the proposition as an act of profession, or as an opinion, if not as a genuine belief. But when once his confidence in the Anglican Church was destroyed, and he had come to look upon Rome with affection, his fabric was shaken to its very foundations.

As a preacher, Newman was absorbed with the desire to make men anxious about their souls. Heart speaks to heart without the intervention of anything that was conventional, formal, or artificial. In simple, direct, straightforward language he went to the actual facts of life. He took man exactly as he found him, in all his anomalies, frivolities, and contradictions. His statements were sober, measured, carefully weighed. No exaggeration diminished their impressiveness; no trace of excitement impaired their effect. Manner and matter were as genuine as the man himself. With the same intense realism he plunged into the recesses of spiritual mysteries. His vivid apprehension of the truths of revelation enabled him to bring his hearers face to face with the marvels of the unseen, and to bring out with burning force their relations with human experience, and the awful heights and depths of mystery by which man is surrounded. It was not a comfortable religion that he preached. It is, in the first place, intensely dogmatic, though the dogmatic teaching is large, practical, untechnical. He shows that the noblest views of life coincide with the doctrinal system of the Church without undue strain, and argues that, though the coincidence does not demonstrate the truth of dogma, it does prove dogma to be neither arbitrary nor inelastic. His nature, and his intellect alike, revolted from the slipshod platitudes of contemporary sermons. He protests against the coldness, the vagueness, the false optimism, the unctuous boastfulness, with which rival teachers sought to acclimatise religion to the atmosphere of the day. He upheld with uncompromising severity the sterner aspects of the Divine mind. Facing with subtle insight the actual facts of life, he enforced the need of detachment from its joys and anxieties as essential to the true Christian ideal, and denounced the tendency to compromise between the spirit of Christ and the spirit of the world. His austere, self-sacrificing standard was maintained

consistently in life as well as word, yet without excluding the intensest pity. It provoked bursts of scorn; it elicited flashes of indignation. But through all the storms there runs a vein of tenderness and pathos, like some silver thread through the surrounding gloom.

The style both of his sermons and his theological writing is characteristic of the man. As Newman himself concentrated himself on his purpose, without turning aside to pursue honour or distinction, so his clear Saxon with austere severity advances directly towards its aim, without ornament or display. Matter and form are welded together. Both unite in raising religion to a higher level. Unceremonious, unconstrained in movement, without verbiage or circumlocution, his style combines clearness with force, richness with depth, originality with refinement. Yet none of his works were composed at leisure; with the exception of 'The Grammar of Assent,' almost all were written to answer sudden calls. He can be simple almost to bareness, yet he is always dignified. He imparts to his words his own moral purity. One characteristic of his style has led to frequent misinterpretation of his meaning. Men whose intuitions of truth are real, vivid, direct, express themselves with the same directness and reality. But the very simplicity and shortness of their expressions are sources of obscurity to the hasty or the slow-witted. Newman's apothegms have peculiarly exposed him to ill-considered criticism. Critics catch at a striking phrase and miss the context. To appreciate Newman's meaning correctly his moral and intellectual idiosyncrasies must be studied, his general meaning comprehended, his particular purpose appreciated.

Newman's poetry, in its vivid realism combined with high spiritualism, its singleness of purpose, plainness of speech, simplicity of language, and imaginative power of divining the unseen from the visible, confirms the impressions which are produced by his preaching and theological writings. Religious feeling, and religious feeling only, is the inspiration of his verse as it is of his life. Unquestioning faith—and not doubt, regret, or philosophic calm—is its motive force. He does not faintly trust a larger hope, or sigh for dalliance with pagan deities, or hover in melancholy mood between two worlds—one dead, the other powerless to be born. He asserts without question, employs the highest doctrinal mysteries as undoubted realities, and treats religious truths as living principles instead of vague abstractions. To the smooth accommodations of revelation which

gratified the temper of the day, he opposes, with uncompromising severity,

‘ One only way to life ;
One Faith, delivered once for all ;
One Holy Band crowned with Heaven’s highest call ;
One earnest restless strife ! ’

His poetry is himself. Every line is stamped with the seal of his intense individuality. No religious movement, unless it be the English Reformation, has been unattended by poetry. In times of spiritual excitement it is natural that a man of high culture and intense feeling should seek poetical expression for his inmost thoughts. Though Newman is a great man who has written poetry, rather than a man whose poetry has made him great, he possessed poetic powers of the highest order. Sometimes, indeed, the preacher overpowers the poet. Often the lines are halting or inharmonious. Often, also, the fancy is so rigidly restrained that the outlines are painfully bare and sharp. Yet these defects have corresponding virtues. The poetry glows with the white-heat of religious conviction. As in some rudely carved cross the feeling of the artist compensates for the want of technical skill, so the solemn undertone of moral earnestness refines his harshness, while it gives to his harmonies an ethereal beauty. His quiet dignity enables him to be absolutely simple without verging on triviality, and the classic severity is a refreshing contrast to the broad splashes of colour which in these days proclaim the absorption of the spirit in the flesh. No lover of poetry can fail to feel the ardour of faith which inspires ‘The Pillar of Cloud’; the tenderness of ‘Voices from Afar’; the resigned melancholy of ‘Our Future’; the grand Sophoclean irony of ‘Judaism’; or the prophetic pathos of ‘David and Jonathan,’ in which Newman (writing in 1833) expresses his opinion that the happiest friendships are those which death severs before worse partings are made. But as a poet, Newman attained his highest point after he had joined the Roman Communion. The same may be said, with certain limitations, of his preaching and of his writing. His ‘Dream of Gerontius’ is a masterpiece of psychology—a new flight, as bold as it was novel, in which he soars into untrodden regions, and teaches the mysteries of a spirit’s feeling, when the fleshly tie is severed. He has unveiled the mystery of dying, with an imaginative realism which carries, with its conviction of its truth. The poet’s Heaven is without joy, the Guardian Angel is platitudinous, the angels are dimly

historical, the demons are ludicrous rather than awful. It is in the words of Gerontius, whether in their subtle analysis or their tender passion, that Newman displays his great poetic genius. In range or power it would be absurd to compare 'Gerontius' with the 'Paradiso' or the 'Inferno.' Yet in the vivid realism of their explorations into the spiritual world, Dante and Newman resemble one another by their powers, as they undoubtedly do by their circumstances. Both men, scorning the evil of their generation, grew blind to its good. Both men were alienated from their countrymen, for whose sympathy they passionately yearned. Both men made war for the sake of an ideal, and both provoked the charge of disloyalty by their ardent pursuit of a phantom.

Such pre-eminent gifts as Newman possessed were lavished with unselfish generosity upon the movement which he inspired. Its history is too well known to need record. Inaugurated from the highest motives, and conducted with a singular consecration of talents and learning towards one object, the new teaching spread with surprising speed. We candidly confess our want of sympathy with much that was taught, and with the later developements of the teaching. Yet we are not blind to the debt which England owes to the Oxford movement, or to the force with which its leaders preached the sanctity of common duties, the grandeur of historical communion, the place in worship of beauty and of art, the reunion of moral and religious ends. They reclaimed territory which the Church had suffered to fall out of cultivation. They revealed the riches of a great inheritance by throwing open windows which their predecessors had blocked. They appealed to neglected emotions of awe, mystery, tenderness, and reverence. Above all, they arrested the progress of critical theology until it could be resumed, under happier auspices, with a truer sense of the moral and spiritual conditions of the human soul. But our business is with Newman and with his separation from his colleagues, rather than with the effect of the movement which he for a time inspired.

Newman has himself epitomised the course which his mind followed from 1833 to 1845. From 1833 to 1839 he desired to benefit the Church of England and to injure the Church of Rome. From 1839 to 1843 he wished to benefit the Church of England without prejudice to her rival. From Midsummer 1843 to the beginning of 1845, after he had resigned his preferments, and was practically living in lay communion with the Church of England, he endeavoured

so to speak and act as not to do her injury. At the beginning of 1845 he contemplated joining the Church of Rome, and on the 9th of October was received into her communion. The history of the last six years is told in the 'Letters and Correspondence' with a microscopic detail which is painfully minute. Up to 1839 Newman believed himself to be the blind agent of a Divine purpose. He saw in his success signs of a supernatural Providence. The flames broke out so simultaneously, and so universally, that no mortal incendiary could have applied the torch. His hopefulness and confidence were unshaken, even by the death of Froude in 1836. Three years later his feelings towards Rome underwent a change. She was no longer Antichrist to him, though his judgement still persisted in the belief. His sympathies towards her were stirred. She was a friend against whom he was forced to bear witness, though he would have preferred to keep silence. If we have at all carried our readers with us in our estimate of Newman's character, and of the peculiarities of his theology and metaphysical writings, this change of personal feeling was of the utmost importance. It was the beginning of the end. The change began, as we believe, in Newman's disappointment with the Christian ideal of the Anglican Church, and with its contrast to the severity of the apostolical age. He was still loyal to his Church; but he felt that she was not sufficiently detached from earthly struggles, that her spirit was not that of renunciation, that her ideal was a compromise with the world. His own severe standard revolted from her smug prosperity. He looked enviously towards the religious orders of the Roman communion. In 1840 he contemplated the revival of monastic establishments; and in 1843, after he had given up St. Mary's, he hoped to found a new religious order in the Anglican Church. The moment his confidence was shaken, the mischief spread in every direction. All his *a priori* presumptions, prepossessions, and predispositions were suspended, if they were not diverted. He multiplied his own acts of self-discipline, in order that his organism might be more acutely sensitive to the impulses of the Divine will. He cultivated interior religion the more assiduously that his Almighty Protector might in His own good time determine his opinion. He tried, as it were, to level to the ground the walls of his own material being, that they might not intercept the faintest whisper of the voice for which he strained his ears. And his own increased detachment from the world exag-

gerated his sense of the cheerful worldliness of his own Church. On all sides the shadows deepen. He drifts because he has no fixed guide outside himself—nothing, except the greater lights of heaven, which is not an emanation from within. If he did not sooner follow his thoughts to their natural termination, it was either because he had no absolute certitude that his new apprehensions of truth were more indefectible than his Evangelical or Anglican convictions; or because he dreaded to unsettle others; or because some other personal feeling, such as the alliance of Roman Catholics with infidels and dissenters against his Church, or dread of political priests, or disgust at O'Connell and his abettors, produced a temporary reaction.

The 'Letters' reveal with gathering clearness the resistless approach of the final catastrophe. But they do so in a manner which confirms our view, that the end came through a change of personal feeling which acted upon his intellect. No new light is thrown upon any argument which impelled Newman Romewards. On the other hand, they reveal the convergence of circumstances, both from within and from without, which alienated his personal sympathies from the English Church. We see how, in 1836, anxiety superseded confidence, how gradually his elasticity is overborne by the accumulation of fresh burdens, and how the complexity of the subject fettered his freedom. His forward-looking audacity passes into observant disquietude, which watches behind as well as before, and on all sides. In 1839 comes the first avowal of loss of confidence. Again, in 1840, with that rapid rebound from melancholy to excitement which is a conspicuous feature in his character, the hopefulness is renewed. Once more the shadows deepen. The authorities grew cold and averse. Sober men become uneasy or openly express disapproval. Wounded by misapprehensions, chilled by the dread of isolation, his powers were impeded by the strain of the difficulties of his enterprise, of his growing disquietude, and of the increasing suspicions of his friends. The condemnation of Tract 90 by the Oxford doctors, and the Jerusalem bishopric, were blows which fell upon a nature already tried beyond its strength. For young men he had a romantic affection, which they repaid with ardent devotion. He enjoyed the unfolding beauties of the youthful heart, the confiding spirit, the open hand, the generosity, the high aspirations. But now, haunted by the notion that undergraduates trusted him more than they ought, he gave up St. Mary's. He

retired to Littlemore, meaning to remain in lay communion with the Anglican Church. He abandoned his connexion with the Tractarian movement, and so closed, in 1843, the fourth period of his life.

Two years elapsed before Newman's final step was taken. If his perceptions of abstract truth had been less liable to be modified by subjective changes, he might have endured the suspicious supervision which was exercised over all his movements. But the ungenerous treatment deeply affected his intellectual perceptions through the painful personal impressions which it produced. Doctors of Divinity disturbed his domestic privacy. Heads of Houses patrolled on horse-back before his door. Inquisitorial eyes pried into all that he did. He was denounced as insidious because he did not make the public press his confidant. The most sacred resolves between himself and his conscience were made matter of public talk and unmannerly curiosity. His spiritual rulers impressed upon him that he was in a false position. His disciples outstripped him in their journey towards Rome, and he was tortured by the sense of the dangers to which those who had entrusted their souls to his keeping were exposed. He waited for some sign which should come to him to indicate the will of God. Everyone who was in distress of mind turned to him for guidance. In doubt himself, he had to endure the doubts of others. At the end of September, 1844, his oldest and closest friend, John Bowden, died.

'He died and lies in a room I have known these twenty-four years. And there lies now my oldest friend, so dear to me—and I, with so little faith or hope, as dead as a stone, detesting myself. I sobbed bitterly over his coffin to think that he had left me still dark as to what the way of truth was, and what I ought to do to please God and fulfil His will.'

Parted by death from his two dearest friends, alienated by circumstances from the place he loved best on earth, tortured by a sense of the grief, anxiety, and perplexity he was causing to all who knew him, he yet was uncertain of himself. Mental anxiety, fasting, and overwork told their tale upon his exhausted frame. He grew shrunk and debilitated in appearance under the anguish of a struggle the intensity of which is still visible in every line of the letter to his sister from which the following passage is extracted:—

'Pity me, my dear Jemima. What have I done thus to be deserted, thus to be left to take a wrong course, if it is wrong? I began by defending my own Church with all my might, when others would not

defend her. I went through obloquy in defending her. I in a fair measure succeed. At the very time of this success, before any reverse, in the course of my reading it breaks upon me that I am in a schismatical Church. I oppose myself to the notion; I write against it—year after year I write against it, and I do my utmost to keep others in the Church. From the time my doubts come upon me I begin to live more strictly; and really from that time to this I have done more towards my inward improvement, as far as I can judge, than in any time of my life. Of course, I have all through had many imperfections, and might have done every single thing I have done much better than I have done it. Make all deductions on this score, still, after all, may I not humbly trust that I have not so acted as to forfeit God's gracious guidance? And how is it that I have improved in other points if in respect of this momentous matter I am so fearfully blinded?

'Continually do I pray that He would discover to me if I am under a delusion: what can I do more? What hope have I but in Him? To whom should I go? Who can do me any good? Who can speak a word of comfort but He? Who is there but looks on me with a sorrowful face?—but He can lift up the light of His countenance upon me. All is against me—may He not add Himself as an adversary! May He tell me, may I listen to Him, if His will is other than I think it to be!'

When once he saw his way clearly, he acted on his conviction. On the night of the 9th of October, 1845, he was received into the Roman communion by Father Dominic. Three days later Keble wrote him a letter of farewell at the parting of their ways. The last paragraph forms the appropriate conclusion to our sketch of Newman's career in the English Church:—

'My dearest Newman,—You have been a kind and helpful friend to me in a way which scarce anyone else could have been, and you are so mixed up in my mind with old and dear and sacred thoughts that I cannot well bear to part with you, most unworthy as I know myself to be. And yet I cannot go along with you. I must cling to the belief that we are not really parted; you have taught me so, and I scarce think you can unteach me. And having relieved my mind with this little word, I will only say, God bless you, and reward you a thousand fold for all your help in every way to me unworthy, and to many others! May you have peace where you are gone, and help us in some way to get peace; but somehow I scarce think it will be in the way of controversy. And so, with somewhat of a feeling as if the spring had been taken out of my year,

'I am, always, your affectionate and grateful,

'J. KEBLE.'

ART. X.—*Napoléon et Alexandre I. De Tilsit à Erfurt. L'Alliance Russe sous le Premier Empire.* Par ALBERT VANDAL. 8vo. Paris: 1891.

2. *Alexandre I et Napoléon, d'après leur correspondance inédite 1801–1812.* Par SERGE TATISCHEFF. 8vo. Paris: 1891.

THE battle of Friedland was fought on June 14, 1807, and ended in the total defeat of the Russian army. Ten days afterwards, on June 25, the Emperor Napoleon and the Czar of Russia met on equal and on friendly terms on the Niemen, for Alexander had become in that space of time the ally and the acolyte of his victorious enemy. On July 7 the ostensible treaty of peace was signed between France and Russia, and a treaty of defence and alliance, with important secret articles, shortly afterwards. These dates mark the most important crisis which had yet occurred in the affairs of continental Europe, and the supreme point of power to which Napoleon ever attained. All Europe, with the exception of the dominions of Russia, Austria, and Spain, lay at his feet. He wrote to his brother Joseph in October 1807, that he had 800,000 men under arms, and enumerated the *ten* armies into which they were distributed. His troops occupied all the states and kingdoms from Naples to the Vistula. He was master of the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Weser, the Elbe, and the Oder. Of Prussia nothing remained but what he might be pleased to grant her to the east of the Elbe. But to complete the continental system, which was to extinguish Great Britain, he wanted an ally, and that alliance was given him by the defeat and the apostasy of Alexander. With this support Napoleon conceived himself to be master of the world. The clouds which were about to darken his career within a few months still lay below the horizon. Yet, having reached this extraordinary pinnacle of success, he instantly looked beyond it—*‘Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi’*—and his ardent ambition conceived schemes of conquest and dominion infinitely beyond all that he had already accomplished.

The ostensible object of the Treaty of Tilsit was a proposal of peace to Great Britain, to be made through the mediation of the Czar. But the terms offered were entirely illusory: England was asked to restore to France, Holland, and Spain all her colonial conquests, receiving in return the *Electorate of Hanover*, a possession which, however interesting to the

reigning family, was no part of the British empire. At Erfurt, in 1809, the terms offered were the *uti possidetis* of either belligerent, leaving Germany in the grasp of the French army, with the addition of Spain. If any proof were wanted of the insincerity of such offers, it is to be found in the fact that at the very same moment the new allies concluded a secret offensive and defensive alliance for the active prosecution of the war on a scale hitherto unthought of. Peace with Napoleon was an impossible condition. The observation is as old as Aristotle, that with a military government peace cannot exist: in peace it falls to pieces. Napoleon himself said: 'How in peace could I maintain my army? and I must have an army.' His army was maintained by preying on the vitals of Europe.

It is, therefore, not worth while to notice these abortive negotiations, if such they can be called, since Mr. Fox himself had failed to obtain a peace by the mission of Lord Lauderdale in the preceding year. But the administration which had just been formed in London was, fortunately, equal to the emergency. It is not known at what precise moment or to what extent Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning became acquainted with the secret provisions of the Treaties of Tilsit, but they were aware of the strenuous efforts made by Napoleon to compel Denmark to violate her neutrality and to surrender her fleet. Their first impression appears to have been that the united forces of France and Russia, with the fleet of Denmark, would attempt an invasion of Britain or of Ireland, which was a mistake. The ambition of Russia was directed, as we shall see, elsewhere. But the Danish fleet did undoubtedly form an important element in the projects of the allies. It consisted of about twenty ships of the line, and, in all, of sixty vessels, which were to be made subservient to the projects of France and Russia. This at least the British Government instantly perceived, and with equal promptitude resisted. Within three weeks of the signature of the Treaty of Tilsit, on July 27, a British force of twenty-seven ships of the line sailed for the Sound, and reached Copenhagen on August 1 to demand the temporary surrender of the Danish vessels. This bold measure was the more remarkable inasmuch as it was impossible for Ministers to disclose the reasons they had for taking it; it was, therefore, attacked by the Opposition with great violence, and is to this day reprehended. But Lord Hawkesbury said with perfect truth that the result of the alliance between France and Russia would 'unquestionably

‘be to turn the whole power of Napoleon against ourselves,’ and that no proof could be wanted of ‘his intention to destroy and annihilate our independence, nay, our very existence as a nation.’ This declaration of the Prime Minister was, in fact, much more true than he could have supposed at the time he delivered it. It was a just inference from the tendency of affairs; but the details of the hostile measures consequent on the Russo-French alliance were not fully agreed upon for some months afterwards. They were directed to the reorganisation of a fleet hostile to England, the partition of the Ottoman empire, the acquisition by France of the entire eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, the advance of Russia upon Constantinople, and the ultimate design of an invasion of British India through Asia Minor and Persia. This is the subject of the works now before us.

Before, however, we proceed to lay before our readers the narrative of this extraordinary and extravagant enterprise, and to dismiss the Copenhagen incident, which was the first blow on the intended co-operation of the allied fleets, it is interesting to remark that M. Vandal is the only French writer who has ever done justice to that operation, as appears from the following passage, in which he establishes the fact that the immediate object of Napoleon was to recover the maritime position he had lost at Trafalgar, by the incorporation of the fleets of the Northern Powers.

‘The very first object of Napoleon, which instantly occurred to his mind, lay in the Northern seas. From the shores of the Channel, the North Sea properly so called, and the Baltic, Napoleon intended to organise a vast front of attack against England, furnished with all the appliances of naval war, fleets, flotillas, and troops for landing, which, by a series of concerted manœuvres, should harass the enemy and prepare for an invasion. In this combination of the French and allied forces, the Danish navy, which was then the only one to be reckoned on in the Baltic, formed an important contribution to the right wing of the fleet. The Court of Copenhagen still pleaded for neutrality. But the Emperor acknowledged no such condition, and the secret Treaty of Tilsit had decided that Denmark, *nolens volens*, should become our ally. The determination of the Emperor to compel her to join us is absolutely demonstrated by the orders issued by him to his diplomatists and to his troops. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that the successors of Pitt, in sending an expedition to Copenhagen to compel Denmark to surrender her fleet, divined and anticipated the plan of Napoleon; they destroyed, before he could seize it, a weapon which he was resolved to use against themselves.’ (P. 149.)

It deserves a passing remark that one of the pretexts constantly used by Napoleon was that he was contending for a

'maritime peace' and for the 'liberty of the seas'! But the measures forced upon the British Government by the 'continental system' were belligerent rights, and upon the conclusion of a general peace their application would cease altogether, as in fact it has ceased for the last seventy-five years. As for the 'liberty of the seas,' there is evidence that, in the event of peace, Napoleon intended to establish a Navigation Act of the strictest kind, excluding all imports except in French ships.

In a literary point of view the work of M. Vandal is superior to that of his Russian competitor. He seizes with a firmer grasp the political consequences of the incidents he relates, and, although he allows himself to be carried away by his admiration of the genius of the great Emperor and the triumphs of France, he does not disguise the fatal results to which they inevitably led. M. Tatischeff claims a more modest position: he styles himself the *greffier*, who records the evidence of a great epoch without comment or discussion, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. And the evidence he produces is far more complete than that known to M. Vandal, for he gives us the whole of the personal correspondence of Napoleon and Alexander during these eventful years, which is only to be found in the Archives of St. Petersburg. It seems that in 1815 the minutes of most of the letters of Napoleon to the Czar and all the original letters of Alexander to Napoleon disappeared from the Archives of France. They are now at St. Petersburg, where M. Tatischeff discovered thirty-three letters of Alexander, most of them in his own handwriting, and the drafts of other letters, amounting in all to fifty-six. The drafts of Napoleon's letters have been published in the 'Correspondence' to the number of forty-three, copies having been supplied by the Russian Government. All these letters are of extraordinary interest. The alliance contracted at Tilsit was a personal one, and we have now before us the mutual assurances of the high contracting parties in their own handwriting, not in the official style of their ministerial representatives, but in a correspondence dictated by personal friendship. On the side of Alexander it was sincere; on that of Napoleon it was always calculated to promote his political designs. The production of these original documents by M. Tatischeff throws a fresh and vivid light on the history of these important transactions.

The story of the interview of the Emperors at Tilsit has often been related, more or less imperfectly and incorrectly.

All who witnessed it, and they were many, have recorded the singular address with which Napoleon accosted his young rival,* and the inimitable skill with which he adapted his conversation to the occasion. The success of so accomplished an actor was complete. Napoleon, says Duc Victor de Broglie, was not only a 'grand capitaine,' but a 'grand causeur,' and when it pleased him to be affable and agreeable, few could resist the fascination. Upon the enthusiastic character of Alexander the effect was instantaneous. 'I never,' he said, 'had more prejudices against any one that I had against him, but after three-quarters of an hour of conversation with him they all disappeared like a dream.' And to another person: 'Why had I not seen him before? The veil is removed and the time of illusion is over.' The reverse was the truth: the time of illusion, which lasted for about three years, had just begun.

These, however, were not the views of the Russian party, of the society of St. Petersburg, or even of the Ministers of the Czar; and it is remarkable that for several months after Tilsit Russia did not declare war against England, and Sir Robert Wilson, then a very active agent of Mr. Canning, remained in the Russian capital and exercised considerable influence there.

The merit of M. Vandal's work consists not in the description of well-known incidents, but in the fact that he also has had access to authentic documents which record the ulterior proceedings of the two courts and their representatives to give effect to the oral communications and general but incomplete agreement entered into at Tilsit. Of what was actually said in conversation by the two Emperors no record exists; but it is obvious, from the subsequent remarks of Alexander, that he had been led to believe that much more was offered him than Napoleon ever intended to give. It may be laid down as a truth that *no concession to a Russian autocrat can be made the basis of a firm alliance, by France or any other Power, which does not coincide more or less with the policy of Russia in the East and with her designs on Constantinople.* That was the lure with which Napoleon dazzled and captivated the young Emperor, and that is what Alexander conceived himself to have obtained. But subsequent events and correspondence prove that the policy and amount of concession in the East was of a very doubtful

* The difference of age between them was not very great. Napoleon was thirty-eight, Alexander thirty: both young men.

character, and that Napoleon was playing with the schemes of his own fervid ambition to please and delude his Russian ally. His policy with reference to Turkey, which was the traditional policy of France, based upon her old alliance with the Porte, had been shaken by the revolutions that cost the lives of the Sultans Selim and Mustapha; and it was not until what may be called the 'grand design' of his reign had taken possession of his mind that he abandoned it.

The first French ambassador sent to St. Petersburg after Tilsit was Savary, the Duke of Rovigo, but he was soon succeeded by M. de Caulaincourt, an envoy of far more insinuating manners and political intelligence. He was received by Alexander with extraordinary favour and admitted to his closest intimacy. It was his duty to transmit day by day to Napoleon a most minute record, in the form of dialogue, of every conversation with the Czar, down to the most minute particulars. These records exist in the French archives, and M. Vandal has had free access to them. They were previously very imperfectly known, though M. Thiers makes some occasional references to these papers.

The Russian ambassador in Paris was Count Peter Tolstoi, a singular contrast to the French representative in the North. Tolstoi was an old stock Russian—hating the Revolution, distrusting Napoleon, no convert to his master's sudden change of policy, stern in manner, silent in society, believing nothing, forgiving nothing. On him Napoleon made no impression at all. But Alexander knew the honesty of his agent, and left him in the very embarrassing position he occupied. His despatches, which are now in the archives of St. Petersburg, are the counterpart of those of Caulaincourt. To these, too, M. Vandal and M. Tatischeff are largely indebted for many curious details.

The only tangible and immediate advantage obtained by Alexander at Tilsit was the assent of Napoleon to the invasion of Sweden and the conquest of Finland. The Czar was to be at liberty to extend his dominions as far as he pleased to the north, and the measure was repeatedly urged upon him by the French, who pursued it with more eagerness than the Russians themselves. French troops under Bernadotte were to be landed in Scania, but when the Russian advance actually took place, in the following year, this assistance was withheld. Nothing could be more characteristic of the Napoleonic policy: he was paying a debt at the expense of a third party, and taking the equivalent for himself. The invasion of Sweden was a base and

unprovoked attack on a neighbour and a kinsman, for which no cause was alleged but the crime of his alliance with Great Britain. Russia herself was ashamed of the action, and although the acquisition of Finland was of evident advantage to her, the operations of Benningsen were ill-conducted, and the cabinet of St. Petersburg was disgraced by subserviency to the French system of rapine.

In exchange for this questionable concession, Napoleon obtained at once the sovereignty of the Bocca di Cattaro and the Ionian Isles, till then occupied by Russia—a possession to which he attached the highest importance.* Corfu was to be the basis of the operations he contemplated in the East. Corfu he declared was of ‘vital importance to the Empire.’ Nor was this a mere figure of speech. Within a few days of the Treaty of Tilsit he instructed Marmont, then governor of Dalmatia, to study the routes for a campaign in the Balkan provinces, and he proceeded to accumulate in Corfu military stores of every kind, sufficient for an army of 40,000 men. We believe they were still found there when the island was surrendered to Great Britain. M. Vandal remarks, from the numerous references to Corfu in the correspondence of the Emperor, that this little island, a few square miles in size, ‘seems to occupy him, of itself, more than all the parts of ‘his Empire.’ His instructions to his officers were pressing and incessant. Corfu was the central point on which the vast conception of the invasion of the East rested. It would be curious to know how far this passage of history was present to the mind of the British Ministers who repudiated the protectorate of the islands a few years ago. In the judgement of Napoleon, Corfu, held by a European Power, was the key to the Balkan provinces. The Russian fleet and troops evacuated the island, and endeavoured to make their way home. But, war having been declared by Russia against England, the squadron had to take refuge in Lisbon, where it eventually fell into the hands of the English. Russia therefore lost her Mediterranean fleet, as Denmark lost her Baltic fleet, in consequence of the treaties of Tilsit.

* The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Cerigo, and Ithaca were captured by the British forces in the autumn of 1809. Corfu remained in the possession of the French until 1814, but the occupation of the other islands by the British materially diminished the strategic importance of Corfu, and would have defeated the plan of campaign of Napoleon in that quarter.

and by the very conditions of those instruments the great naval combination projected by Napoleon against this country was paralysed. But this was the result of events in the following year, not then contemplated or even probable.

Whilst Napoleon lavished all his blandishments on the Czar, he turned with satanic ferocity on the unfortunate King of Prussia, the author and the victim of the war, who expiated by total ruin that system of selfish neutrality and tergiversation which the Court of Berlin had pursued from 1795 to 1806. Frederick William III. appeared at Tilsit like a spectre at a feast, and the treaty of peace with France, signed on his behalf on July 9, robbed him of half his dominions and of all his power. In vain the royal fugitives at Memel appealed to Alexander for support. In vain the Queen of Prussia made in person, at Tilsit, a sentimental effort to win something from the grasp of a conqueror who knew no pity. Even Magdeburg was refused her. Magdeburg, she said, would be found written on her heart as Calais lay upon the heart of Mary Tudor. The Treaty of July 9 was styled by Pozzo di Borgo a 'chef-d'œuvre of destruction.' It was followed, on the 12th, by a convention for the evacuation of the slender remains of Prussian territory by the French army; but to this article Napoleon added a stipulation that the troops should not be withdrawn until the enormous sums levied by him on the kingdom (amounting to upwards of six millions) were paid. It was out of the power of Prussia, in the condition to which she was reduced, to discharge such a debt, and in consequence Napoleon retained the fortresses on the Oder and clung with extreme tenacity to the possession of Silesia, which extended his authority from the Rhine to the Vistula. But here a difficulty arose. Alexander was not insensible, on grounds personal and political, to the wretched condition of his late ally, and he was extremely averse to allowing a French army to remain on the frontier of Poland. He had recognised the domination of France over the feudatory states of Germany, Holland, and Italy, and, by anticipation, over the new kingdom of Westphalia and the Spanish peninsula. He had acquiesced in the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw at his own door. He had, in fact, says M. Vandal, 'abandoned to 'Napoleon the Empire of the West.' But at the surrender of Silesia he made a stand in favour of Prussia, and on this point alone Napoleon thought it politic to pretend at least to give way, 'par égard pour S.M. l'Empereur de toutes les 'Russies.' In the note addressed to the Czar on July 4, he

declared, 'La politique de l'Empereur Napoléon est que son influence immédiate ne dépasse pas l'Elbe.' This, however, did not deter him from holding the fortresses on the Oder, and placing his Duchy of Warsaw under a Saxon prince. Silesia he continued to hold till the autumn of the following year, when it was evacuated for another reason. Conceiving the state of the Continent, virtually annexed to the French Empire, to be settled, he instantly turned his attention to the larger question of the East. For him the first condition was a revival of the Imperial Marine, and all the letters addressed at this time to his officers at Brest, in Holland, and in Italy, repeat the same text: '*Il faut s'occuper beaucoup de la Marine.*'

We shall presently have occasion to show what was the amount of sincerity of Napoleon in the vast schemes of Eastern conquest with which he had inflamed the imagination of the Czar; but it is certain, from his official correspondence, that for the next eight months he laboured incessantly to regain the naval ascendancy in the Mediterranean which he had lost on the Ocean. That was an essential preliminary to the transport of an army to the East. The fleet under Ganteaume, called the Toulon fleet, was raised to seventeen sail of the line. Twenty men of war were in construction at Antwerp and Flushing, seven or eight in the Texel. The service of the navy was divided into one hundred crews of 500 men each, with a reserve of 25,000 men and 10,000 coastguards, amounting in all to 85,000 men.* These forces, when completed, were to converge upon the Levant, and Corfu was to be the base of operations. The British naval forces in the Mediterranean, under Collingwood, did not exceed seventeen sail of the line, and the ports of Southern Italy and the Adriatic were not blockaded. There was no great difficulty of communication in the vessels of the country from Ancona and Brindisi to the coast of Dalmatia and the Islands. Collingwood had five vessels at Syracuse, five at Palermo, and one at Corfu; and he was joined soon afterwards by Sir Richard Strahan with six ships of the line. No operations were attempted against the French squadron under Ganteaume, which returned to Toulon after having touched at Corfu, but failed in Sicily. Collingwood appears to have thought that the strong position he held in Sicily was that best calculated

* See letter to Vice-Admiral Decrès of February 11, 1808: 'Correspondence of Napoleon,' 13546.

to defeat the manœuvres of the French fleets to the west and to the east of Italy; but he failed to bring Ganteaume to an action, as he eagerly desired.

Nothing is more characteristic of the vigour, the versatility, and the rashness of Napoleon's character than the multiplicity of his simultaneous schemes. In February 1808 General Miollis entered Rome and virtually deposed the Pope. The French armies had begun their fatal march into Spain; there, too, a dynasty was to be deposed and a nation subdued. But whilst these great adventures were in progress the attention of Napoleon was directed with the utmost intensity (as appears from his Correspondence) to two apparently minor objects, conducted by himself with the profoundest secrecy. The one was an expedition from Reggio to seize the Pharos at Scilla, and drive the English out of Sicily; the other was to render his possession of Corfu unassailable. He speaks of these two objects as of vital importance to the Imperial policy. 'Nothing,' he wrote to Eugène, 'would be so fatal to my policy as the loss of Corfu'; and to Joseph, 'This affair of Scilla' (in the Strait of Messina) 'plays the devil with my plans.' They were, in fact, the forerunner of his intended operations in the East, for which he required, before all things, the harbours of Messina and Corfu. It must therefore be inferred that, in spite of the magnitude of his engagements in Italy and Spain, whilst the 'Grande Armée' still occupied whole kingdoms in Germany, he was prosecuting with activity his vast design on the East, which was to give effect to his engagements with the Russian Czar.

We are fortunately in possession of authentic documents, published in the works before us, which record both the confidential and the ostensible views of Napoleon in his relations with the Court of St. Petersburg. The instructions addressed to M. de Caulaincourt on December 12, 1807, when he was sent as ambassador to Russia, disclose the exact intentions of the Emperor on the most pressing question of the day, with some reference to his ulterior projects. The letter addressed by Napoleon to Alexander on February 2, 1808, is far more intemperate and aggressive. These documents deserve a more attentive consideration.

Russia, it must be remembered, was at war with Turkey, and had taken possession of Moldavia and Wallachia; but the operations of the war were suspended by an armistice obtained through the mediation of France, though Alexander declined to ratify it. The first object of Russia was to keep

the principalities. To this acquisition by the Czar M. de Caulaincourt is informed that the Emperor is not entirely opposed, provided he obtains an equivalent 'par la possession de quelques provinces Prussiennes de plus.' These provinces must be equal in population, in wealth, and in resources of all kinds, to the two Turkish provinces surrendered to Russia.

'Prussia, it is true, will have but a population of two million inhabitants; but would not that be enough for the happiness of the royal family; and is not its interest to place itself at once and with entire resignation on the level of inferior Powers, since all its efforts to resume the rank it has lost would only serve to harass its subjects and foster bootless regret?'

This passage was aimed at the retention of Silesia, which Alexander had refused to assent to, and which he continued to refuse.

Napoleon declined to accept a compensation in Bosnia or Albania, which would involve an unprofitable contest and lead to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

'This event,' it is added, 'may be desired by the cabinet of St. Petersburg; it may be inevitable; but it is not within the policy of the two Imperial courts to hasten it; they should seek to delay it until the partition of these vast fragments may be made in a manner more advantageous to each of them, and when they would not have to fear that another Power, now their enemy, should appropriate, by the possession of Egypt and the Isles, the richest portion of the spoil. That is the strongest objection of the Emperor to the partition of the Ottoman Empire.'

To this the Emperor added, by his own dictation, that *at this moment* his real desire was that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire should remain undisturbed; but that, if the partition was insisted on at St. Petersburg, the French ambassador was not 'de trop choquer cette cour sur cet objet,' inasmuch as it was desirable that France should obtain the greatest possible influence in the division, without the intervention of Austria. The proposal, therefore, was not to be rejected, but referred to a verbal arrangement. A secret convention might be concluded to regulate the compensation between the two Powers in the principalities and the Russian provinces. Napoleon regarded the partition of Turkey as 'funeste,' yet his ambassador was not to combat it directly, but to urge delay, bearing in mind that 'this old project of Russian ambition is a link which may attach Russia to France, and that from this point of view care must be taken not wholly to discourage her hopes.'

Then follows an enthusiastic eulogy of the continental system, to the destruction of British interests, 'which has been executed'; and the following significant passage:—

'An expedition to the Indies might be thought of; the more chimerical it appears, the more would the attempt (and what cannot France and Russia do?) alarm the English. A panic scattered through British India would spread confusion in London, and certainly forty thousand French troops allowed by the Porte to pass by Constantinople, joined to forty thousand Russians marching from the Caucasus, would suffice to terrify and conquer Asia. It is with this intention that the Emperor has despatched to Persia the ambassador now starting for that destination.'

Napoleon seems to have been jealous, not of Alexander of Russia, but of Alexander the Great, when he suggests another Macedonian campaign. One is struck by the entire absence of practical knowledge and judgement indicated by such chimeras. He appears to have supposed that when he reached the Euphrates he was on the confines of India, with an easy march through Persia! Of his 40,000 men not one would have reached the Indus. Perhaps the feeler was thrown out to amuse the fancy of the Czar; but on the more tangible point of the partition of the Ottoman Empire, which Alexander undoubtedly believed to have been conceded at Tilsit, the ambiguous language and hesitation of the favoured ambassador surprised and amazed him.

So passed the winter. Even the near approach of the invasion of Finland, which took place in the early spring, excited but a languid interest. The attention of Alexander was fixed on two points—to obtain the evacuation of Silesia and the attack on the Ottoman Empire, and on these two essential points Russia and France were already, though secretly, at variance.

On February 2, 1808, a day memorable for many events in other parts of Europe, Napoleon addressed to Alexander the following letter. After some complimentary expressions of unusual tenderness, he proceeds thus:—

'It is only by grand and vast measures that we can arrive at peace and consolidate our system. Let your Majesty strengthen and augment your army. All the assistance I can give shall be frankly at your disposal; I feel no jealousy of Russia, but a desire for her glory, her prosperity, and her extension. Will your Majesty receive a suggestion from one who professes to be tenderly and truly devoted to you? Your Majesty wants to remove the Swedes from your capital; pray extend your frontier in that direction as far as you please, I am ready to assist you with all the means I possess.'

'An army of 50,000 men, composed of Russian, French, and perhaps even a few Austrian troops, marching on Asia through Constantinople, would no sooner have reached the Euphrates than England would tremble and fall on her knees before the Continent. I am strong enough in Dalmatia. Your Majesty is the same on the Danube. Within a month of our agreement, the army could be on the Bosphorus. The blow would be felt in the Indies, and England would be subdued. I refuse none of the preliminary stipulations to attain so great an end; but the interests of our respective States must be combined and adjusted. This can only be done by an interview with your Majesty, or by frank conference between Romanzoff and Caulaincourt, and the appointment of an envoy in Paris thoroughly in the system. M. de Tolstoi is a worthy man, but he is full of prejudice and distrust of France, and very far below the height of the events of Tilsit and the new position in which the close friendship now existing between your Majesty and myself has placed the universe. Everything can be signed and settled before the 15th March. On the 1st May our troops may be in Asia, and those of your Majesty at Stockholm. Then the English, threatened in India and expelled from the Levant, will be crushed by the magnitude of the events with which the atmosphere is surcharged. Your Majesty and myself would have preferred the enjoyment of peace, passing our lives in our vast empires, and engaged in promoting their happiness by the arts and the benefits of administration. The enemies of the world will not allow it. We must be still greater, in spite of ourselves. Wisdom and policy command us to do what destiny orders, and to go where the irresistible march of events conducts us. Then this swarm of pigmies, who cannot see that the events now occurring have their precedent in history, but not in the newspapers of the last century, will give way and follow the movement which your Majesty and myself will have ordained, and the Russian people will rejoice in the glory, the wealth, and the fortune which will result from these great events. In these few lines I open my whole soul to your Majesty. The work of Tilsit will rule the destinies of the world.' (P. 242.)

This egregious piece of *blague*—which we can only describe by that vulgar French expression—was no doubt calculated to give Alexander what M. Vandal calls 'un frisson d'enthousiasme guerrier,' and we regret to say that he applauds its 'admirable eloquence.' But on reflection he admits that perhaps it concealed 'une immense duperie,' and that Napoleon's intention was to dazzle his ally with the phantasmagoria of a grand expedition, at no cost to his own interest. M. Thiers, who is always apt to place Napoleon's duplicities in the least discreditable light, suggests that the object of the Emperor was to occupy Alexander with the conquest of Finland and the details of a complicated negotiation, in order to gain a few months' time, within which he hoped to settle the affairs of Spain, which now

began to assume a critical, if not a menacing, importance. M. Vandal himself says: 'It is certain that at the beginning of 1808 the Emperor felt the imperious and urgent necessity of occupying the mind of Alexander by diverting it at once from Spain and Prussia, from the south and the centre of Europe.' This seems to be a rational explanation of this extraordinary composition. But, as M. de Talleyrand remarks, in attempting to dupe others he duped nobody so much as himself.

However this may be, the letter produced the desired effect. It reached St. Petersburg on February 25 (the very day when the French armies under Murat and Duhesme were marching into Spain), and was received by the Czar with rapturous delight. He read it over and over again. 'Yes!' he exclaimed, 'this is the language of Tilsit! This is the tone of a great man.' He had never ceased to believe that the 'language of Tilsit' meant the partition of Turkey; and he proceeded to discuss with volubility the terms of the agreement to be entered into between Romanzow and Caulaincourt. The conduct of the negotiations between these Ministers, as faithfully reported by the ambassador in a dramatic form, seems taken from a comedy. A small specimen will suffice:—

The Ambassador: Let us see what you want. What did the Emperor (Alexander) desire at Tilsit? He must know the intentions of the Emperor Napoleon.

The Minister: He never explained them with great precision. I think we were to have Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria; and France the Morea, perhaps Albania and Crete.

The Ambassador: That is not all. What was to be done with the rest, even if Roumelia is left to the Turks?—for that is what we are now talking about, is it not, Monsieur le Comte?

The Minister: Yes. We desire that you should have what suits you. Austria has done nothing; a little will suffice, if she acts at all; but it would be well to make use of her.

The Ambassador: What would you give her, then?

The Minister: Croatia; if that is too little, something in Bosnia.

The Ambassador: Bosnia is the high road to Albania. That seems to fall within our lot. But you forget Servia.

The Minister: Servia might be made independent, under our influence and yours, or it might be given to an Austrian archduke.

The Ambassador: What you take is enormous. All these provinces are linked together, and for the most part Christian, while the others are Turkish; &c.

Romanzow pointed out that, if an expedition to India was contemplated, that involved the total overthrow of

Turkey; and in that event he boldly added that the possession of Constantinople, with a territory including the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, must fall to the Czar. To his demand, Caulaincourt replied by a declaration that, if Constantinople and the Bosphorus were surrendered to Russia, France must have the Dardanelles.

The diplomatic sharpshooting on these points lasted for several days, and the pretension of Romanzow was supported by the Czar in person. At length it was agreed that the plans of partition of Russia and France should be reduced to writing by their respective representatives. On the French draft it is unnecessary to dwell; but that of Russia is of capital importance, because it reveals in language even more clear than the Treaty of St. Stephano the ultimate design of that Power. By this Russian scheme the new frontier of the Empire, enclosing the Principalities, was to follow the line of the Carpathians to the Danube; then, crossing that river, to bend to the south-east till it reached the valley of the Maritza, down to the sea; it then turns eastward to the Dardanelles, along the European shore of the Propontis, leaving the Asiatic coast to the Turks, and, after having included Constantinople, with a circle of some leagues in Asia, returns to the Black Sea. In exchange, France was to be at liberty to settle with Austria her frontiers in Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, and Macedonia, to hold Salonica, and to obtain the whole of Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, Greece, the Morea, the Archipelago, and to extend her conquests, if she pleased, to Syria, Egypt, and the western coast of Asia Minor. Russia was to grant to France a military road across the Dardanelles, to place her Mediterranean fleet at the disposal of the latter Power, and to aid with her armies in the conquest of these important regions.

This vast scheme was reported by Caulaincourt, but without his assent. In particular, he offered insuperable objections to the surrender of the Dardanelles to Russia. It was on this minute territory of Gallipoli, which Romanzow called a 'langue de chat,' that the negotiations struck; for the Russians urged, with truth, that without the Dardanelles the cession of Constantinople was comparatively useless. It is worth while to remember this point, for many years ago it occurred to ourselves, on the spot, that what is termed the Eastern Question centres on the possession of that 'langue de chat.' We believe that Napoleon never intended to give it up, and it never can be

given up without sacrificing the independence of Europe, and especially of the Mediterranean Powers.

Caulaincourt addressed to the Emperor, on March 16, a dispassionate account of the negotiations. He said that, in spite of eloquent letters and splendid presents from Paris, the real feeling of Russia was one of distrust. She suspected the design of Napoleon on Silesia; she disliked the favours and promises to the Poles, which, as Alexander said, was 'to resuscitate the dead'; she would never yield on the points of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. That to the Czar was the sum and substance of the engagements of Tilsit. Caulaincourt's letter concluded in these words:—

'Your Majesty may unite Italy to France, and perhaps even Spain, may change dynasties and found kingdoms, may demand the aid of the Black Sea fleet and of a Russian army to conquer Egypt, may ask for what pledges you please, may make terms with Austria—in a word, may change the world, if Russia obtains Constantinople and the Dardanelles—anything then may be looked for without anxiety.'

If the visionary project of a Russo-French alliance should ever be revived, we venture to affirm that the same concession to Russia is the *sine quâ non* of its existence.

To Napoleon nothing could be more unwelcome and inconvenient than to be compelled to put in black and white the vague assurances of Tilsit, and the more so as Russia expressly stipulated and required that France should accept the main conditions of the draft of Romanzow before the next interview of the sovereigns could take place. To us, who have now all the documents before us, it is perfectly clear that, whilst Russia sought to realise her positive views in the East, Napoleon was endeavouring to amuse her with the conquest of Finland and an idle negotiation, whilst he directed the main strength of his policy and his forces to the affairs of Spain.

On April 15, 1808, he arrived at Bayonne to consummate the act of treachery and violence by which he seized the crown of that kingdom. On April 29 he writes to Alexander from that place:—

'I have here the Prince of Asturias, who has caused himself to be proclaimed Ferdinand VII. To-morrow I expect King Charles IV., his father, who protests. This family quarrel, and the symptoms of revolution occurring in Spain, give me some trouble; but I shall soon be free to arrange the *grande affaire* with your Majesty.'

The revolt of the population of Madrid four days later was a sufficient warning that there was something more than a

family quarrel at stake ; and it became difficult to explain at St. Petersburg the fact that Spain, though full of French troops, was in hot rebellion against the invader. In fact, the Emperor never needed the alliance of Russia more, in order to maintain his ascendancy over continental Europe and to resist Great Britain. Perhaps for this reason, hoping that the resistance of the Spaniards would be speedily overcome, he continued from Bayonne to make preparations for the expedition to the East. An army of 80,000 men was formed in Italy and Dalmatia to invade the Turkish provinces ; and the greatest efforts were made to increase the maritime power of the expedition. A squadron was to set sail from Lorient, and another from Brest at a short interval, to convey 18,000 French troops to India ; whilst the Franco-Russian army was to march on the Euphrates, after having annihilated Turkey. A vast combined fleet, composed of the vessels of all the allied nations, was to command the Mediterranean, and to direct its operations against Egypt, which was still the conquest most desired by Napoleon. These measures were not mere phantoms of the brain : they were worked out, as appears from the Imperial Correspondence, with all that minute care which distinguishes Napoleon's masterly instructions. The Emperor paid the same attention to every detail of the navy which he gave to the 'states' of his armies. He knew the exact condition of all the vessels of war in every port of his dominions, whether afloat or in construction, down to the smallest fly-boat, and the state of the guns, seamen, and stores on board. The despatch to Admiral Decrès, May 13, 1808 (Correspondence No. 13,877), contains all the particulars of the armaments for India ; and adds that at the same time the Toulon fleet will convey 20,000 men from Tarentum to Egypt. 'England will then have no means of disturbing us. *I am resolved on this expedition.*' On the same day he dictates his order for the government of Spain to Murat, and on May 15 he announces to Joseph that he is to assume the Spanish crown !

But the naval scheme (which Collingwood had anticipated in the preceding year) had already failed. Ganteaume had entered the Mediterranean and had refitted Corfu ; but that was all. He crept back along the coast of Africa, and succeeded in reaching Toulon in the middle of April, narrowly escaping an encounter with the British fleet, which lay off Sicily. It was the great disappointment of Collingwood's life that by mischance the enemy slipped past

him. In June another French squadron at Cadiz was bombarded and taken by the Spaniards in the Caraccas. These were the premonitory symptoms of much greater events.

Intoxicated with power, capable of dealing at once with a host of momentous questions, and a consummate master of administrative detail, Napoleon was unprepared for a sequence of untoward events. He failed to believe in the popular resistance of Spain. He reluctantly perceived that Austria was again arming for war. It was not till the end of June that he acknowledged that Spain was a serious obstacle to his designs on the East and on India. On the 28th of that month he wrote to Decrès:—

‘I desire that, before you plunge into expenses which would be wasted if the expedition from Brest does not take place, you await my orders. The affairs of Spain having taken a serious turn within the last month, it will perhaps no longer be my intention to risk forces of such magnitude at sea.’

He postponed his final decision till July 15. But the following weeks had far more serious blows in reserve for him. On July 20 Dupont and the army in Andalusia—a corps of nearly 20,000 men—capitulated to the Spaniards at Baylen; on August 1 Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Mondego Bay, and defeated Junot and the army of Portugal at Vimeiro on the 21st of that month.* Napoleon felt at once that the first of these events touched the existence of the Empire; for such was the fragility of that vast house of cards that a single reverse in a remote province shook it to the foundation. He wrote to Joseph, who was flying behind the Ebro: ‘Des évènements d’une telle nature exigent ma présence à Paris. L’Allemagne, la Pologne, l’Italie etc. tout se lie.’ The remarks of M. Vandal on what the Emperor called ‘this horrible catastrophe’ deserve to be cited:—

‘On the eve of the capitulation of Baylen Napoleon was the master of Europe, the imperious protector of the minor States, he had crushed Germany and Prussia by his “Grande Armée,” checkmated Austria by Russia, and chained the latter Power to his fortunes by the promise to abet her designs on Turkey and to share the spoil. On the morrow

* On August 23 the Emperor wrote to Marshal Davout at Warsaw: ‘Les Anglais ayant débarqué des forces assez considérables en Espagne’ (meaning Portugal), ‘j’ai rappelé le 1^{er} et le 6^e corps et trois divisions de dragons de la Grande Armée pour finir, cet hiver, de soumettre ce pays;’ although at that date he had not heard of the battle of Vimeiro. The landing of the British army, therefore, produced an immediate effect in Germany and even in Poland.

of Baylen all was changed. To reconquer the Peninsula, it was necessary to recall a portion of the army from Germany and to relax the stern compression on Prussia. Austria, already armed, seemed waiting an occasion to break loose, and it was doubtful how far the aid of Russia could be relied on. The blow of his reverses in Spain would be felt in the north, and would alter his relations with the Czar. The Spanish troops under La Romana, which were quartered in the Danish islands, rose at the news of the successful efforts of their countrymen and passed over to the British fleet which was to carry them back to their native land. This defection deprived Bernadotte of half his forces, and rendered the expedition into Scania impracticable, though Alexander attached the utmost importance to it. Moreover, Napoleon, compelled to postpone his advance against Turkey, could no longer offer to Russia the principal and extraordinary advantage she awaited from the French alliance. The Great Compact which had been in preparation for six months between the two Emperors had miscarried, and Napoleon felt that he had lost at once the means of restraining his enemies and the means of securing the interested fidelity of his ally.' (P. 367.)

The effect of the intelligence from Baylen was instantaneous. Within forty-eight hours of the receipt of it orders were despatched to the Minister of War in Paris to withdraw on Mayence the 1st Corps and 6th Corps of the Grande Armée and three divisions of dragoons, who were to march on Bayonne. And a courier was despatched in extreme haste, ordering Caulaincourt to inform the Czar, *before the news from Spain had arrived*, that the Emperor had resolved to gratify the desire, so often expressed by Alexander, by restoring to the King of Prussia a larger portion of his dominions, and withdrawing the French forces from Warsaw and the Oder to the left bank of the Elbe, which was to be the limit of the Imperial power. Alexander received the announcement with surprise and delight, in the belief that the concession was made out of regard to himself. He learned the next day, and had acuteness enough to understand, that it was due not to his influence, but to the success of a Spanish army behind the Sierra Morena, which was felt with electrical rapidity on the Vistula. Even this concession was a sham, for Napoleon proposed to retain the fortresses on the Oder until Prussia had liquidated a debt she was unable to pay.

The eyes of the Czar were beginning to be opened. He saw with terror the probability of another war between France and Austria, and endeavoured strenuously to prevent it. 'The destruction of Austria,' Count Tolstoi wrote, 'may be regarded as the forerunner and the means of our own ruin'

—a prediction verified in three years. Another revolution had occurred in Turkey, and it became more urgent than ever for Russia to tighten her grasp on that country; and with this view the Czar insisted that the promised interview with Napoleon to carry out the policy of Tilsit should take place at Erfurt on September 27. In his conversations with the ambassador he took a firmer tone, and maintained that the recent events in Constantinople demanded immediate action against the Turks, and their expulsion from Europe. Erfurt, in short, was to realise the draft project of partition. He knew how much within this eventful year the state of Europe was changed; but he was resolved to ascertain what was the policy of Napoleon as to Austria, Spain, Prussia, and Turkey, although he had ceased to hope that the union of the two great Empires was henceforth 'to rule the destinies of the universe.'

An enormous change had indeed taken place in the affairs of France between the interview at Tilsit and that at Erfurt. An attempt has been made by some historical writers to represent the latter conference as a splendid realisation of the policy of the preceding year. It was, in fact, the reverse. The events of the summer of 1808 had intervened; Napoleon was compelled to withdraw large masses of troops from Germany; his naval preparations were countermanded; his negotiations for the partition of Turkey had led to no result; and his gigantic scheme for the conquest of the East was at an end. The expectations which had been raised at Tilsit in the mind of the Czar were frustrated, and Napoleon had to perform the difficult task of masking a retreat. The meeting at Erfurt, therefore, in September, he would willingly have postponed, but Alexander insisted upon it; and Napoleon assented, within a few weeks after his return from Bayonne, because it was more than ever necessary to strengthen, if possible, the Russian alliance.

The meeting at Tilsit had been held in the camp of a victorious army. The meeting at Erfurt was solemnised with all the splendour of the court of the French Empire, surrounded by its tributary kings. The ancient buildings of the city were decorated with the tapestry and the furniture of the palaces of France. The luxury of Paris was transported into the heart of Germany. Preparations were made for magnificent banquets and entertainments. The actors of the Théâtre Français were night after night to perform the masterpieces of the tragic stage, carefully selected by Napoleon himself, though there is reason to believe that

Alexander and his circumambient kings would have preferred a few light pieces from the Boulevards, and were rather oppressed by the grandeur of *Cinna* and *Mahomet*. Alexander travelled to Erfurt with great simplicity, accompanied only by his Minister and M. de Caulaincourt, but he was followed by a larger retinue. Napoleon met him, surrounded by all the great officers of the Empire, in full state, and all the minor sovereigns of Germany were invited to attend the meeting. Not one of them failed. M. de Talleyrand in his 'Memoirs' thought it worth while to insert a list of these illustrious guests and of both the courts. It is curious to remark that the name of Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, then a young officer of eighteen, figures in the suite of the Emperor of Russia, the only individual of that great company well known in this country and in our own times. Talleyrand treats with superb contempt, in a passage worthy of Labruyère, this herd of nobles and this 'pit of kings.' It was the most extraordinary scene of sycophancy ever seen on the earth. Those who had suffered most by the Emperor were loudest in their applause of his heaven-given fortunes. But, adds the old cynic, '*Je n'ai pas vu, à Erfurt, une seule main passer noblement sur la crinière du lion.*' All this was done to give an adventitious splendour to the alliance and to deceive not only the Russians, but the rest of Europe. To some extent it has dazzled the eyes even of posterity; but the truth is, that Napoleon used this great pageant chiefly to extricate himself from an embarrassing and even dangerous position, for in the event of a rupture with Austria, which was evidently impending, the alliance, or at least the neutrality of Russia was an indispensable condition of success.

Alexander was still to some extent under the glamour of the great Emperor. He had endeavoured to check the warlike preparations of Austria; he had recognised without hesitation the accession of Joseph to the throne of Spain, and the occupation of southern Italy; he even acknowledged that while the contest in Spain was going on the grand design of Eastern conquest must be postponed. In return for these acts of friendship, Napoleon resolved to offer to Russia the surrender of Moldavia and Wallachia in full sovereignty, those provinces being already occupied by Russian troops. The Czar and his Ministers had the good sense to perceive that the immediate conquest and possession of three provinces so directly contiguous to the Russian Empire as Finland and the Principalities of the Danube were acquisitions of greater value

than the remote fulfilment of a chimerical project, to which the occupation of the Dardanelles was an insurmountable obstacle. The offer was, accordingly, seized with eagerness by Romanzow, who boasted that they had now for the first time some practical result to show from the French alliance, which continued to be highly unpopular at St. Petersburg.

In spite of the disgrace into which M. de Talleyrand had fallen in consequence of his strong condemnation of the Napoleonic policy in Spain, which had led to his dismissal from office in very opprobrious terms, the Emperor knew that the sagacity and tact of that experienced Minister were essential to him at Erfurt. He therefore offered him the conduct of the negotiations there, and Talleyrand accepted the proposal as a sort of apology. The whole correspondence with Caulaincourt was shown to him, and he was made acquainted with everything that had passed. Furnished with this information and with these duties, he adds this singular remark: 'Je ne m'occupai plus que des moyens d'empêcher, autant qu'il était en moi, que l'esprit de conquête ne dominât trop dans cette singulière entrevue.'

A few days before the approaching journey Napoleon ordered the Prince to prepare the draft of a convention, to be submitted to Alexander at Erfurt, to which he added one or two highly important articles with his own hand, binding Russia to act with France against Austria in the event of war. This was precisely the point on which Talleyrand differed from his master, and he eventually succeeded in expunging these articles from the Treaty; indeed, Alexander peremptorily rejected them, and Napoleon entirely failed to gain his assent in a somewhat stormy discussion of three hours' duration. Both the draft drawn by Prince Talleyrand and the convention as finally settled are now published in the 'Memoirs,' and the convention does not materially differ from his original conception, since it is deprived of the essential conditions which Napoleon desired to introduce into it.

M. Vandal cites from the 'Memoirs of Prince Metternich' a very startling and incredible account of the first interview of Talleyrand with the Czar. He is alleged to have accosted that sovereign with an exclamation: 'Sire! What are you here for? You can save Europe, but only by holding out against Napoleon. The French nation is civilised, which their sovereign is not. The sovereign of Russia is civilised, which his people is not. Therefore the sovereign of Russia should be the ally of the French people.' We can now con-

front this extravagant statement with the far more simple and probable version of Prince Talleyrand himself. They met for the first time at the tea table of the Princess Thurn and Taxis. The conversation was agreeable; the Czar was affable; but nothing of interest marked this first evening. It was, however, agreed, at the request of Alexander, that they should take tea with the Princess every evening after the play, where no doubt political discussion ensued. The real object of Talleyrand undoubtedly was to cause the convention to be signed in its original form, without the clauses threatening to Austria which Napoleon endeavoured to add to it; and for this purpose he urged that it was for the interests of France and of Europe to treat Austria with more forbearance than she had met with at Erfurt. In this he succeeded.

The passage in the 'Talleyrand Memoirs' which relates to this transaction is so important to the subject of this article that we shall quote it, although we are obliged to postpone to a future occasion a fuller examination of the remarkable work recently published by the Duke de Broglie. M. de Talleyrand says:—

'The object of Napoleon [in going to Erfurt] was to induce the Emperor Alexander to conclude a special alliance with himself against Austria. If he had succeeded he would have picked a quarrel with Austria, on some pretext easily imagined, and after some military successes he would have tried to treat her as he had treated Prussia. The full and entire concurrence of Russia would have enabled him but too easily to attain this object. Having a very low opinion of the talents and character of the Emperor Alexander, he hoped to succeed first by intimidating him, and then by attacking his vanity and his ambition; and, indeed, it was to be feared that on these three sides the Czar might be but too accessible. But the good fortune of Austria had inspired Alexander with confidence in Caulaincourt, and through him in myself. I had seen him several times at Tilsit. At Erfurt I saw him almost every day. Conversations, general at first, on the common interests of the Great Powers of Europe—on the conditions by which the bonds it was important to preserve between them might be broken, on the general balance of power in Europe—conversations more intimate on the States whose existence was essential to this balance, and notably on Austria—had so affected the mind of the Emperor that the blandishments, the offers, and the bursts of temper of Napoleon were all thrown away; and before he left Erfurt the Emperor Alexander wrote an autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria, to remove the apprehension which the interview at Erfurt had excited in him. This is the last service I rendered to Europe during the reign of Napoleon, and in my opinion this was a service to himself.

'After a series of festivities, a treaty was signed differing essentially from that which Napoleon had in his head in going to Erfurt. He returned to Paris; M. de Champagny became sole Minister of Foreign Affairs; and I resumed the insignificant functions of a grand dignitary of the Empire.' ('Mémoires de Talleyrand,' vol. i. p. 320.)

This passage is the more remarkable, as it shows the origin of the intimate relations of the Emperor Alexander and Talleyrand which led in 1814 to such important results.

On these terms the Convention of October 12, 1808, was concluded at Erfurt.* The high contracting parties agreed to remain inseparably united in peace as in war, and to propose terms of peace to England. The terms were the *uti possidetis*. England was to recognise the acquisition of Finland and the Principalities by Russia, and the future order of things in Spain, Holland, and Westphalia, leaving the rest of Europe in the hands of France: that is, to abandon Sweden and Turkey, her only allies, and to acknowledge the ascendancy of the Bonapartes in Spain. Such a proposal was illusory, if not insulting, and had of course no effect. Moldavia and Wallachia were to be annexed to Russia; in point of fact, she did not conquer them, and the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812 terminated her occupation by fixing the line of the Pruth as the boundary between the two empires. In spite of the assurances of eternal friendship between the allies, this convention confirmed nothing but their hostility to England, which was no new thing; it did not fulfil the promises of Tilsit; for the first time in his life Napoleon receded and obtained no equivalent: Russia alone carried off her prize.

The arguments of M. de Talleyrand were not thrown away on Alexander. He reflected that the unforeseen difficulties which Napoleon encountered in Spain left himself more free to act on the Danube. He was no longer carried away by enthusiastic admiration of his new ally; and although nothing was changed in the cordiality of his manner and the homage he paid to the Emperor, it was a ritual observance which survived his former faith. Napoleon himself was conscious of the change. He perceived that all the splendour of Erfurt served only to conceal a critical situation, if not a defeat.

* The text of the original draft treaty, with Napoleon's characteristic remarks upon it, and also that of the treaty as definitively signed at Erfurt, are both given in M. de Talleyrand's 'Memoirs,' but not by M. Vandal, although he publishes the treaties and the secret articles agreed to at Tilsit.

It does not fall within the limits of this sketch to trace the political results of these transactions. Suffice it to say that they did not correspond to the expectations of the parties engaged in them. The war in Sweden was feebly conducted by Russia, and without the promised aid of France. The Turks vigorously resisted the conquest of the Principalities, and flung themselves into the arms of England. The war between Austria and France was not averted, but Russia took no active part in the campaign of Wagram; and the distrust of Alexander was increased by subsequent events which led to a complete rupture in 1812.

There is, however, one episode in this strange history which deserves to be noticed, the more so as M. Vandal has thrown more light upon it than any previous writer, and has shown that the received version of it is by no means correct. The months of September and October 1807, after Tilsit, were the most tranquil and brilliant in the career of Napoleon, although at that very time he was secretly negotiating, without the knowledge of his Ministers, M. de Talleyrand and M. de Champagny, the nefarious treaty signed at Fontainebleau, on October 27, for the partition of Portugal, which was the pretext for the French occupation of Spain. The Imperial court spent the autumn at Fontainebleau in great magnificence. Madame de Rémusat has left us an admirable picture of its splendour, and—shall we add?—of its dulness. In November, reports, emanating from Fouché, began to circulate that the Emperor contemplated his divorce from Joséphine, and that audacious intriguer even addressed a letter to the Empress on the subject, which she showed to Napoleon. Fouché was sternly reprimanded; but he had probably detected the secret thoughts of the Emperor, and his offence was that he had disclosed them. Early in 1808 a passionate scene took place between Napoleon and his wife, and his design was arrested by the affection he undoubtedly felt for her; for, if there was any tender spot in the heart of Napoleon, it was his regard for Joséphine. Meanwhile, however, the rumour of his intended divorce spread from the court to Paris, and from Paris all over Europe, and it was asserted that the future successor of the repudiated wife was to be no other than the Grand Duchess Catherine, the eldest sister of the Czar. At St. Petersburg this marriage was regarded as the natural result of the alliance, desired by the friends and denounced by the adversaries of France.

The Emperor Alexander had two unmarried sisters; the

younger one, the Grand Duchess Anne, was a child of fourteen, a timid delicate girl; Joseph de Maistre called her 'a dove.' The elder sister, Catherine, was in the meridian of youth and beauty at eighteen—a princess of singular energy, sense, and spirit—the cynosure of the Imperial Court, whom the Russians regarded as a worthy representative of the great name she bore. At that moment it was fancied that she was destined to share the throne of the Conqueror, and people speculated with singular indelicacy on a marriage which could only be rendered possible by the death or divorce of Joséphine. Not a word had been said at Tilsit on the subject, and the rumour was received by Alexander with surprise and embarrassment. Tolstoi was urgently commanded to ascertain whether any such project was in existence.

'But an obstacle existed in the bosom of the Imperial family, which it was not easy to overcome. The Empress mother (who was bitterly opposed to the alliance of Russia and France, whether political or matrimonial) had received from her late husband a testamentary act, in the form of a solemn *ukase*, deposited for better security in the Cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow, which conferred on her absolute power to dispose of her daughters in marriage and to fix their future life and establishment. This instrument gave her a legal right to oppose any marriage of her daughters which she disapproved; and a positive *veto* she would not fail to use, from her well-known aversion to the French Emperor. Alexander felt that he could not dictate to his mother, and that an imperious and tenacious woman was not likely to yield to mere persuasion.' (P. 463.)

Tolstoi reported that, in spite of the hesitation of Napoleon, the divorce *was* in contemplation, and that an offer of marriage might any day be made. The Czarina, greatly alarmed, concluded that it was necessary to marry her accomplished daughter out of hand. The Prince Royal of Bavaria was first thought of, but that scheme broke down. Even a Prince George of Holstein Oldenburg, who had recently entered the Russian service, was thought preferable to the phantom of a French usurper, although the young man was 'laid, chétif, couvert de boutons,' and almost inarticulate. The engagement was not definitively settled when the Czar went to Erfurt; his sister's hand was still free.

It has been often asserted that at this conference Alexander offered the Grand Duchess in marriage to Napoleon; but M. Vandal controverts that statement. It was, on the contrary, Napoleon who instructed Talleyrand and Caulaincourt to sound the Czar on the subject, pointing out the importance of securing a direct heir to the throne, but without committing the Emperor to any definite proposal.

When the subject was mentioned between the two sovereigns the language of Napoleon was still vague, and he spoke of the divorce and its possible consequences as among the uncertainties of the future. The conversation led to no result, and had not the importance which has been ascribed to it.* Alexander was probably glad to escape from the embarrassing alternative of an acceptance or a refusal; and a fortnight after his return to St. Petersburg the beautiful Grand Duchess Catherine was married to the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. In point of fact, these conversations at Erfurt had in some measure opened the question of the marriage without settling it. Napoleon had not resolved on the divorce, Alexander was not desirous of the marriage; and nothing was done to dispel the uncertain position of either sovereign.

It was not until fifteen months after the interview at Erfurt that the divorce was actually pronounced (December 15, 1809) and the matrimonial proposal renewed in a more direct form; but a great deal had happened in the interval. The war with Austria, which Alexander had endeavoured to avert, occupied the summer of 1809, and was terminated by the battle of Wagram on July 6 of that year. Napoleon remained at Schönbrunn until October 14, during the protracted and tedious negotiations of the Treaty of Peace, which pressed heavily on the exhausted resources and diminished territories of Austria. But it is not true, as is commonly supposed, that the surrender of his daughter Marie Louise by Francis II. in marriage to his conqueror formed any part of that agreement, or was at all adverted to at that time. On the contrary, it was to the Russian marriage that Napoleon inclined. He returned to Fontainebleau on October 26, and immediately announced that his resolution to divorce Joséphine was irrevocably taken. A council of the great officers of State was held on January 22, at

* When the formal proposal for the hand of the Grand Duchess Anne was made by Caulaincourt in December 1809 (fifteen months later), M. Thiers says: 'L'empereur Alexandre, un peu surpris, ne nia point l'espèce d'engagement qui, sans garantir le succès, l'obligeait à tenter un effort auprès de sa mère, pour obtenir la main de la Grande-Duchesse Anne.' But there was no such engagement, and the age of this Grand Duchess at that time would have rendered it ridiculous. She was only fifteen when the subsequent negotiations took place in 1809, and she was not likely to have become the mother of the future heir of the Empire. The Russian 'dove' was no mate for the Corsican eagle. If any Russian marriage was contemplated in 1808, it must have been with the Grand Duchess Catherine.

which they were invited to express their opinions without reserve on the relative advantages of the Russian and Austrian connexion. The question was argued on purely political grounds on both sides. Napoleon said nothing, for, in fact, he had already decided in favour of an offer to the Russian princess; and already, on November 22 (three weeks before the divorce had actually taken place, and two months before this council) Caulaincourt had been instructed to demand her hand. Alexander received the communication with apparent cordiality, but the events of the preceding summer had materially cooled his zeal for the alliance. He asked for ten days—and again ten days—to consider the question. He required that Napoleon should assent to a convention pledging himself never to restore the kingdom of Poland, and that the very name of Poland should be abolished. These delays exasperated Napoleon, and, with his usual promptitude, he broke off the negotiation of marriage, and refused to ratify the Polish Convention which Caulaincourt had already signed. The partisans of the Austrian marriage lost no time in carrying their point. Prince Schwarzenberg was already armed with full powers to sign the marriage contract, which was done on February 6; and the intelligence was received at Vienna in the following week with the greatest satisfaction by the Court, the city, and the bride. The young Empress entered the French dominions on March 16, and Napoleon met her at Compiègne on the 27th of that month. It is worth while to recall these dates because they mark the incredible velocity with which the momentous events of that period flitted by. About two years and a half had elapsed since the first meeting of the Emperor and the Czar at Tilsit. Within that period gigantic projects of conquest had been inflated, pursued, and abandoned; whilst the actual occurrences—the invasion of Spain, the check to the French armies, the seizure of Finland, the campaign of Wagram, the creation and dispersal of the allied fleets, and the Imperial marriage—were of scarcely less gravity. The action of this wild drama was feverish and incessant, but it was suicidal; and before another three years had elapsed the prodigious but ephemeral fabric had collapsed in the snows of Russia and the gorges of the Pyrenees.

M. de Narbonne is reported to have said, with reference to the Russian and Austrian courts, that whenever the Emperor Napoleon decided to contract a marriage with the one he would certainly within two years make war upon the other. The marriage with an Austrian princess was a triumph for the policy always advocated by M. de Talleyrand,

who held that a good understanding with the Court of Vienna was essential to the security of France and to the peace of Europe. But it dealt a heavy blow on the Russian alliance, soon to be changed from enthusiastic servility to intense hostility. The work of Tilsit could stand no touch of time: it was rather shaken than strengthened at Erfurt; and within as short a period as we have named, Alexander not only ceased to be the ally of Napoleon, but became the most formidable of his enemies and conquerors. In truth, the alliance was raised upon no solid foundation, but upon the illusion that two rival ambitions could, by uniting their forces, crush the independence of nations and distribute the territories of the Western and the Eastern world.

The narrative of these transactions is not without interest in reference to the politics of the present and the future: they contain lessons of significance both to the French and to Europe. It is a fashion of the day—perhaps no more than a popular cry—to suppose that France, having at the present time no foreign alliance or close connexion with any other Power, might readily find in Russia an active supporter of her policy, even in war. And the French Government has shown, on several small occasions, an ostentatious desire to court and cultivate the friendliness of Russia. We are free to add that the cabinet of St. Petersburg has shown no desire to meet these demonstrations with extraordinary favour, and that the pacific and judicious temper shown in most of the measures of the reigning Emperor acquit him of any design to meet the advances of the French Republic. But these are, as far as France is concerned, the ideas of Tilsit. They tend to oppose a Franco-Russian alliance to the rest of Europe; and in the hope of regaining the provinces lost in the last war, and the possible conquest of Egypt, France must surrender her secular policy in the Levant, and open the Dardanelles to the maritime power of Russia by the possession of Constantinople. That, as is shown by the volume before us, is the *sine qua non* of an alliance of Russia and France, which, even under the reign of a Napoleon and an Alexander, when continental Europe was in their power, was found to be an impracticable chimera, and which, in the present state of Europe, would encounter obstacles still more insurmountable.

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